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CONNEXION  
OF  
SACRED AND PROFANE HISTORY

BEING A REVIEW OF THE  
PRINCIPAL EVENTS IN THE WORLD,  
AS THEY BEAR UPON  
THE STATE OF RELIGION,  
FROM THE CLOSE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT HISTORY, TILL  
THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CHRISTIANITY.

BY D. DAVIDSON.

THREE VOLUMES IN ONE.

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NEW YORK:  
ROBERT CARTER & BROTHERS,  
No. 530 BROADWAY.

1857.



## PREFACE.

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ON the importance of connecting the study of Sacred with Profane History, it would be useless to dilate.

A glory gilds the sacred page, majestic as the sun ;  
It gives a light to every age,—it gives but borrows none :

it throws a radiance on the records of ancient times, which nothing else can give ; and, mid the darkness and clouds which surround the steps of Providence, it casts a cheering and a guiding light, without which all were uncertainty and doubt.

On reviewing history, the Writer has ventured to pass beyond the path of preceding authors : he has reflected on what he believed the evident or probable tendency of an event or a series of events, to promote and give publicity to the true religion, to corrupt, obscure, subvert it, or arrest its progress. Many of the rational creatures work in opposition to the impartial goodness and spontaneous compassion of the Supreme, and yet thereby only expose their feebleness as well as wickedness ; for he ruleth over all, and will make all things subserve to accomplish his sovereign will : His dominion is an everlasting dominion, and his kingdom is from generation to generation. Though the superintending power of God over the progress of nations may be as untraceable as His paths in the ocean, yet the effects are everywhere visible, and manifest the progressive fulfilment of the prophetic denunciations and promises set forth in the Holy Oracles.

All who have wisdom to discern this power operating in passing events, acquire increased knowledge of the inconceivable and unsearchable excellences of the Divine nature, and his benevolent purposes and design respecting our fallen

race. And what is all other knowledge compared to this? "This is life eternal, that they may know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent." Men differ greatly in mental capacity and acquirements, modes of thinking, education, and opportunities of judging correctly, and it is not to be expected that any two persons should view the doings of Providence under precisely the same aspect, or at once agree in their opinion of the result of an event, or series of events; yet the more closely and constantly candid persons contemplate the transactions of mankind, the more unanimous will they become in judgment respecting their moral and religious influence. This induces the Author to hope, that views of certain events which at first glance some may regard mere fancy or conjecture, will, after more mature reflection, appear just, and adapted to excite Christians to admire the manifold wisdom, boundless power, and overflowing goodness of Jehovah, in his administration on earth.

Reference to one or two subjects may convey an idea of the difference between this and similar Works.

In the latter, for instance, the captivity of Israel occupies a conspicuous place in the narrative of the wars and victories of Nebuchadnezzar; but what some modern authors would denominate the religious philosophy of this portion of history, is almost, if not altogether, overlooked. Here we regard Nebuchadnezzar's conquest of the chosen people as the highest triumph of idolatry; and consequently infer that it was divinely proper for Jehovah to terminate his long-suffering towards the worshippers of idols, and display his superiority over them. This he did by giving the empire to the Persians, who utterly abhorred idols, the work of man's hands. The capture of Babylon, by Cyrus, overthrew the dominion of idols; nor did they ever again command the devout reverence and unreserved subjection of all ranks of society. Idols continued, indeed, to be worshipped by all, but many questioned their power, and not a few secretly treated them with contempt. And about the same period Divine truth received a

mighty impulse, which occasioned its more rapid and wide diffusion, through successive generations, till its triumphant reign in the age of our Lord and his Apostles. See Vol. I. Chap. IV., pages 81—91.

Again, in tracing the course of events, by which the Greeks ascended to universal empire, the apparent tendencies and influences of some of them merit more prominence in a work on the Connexion of Sacred and Profane History, than has hitherto been given them. Pious and benevolent minds must be refreshed when they perceive that the dissemination of divine truth kept pace with the language of Greece, in its astonishing progress in the kingdoms conquered by Alexander and his successors. This subject is adverted to in Vol. I. Chap. IX. pages 146, 164, 165, 173.; Chap. XIII. page 186. To contemplate the vanity of the utmost exertions of the mightiest mental and physical powers of men to attain an object opposed to the councils and predictions of Heaven, must have a salutary influence on all men, especially Christians. How strikingly was the weakness of man exhibited in the inefficacy of the schemes and labours of several of Alexander's princes to effect the unity of his empire, which Daniel foretold should be broken up! see Vol. I. Chap. XI.

The Punic wars, and the final conquest of Carthage by Rome, fill many a page of history; but authors have not distinctly observed the Divine goodness and mercy to man discovered by giving the empire to the latter, rather than the former, although nothing seems more obvious, on a slight review of the character, position, and circumstances of these nations. How unexpected, and, in the eyes of the most eminent statesmen and warriors, how improbable, was the entire subjugation of Carthage by Rome, is shown in Vol. I. Chap. III. IV. That this great event was most important to the interests of civilization and true religion, will not be doubted by any who believe that the remarks to be found in Vol. II. pages 49—53, are founded in truth.

The reign of Herod forms an important part of Jewish

history ; yet the Divine propriety of giving the Holy Land to that ungodly monarch has been generally overlooked ; see Vol. II. Chap. IX. 187, 188.

The remarkable adaptation of the Fourth Empire for the introduction of the Fifth, is repeatedly noticed, especially in Vol. II. pages 183—186 ; Vol. III. pages 227—232.

The writer conceives it superfluous to adduce any more examples to indicate the plan of his work. He has written in the hope of inducing readers of history, especially the young, to investigate the designs of God in his administration, and to recognise his unsearchable perfections and absolute goodness in all things. How far he has succeeded in producing a proper instrument to attain the desired end, is for others to judge. Consciousness of a worthy motive is ample recompence for much labour, although the ultimate object should not be attained.

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# CONNEXION

## BETWEEN

### SACRED AND PROFANE HISTORY.

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#### CHAPTER I.

##### THE RACE OF ISRAEL, GOD'S PECULIAR PEOPLE.

ELATION of mind on account of the antiquity, rank, or applauded deeds of ancestors, prevails more or less among all men: this confessedly has in no small degree been visible among the Jews, or the race of Jacob, and if the cherishing of this feeling be admissible and proper in any people, it is incontrovertibly so in them. The descendants of the faithful patriarch are the only people on the face of the earth who can, on satisfactory evidence, trace their genealogy up to Adam, the first man. Except that preserved in the Sacred Writings, every written history of mankind, or of any race of men, which ascends much higher than the era of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, is justly deemed fabulous by all who have thoroughly investigated the subject. The Arabs may trace their descent from Abraham, and others may conjecture that one or other of the sons of Noah was their great ancestor; but the Jews alone can name the father or chief of each successive generation of their race, from Seth the third son of Adam down to David their most exalted king; and the name of the chief of every generation of his race is distinctly recorded till Mary became the mother of Jesus of Nazareth, who was recognised by his people as the son and, by consequence, the royal heir of David.

The Jews can not only contemplate their remote ancestors as the most ancient, but also as the most excellent and most honourable race who have inhabited the globe. They were not, so far as the Divine Record teaches, distinguished above

other men by superiority of natural qualities, physical or intellectual, great scientific acquirements or immense wealth, nor by the possession of vast political or commercial power, or by warlike pursuits; an unspeakably nobler destiny was theirs,—they were the chosen worshippers of the True and Living God.

The brief notice of the antediluvians by Moses may originate innumerable speculations, at once useful and entertaining; but a mere allusion to the general delineation of their personal character presented us is enough for our object. They consisted of two races, the Cainites and Sethites, the chiefs of whom received, in common, the most important instructions on religion which were communicated before the deluge, that is, during the first sixteen hundred and fifty-six years of the world.

The Cainites, as a race, appear to have cast off the fear of God, and wholly renounced the institutes of his worship. Individuals or families among them may have retained the truth revealed by God to their father Adam; but we perceive no indication in the community of religious principle or practice. They lived without reverence for God, without hope of immortality, and without belief in the promise that an Almighty Saviour should be born, and live to destroy the works of the deceiver and destroyer of man. Their strong and daring spirits bowed not to idols, images, or superstition; they were unmoved by apprehensions of the invisible world; and by ambition, violence, and sensuality, they filled the world with blood; and had not omnipotent power and just vengeance shortened their course, they would have extinguished human life, or rendered the benevolent and ample provision of Heaven to impart human felicity vain. It is not unworthy of notice that tradition harmonises with the Sacred Record in its description of the first great apostacy of mankind. Hesiod remarks of the generation who perished by the deluge, that "they could not abstain from mutually inflicting violence on each other, nor would they worship the immortals, nor sacrifice to the blessed ones on their altars. Therefore Zeus (the Deity) removed them, because they would not give honour to the blessed gods."

The Sethites continued, probably, nearly one thousand years consecrated to the worship and service of God; for they were accounted and treated by Him as his sons. That none of them joined the apostates we have no reason to assert or deny; nevertheless, the record concerning them justifies

the opinion that they generally feared God and trembled at his word ; and may have given rise to the tradition that the age of gold was the first age of the world. The oldest of each generation was the chief ruler and priest, and several of these were also prophets, as may be learned from the register of them preserved in the fifth chapter of Genesis. Their religious principles and rites were few and simple, but consummately adapted to sustain, strengthen, and cherish in them dependence, gratitude, submission, and obedience towards God. He made himself known to them as the Creator and Possessor of the heavens and the earth, and as God, the Saviour of man, pledged by his word to raise up for them One, almighty to destroy by his personal sufferings the works of the serpent the devil ; and, by consequence, to restore to them all the life and blessedness which they had forfeited by sin. Of the work of the divinely ordained Deliverer, and its inconceivably happy results, they were, every morning and evening, by sacrificial rites, symbolically instructed, so that they might have them ever present to their minds. A little reflection will, we apprehend, produce full persuasion in the minds of all believers in revelation, that the ritual of sacrifice was instituted by God. We have no evidence that Adam and his sons were accustomed to take the life of any animal for their own use ; and is it not therefore probable that the skins of which the dress of the first pair were made, were those of animals offered in sacrifice ? From the permission to use animal food granted to Noah it seems reasonable to infer that mankind had been restricted from killing animals, except for religious purposes. Now, if they were not accustomed to feed on animals, we have no reason to believe that they could imagine, unless divinely instructed, that the blood of animals could be acceptable to God as a present or offering to expiate their sins. It is scarcely conceivable that such an idea originated in the human mind. Though we may clearly perceive the suitability of animal sacrifice to symbolise an expiation for sin, in consequence of Divine revelation given us on the subject, yet no one can show that, without that instruction, it would have naturally risen in the human mind. And had even the sentiment been conceived by Adam or Abel, they would not have presumed to act on it, and testify their homage to God by consuming his creatures by fire, without his authority. Having recently learned the awful effect of doing what he had prohibited, is it reasonable to suppose that they would have presumed to consider themselves

qualified to devise, or believed themselves possessed of a right to prescribe a form of worship worthy of His approbation? That he approved of animal sacrifice is, however, unquestionable; and it is equally certain that he has always said to those who worshipped him according to forms of human invention, "Who hath required this of your hand?" Hence we may conclude that the institution of sacrifice is of Divine origin. This is not indeed taught us in plain language in the Sacred Oracles, but it seems fully implied in the announcement that the cherubim were placed at the east of Eden, immediately on the expulsion of Adam and Eve; for the whole history of that marvellous emblem proves that the altar for sacrifice always accompanied it. Every worshipper of God, in every act of worship, looked towards the cherubim; but he never expected acceptance, except for the sake of his sacrifice. This alone elevated his soul above the dreadful apprehension that the burning flame issuing from the cherubim should consume him.

This form of worship Noah established after the deluge; and it was propagated over the world, more or less perfect, by all his descendants. The faithful report of the tremendous catastrophe which destroyed the bold and presumptuous sinners of the old world, by Noah and his family, was indelibly fixed in the hearts of the three races of the postdiluvian renovated world. And we have strong evidence that, wherever they wandered, they carried with them deep impressions of the existence of spiritual and invisible agency, powerful and active to protect the just, and inflict vengeance on the profane and profligate. And this may probably account for the fact that the atheism and infidelity of past ages were buried with their advocates in the waters, and have never recovered vigour to erase from any great community the entire form of religion.

The races of Japhet and Ham became idolaters. But who has examined idol and image worship, in all its forms, and not perceived that it carried strong marks of its original derivation from the religious worship of the patriarchs? Every false religion is a perverted imitation of the true. Divine truth, in every age and country, has been, to the extent judged necessary by the rulers of this world, whether kings, philosophers, priests, or sovereigns, incorporated with falsehood. The god of the world, who first attempted to reign under the form of a lion, found it expedient, after the deluge, to as-

sume the form of an angel of light, or to assume his ancient disguise of a serpent.

The race of Shem, it is generally believed, were the chosen of God, ordained to preserve the Divine revelations to their ancestors, and to maintain his worship. They were favoured with the ministry of Noah three hundred and fifty years after the flood, and consequently till Abraham was nearly sixty years old. During the intervening period, there were nine subordinate chiefs over the Shemites, the fathers of as many generations. Many think that Noah accompanied not the multitude that emigrated from Armenia, till they came, doubtless by a circuitous route, (which may have had many temporary stations,) to the plains of Shinar. It is, however, probable that some of the Shemites were among the emigrants, and adopted the corrupt religion of Nimrod; for the ancestors of Abraham are said to have served "other gods" east of the Euphrates.

The brief record of the chosen race from Seth to Abraham and Moses suggests that they were placed under a supernatural administration, resembling that by which the race of Jacob were afterwards governed. Thus we know that the gift of inspiration and of prophecy was conferred on Enoch, Lamech, and Noah; and the translation of Enoch and the deliverance of Noah were remarkable examples of miraculous interposition, to testify that Jehovah loved righteousness, and with a very pleasant countenance beheld the upright. Nor are we without decisive proof that the public worshippers of God were, as a community, governed by the law of just retribution in this life. They enjoyed temporal prosperity when they faithfully served God, and endured signal punishment when they publicly dishonoured his name. It was evidently this that occasioned Job's friends rashly to infer that because he was greatly afflicted he was certainly a hypocrite. In proof of this, one of them appealed to the most celebrated maxims of the wisest of the ancients, who distinctly taught the doctrine of retribution: Job xv. 17—35. This law, indeed, appears to have been enforced by the rulers; hence the fearful apprehensions of seventy-seven fold greater punishment for killing a man, perhaps accidentally, than that denounced on Cain. Judah and Job attest that the adulterer was sentenced to suffer death, and the latter teaches us that the worshipper of the heavenly bodies subjected himself to the same sentence.

When Abraham intimated to his nearest relations that God had appeared to him, and called him to leave Chaldea, they

evidently prepared to accompany him, for his father took the lead of the party; and they fixed on Haran in Mesopotamia for their future residence. They were all worshippers of the True God; but, after the lapse of about one hundred and eighty years, their form of worship was debased by the use of images, as we find in the family of Laban, the grandson of Nahor, who remained in Haran after the departure of Abraham for a country which Jehovah promised to show him.

That land was named Canaan, from one of the sons of Ham. Few spots of it seem to have been appropriated by any one at the time of Abraham's arrival. He and his sons and grandsons sojourned in it for a number of years; and because God had promised that their descendants should possess it, and especially because their families seem to have been more numerous or more distinguished than the other inhabitants, it came to be known under the name of "The land of the Hebrews." During their absence in Egypt for several hundred years, this country was fully peopled by Canaanites, who were divided into a number of nations or kingdoms. They were chiefly famous on account of the number and strength of their cities, the barbarous and superstitious character of their religion, and the licentiousness of their manners; no alliance with them and the race of Judah was therefore admissible, had even the land been sufficient to support both communities. Their expulsion or destruction became absolutely necessary, in order to the accomplishment of the divine purpose of Jehovah, to manifest, in a signal manner, the perfections of his nature and the holiness of his laws, in the land promised to Abraham. The Divine propriety of the instructions given to Moses and Joshua how to treat the Canaanites is the subject of several notes in the Pocket Commentary on the Old Testament; see Deut. vii. 1—4.

Canaan, or the Land of the Hebrews, was comparatively a small country, being less than two hundred miles long and one hundred broad. But God announced to Abraham that he would put those of his descendants who imitated his faith and obedience in possession of all the regions stretching "from the river of Egypt to the Euphrates." The former they were authorised by God to seize by force; the latter they obtained by success in defensive war. Canaan Proper was properly the Holy Land, because in it was the seat of divine worship; but idolatry was not permitted by the law of Moses to exist in any part of the lands conquered by Israel. For wherever their power was predominant, they were enjoined

to destroy every vestige of idolatry, and establish the worship of the True God. This, it ought to be carefully observed, was the special object for which God chose for his people or public worshippers the race of Jacob. He is the sovereign Lord of the universe, and the impartial Judge; He respects not men on account of those things which they admire and praise; moral excellence alone renders one man more than another beloved by his Creator; and no nation could prove themselves more destitute of this than the Jews, in all ages. They were, with the exception of a comparatively small number, who truly believed God and his prophets, a people exceedingly perverse in heart, and hypocritical or wicked in life. They were, therefore, not selected for the peculiar people of the Most High because they deserved his favour, but in accordance with his own purpose respecting the race of Seth, and his promise to Abraham. And his object in the selection was that they should be the witnesses that he was the only True and Living God, the depositary of his revelations, and the instruments of making known the benevolent and just nature of his administration, as the supreme Sovereign, Saviour, and Judge of the human race.

This great and most important of all objects, in the eyes of every intelligent being, capable of judging of real excellence, must be acknowledged to have been absolutely necessary in the age of Abraham; for while it was at once essential to the manifestation of the glory of God, and the welfare of mankind, we perceive not how it could be attained by any other means than that adopted by infinite wisdom;—the separation of a people by whom God should make himself known in the manner he did, through the instrumentality of the race of Jacob.

This will appear if we reflect on their position and relation to the nations, from the time that Abraham was called to leave Chaldea till the time when they ceased to be regarded and treated by the Deity as his peculiar people. During this long period, from A. M. 2023 to A. D. 70, they were placed in the position most favourable to the publicity of their principles, form of worship, and the remarkable and marvellous events which befell them.

Had Abraham remained in Chaldea, the history of him and his race would have been for many generations almost wholly unknown to the great mass of the human race; for the events which transpired east of the Euphrates, from the day of Chedorlaomer to the time of Pul, king of Assyria,



who was contemporary with Uzziah, king of Judah, are buried in oblivion, or enveloped in fabulous records. Nor did any nation during this period maintain, as far as history attests, much intercourse with the other nations of the globe, except the Idumeans, on the Red Sea, the Egyptians, and the colonies from the Red Sea, by whom were built the commercial cities of Tyre and Sidon. And the latter had most probably not emerged from obscurity before the conquest of Canaan by Joshua; by consequence, we may see the propriety of the long sojourn of Israel in Egypt, the great centre of the early world's activity and commerce. That Israel were then a conspicuous people, no one can doubt who adverts to the dignity and influence of Joseph, the talented and eminently religious son of Jacob.

The Syrians and other nations were rapidly rising to the ascendancy in political power and commerce when Israel were established in Canaan: and Egypt had adopted what moderns would call Chinese policy, discouraging all intercourse with strangers, admitting not even merchants to trade, except at one or two ports. Canaan, henceforth, was far more suited to the propagation of the peculiar religion, laws, customs, and transactions of Israel, than any other place. For while it was sufficiently isolated from other nations to permit its inhabitants to live according to their own law, the high road of commerce between the eastern and western world passed along its borders, and it soon rose to great distinction, and at no remote period was an object of ambition to the mighty powers who struggled for the sovereignty of the world.

When the Israelites completely degenerated, and ceased to shed pure light on the thick darkness which enshrouded the nations, the terrible vengeance that desolated their land, and scattered them over the surface of the world, visibly accomplished the end for which they were chosen, perhaps more effectually than any event in their previous history. The judgment of Heaven corrected them; their love of idolatry was conquered; their zeal for the Sacred Oracles, and particularly for the laws of Moses, was rekindled; and their desire and hope of the coming of Messiah exceedingly strengthened. Such was the effect of their captivity in Babylon. Nor ought it to be forgotten that they were not dispersed over the eastern world till it had become the scene of the greatest transactions which characterise its history, and which deeply interested almost all the human race. How

marvellous were the incidents connected with the exile of Israel every one knows ; and now inexpressibly must some of these have tended to the dissemination of the knowledge of the True God, may be learned from the proclamations of the kings of Babylon and Persia.

The benevolent designs of Heaven in the separation of the Jews for a "peculiar people" were apparently largely fulfilled by the restoration of a part of them to a national state, in their own land ; and the settlement of multitudes of them in small communities, in the great cities of the empires of Greece and Rome ; for they were thus brought into connexion with the most influential races of mankind. And it might be demonstrated, with no difficulty, and with much profit, that the true religion or Divine Revelation will be found, at all times, in the centre or vicinity of the regions which successively became the chief seats of power, and especially of commerce, on the globe. The star of Jacob will always be seen fixed above the kingdom or kingdoms on whose power appears suspended the destiny of mankind.

Several things peculiar to the Jews were remarkably fitted to attract all eyes to them. Thus their avowed belief and unceasing hope that one of their race, in a future age, was to surpass all men in excellence and power, and prove himself almighty to save not only his people, but all nations, and restore the world to more than the felicity of paradise ; this sentiment spread so universally, and so deeply affected all minds, that in almost every nation, previous to the final destruction of Jerusalem, the expectation of such an illustrious person prevailed.

Again they publicly acknowledged Jehovah alone to be their supreme King, and regarded their rulers the mere ministers of his revealed will. If the latter were distinguished by despising the laws of Moses and the instructions of the prophets, they were viewed usurpers while they lived, and were covered with disgrace at death, for no honourable burial was granted them. Other nations either worshipped their chiefs while they lived or after their death, or, like the Greeks, boasted of power to control them ; but the Jews, when subject to their constitution and laws, obeyed no voice except that of the supreme God, announced by them whom they firmly believed to be his ministers. In their government, the authority of Deity was all in all. This, as we shall see, characterised the nation, in respect to the gods of the nations, after the captivity ; and the phenomenon must have produced a strong im-

pression on every intelligent and reflective mind, accustomed to witness every where the worship of idols, with no sign of the belief in the unity of the Creator.

Further, every public transgressor of the laws was sentenced to immediate punishment, exactly proportioned to the rule of rigid justice, the law of retaliation, or of restitution, minutely defined by Moses. The degree of loss or suffering inflicted for crime generally depended, elsewhere, on the pleasure or caprice of the rulers or judges ; but among the Jews, nothing was left to them by the supreme legislators. As no delay in the execution of the sentence of the law was admissible, no instruction was given to provide prisons. This strikingly accorded with the awful nature of the constitution prescribed by Moses, justly named "the ministration of death." Had this argument been adverted to, Christians, at least, would not have been surprised that instant death should be pronounced on all judged worthy of it. The principle which indicates the propriety of animal sacrifice for sin is applicable to immediate punishment of death. The administration of Jehovah had not yet demonstrated to all the perfection of his justice, so that man might discern clearly that without an adequate expiation, death for death, no human being could find forgiving mercy with his Creator. But Jesus of Nazareth, having vindicated, by his death for the world, the Divine government and laws, with Divine propriety declared that the law of retaliation, life for life, eye for eye, and the like, had no place in his administration. Now certainly no one who respects his authority requires to be taught by precept or example that "the soul that sinneth shall die."

Moreover, unequivocal signs that God was the supreme King of the Jews were frequently witnessed by all intelligent observers of events in relation to that people. His principal ministers were supernaturally endowed ; and the deeds by which this was manifested were performed in the view of all. Their power over life and death, over the elements of nature, and sometimes over the minds of men, was not exercised in secret or by arts of deception, like the pretended diviners and priests of the gods of other nations. They acted without disguise in the presence of all ranks and characters, and claimed no personal superiority over their contemporaries. They wrought all in the name of God, and resolutely declined reward from man. Neither honour nor disgrace influenced their ministrations. And the people were miraculously punished or saved, obtained unparalleled prosperity, or en-

dured extreme calamity, according as they were obedient or disobedient to the mandates of Jehovah, their Sovereign, Law-giver, and Judge.

Finally, their national constitution strongly enforced universal kindness and courtesy, and, consequently, friendly intercourse with all men, while it strictly prohibited offensive or defensive alliances with idolatrous nations or communities, or intermarriages with individual idolaters. In national policy and religion, they were to stand alone among the nations. Though on this account they might be regarded by superficial thinkers the enemies of mankind, yet this was absolutely necessary for the attainment of the great end of their separation to serve God, considering the state of the nations, especially of those in their vicinity.

In the age of Moses, the whole world had apostatised from God, and idolatry seems to have been established, by law or custom, in every nation. But no communities had become more degraded in morals or polluted in religion than those occupying the countries of Syria, Palestine, and Arabia Petræa, where four hundred years earlier the true God was worshipped. This dreadful degeneracy was probably chiefly effected by those who had enslaved the multitude. And these were, we know, the wisest of the age, who doubtless discerned that a religion which made the many to trust their future well-being to the power of the few, and ministered, at the same time, to their pleasures, was that alone which could retain the people in political slavery. Such was the nature of all the ancient forms of idolatry. By the abuse of physical, and especially of astronomical knowledge, which assumed the name of astrology, the wise deluded the unreflecting and sensual. Claiming the offices of kings and priests, by the deceptive arts and careful observances of the appearances of nature in the different seasons of the year, they easily performed, or rather seemed to perform deeds superhuman in the eyes of the ignorant. Nothing was then more natural than to ascribe their power to invisible fellowship with the heavenly bodies and invisible agents, whom they confessed could alone enable them to perform superhuman works. These agencies became gods; and their ministers, by continually adding whatever rites they conceived adapted to please the people, to those already observed by them, formed the various corrupted modes of idolatrous worship, which were rapidly spread over the earth by conquerors, colonization, and commerce.

Language cannot depict the sanguinary and licentious forms of superstition that prevailed in Canaan and the neighbouring countries. This is evident to every reader of the sacred Scriptures. And how strongly Israel were disposed to imitate their neighbours, appears in every age of their history, before the Babylonian captivity. How suitable, important, and even indispensable was then the injunction that they should live alone, and utterly abominate the gods of the nations?

The peoples, by whose manners Israel were in the greatest danger of being contaminated and demoralized in the earliest periods of their history, were the Egyptians, the surviving Canaanites, the Philistines, Tyrians and Sidonians, the Midianites, Moabites, and Ammonites; and the Edomites and Syrians. We refer the reader to the brief account of these, given under their respective names in the Pocket Biblical Dictionary. Almost every one of these races had lost power to inflict much injury on Israel before the period of their history to be reviewed in the subsequent chapters. Foreigners had conquered them, and continued to tyrannise over them. The very forms of their religion had been modified; and its most barbarous features had disappeared. Those on the borders of Canaan had been carried into captivity by Nebuchadnezzar; and were probably permitted by Cyrus to return to their native lands. Some of them, we know, were afterwards numerous; but none of them, except the Edomites or Idumeans, seem to have recovered their former greatness; and they gradually disappeared as distinct races or nations; and probably the survivors became marauders, and were not distinguishable from the Arabs, whose mode of life they imitated. It may be remarked in general, that the descendants of these races cherished in all ages, the implacable enmity to Israel, which characterised their ancestors. Of this we shall see many proofs in the future history of the chosen people.

## CHAPTER II.

### BRIEF REVIEW OF THE RISE, DECLINE, AND CAPTIVITY OF ISRAEL.

IN the investigation of the state of the world before the time of Nebuchadnezzar, the Old Testament is the exclusive certain guide; all allusions to the subject by uninspired historians, philosophers, or poets, are uncertain or fabulous. And of the ancient races of mankind, whose character, conduct, and deeds, had no apparent or immediate influence on the race of Abraham, the sacred writers record almost nothing, except a brief notice of their origin and dispersion over the globe.

The especial Divine superintendence of the chosen race, and occasional miraculous interposition in their behalf, previously to the time of Abraham, evidently appear to have been continued to him and his race, who continued the social and public worshippers of the true and living God. On this account the government, like that ordained by Moses, may, with propriety, be denominated a theocracy. For the patriarchs, elders, or heads of families, were required to rule according to the Divine instructions, communicated to their predecessors or themselves.

Notwithstanding of the great and precious promises which Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob received, that a future descendant of theirs should confer on all nations divine blessedness, they were admonished that their race would not become an independent nation till after the lapse of more than four hundred years. They were destined to serve or to be enslaved during this long period, and consequently it was essential to their happiness "against hope to believe in hope," knowing that Jehovah was able and faithful to accomplish his word of promise. Their trials were as uncommon as their hopes. Before their descent to Egypt, B. C. 1648, the family sepulchre was the only spot to which they could claim an exclusive indisputable right. Being the first occupiers of the pasture

grounds in Canaan, they were indeed viewed by foreigners as the proprietors, and hence this region was called "the land of the Hebrews." But we have no reason to believe that they considered themselves authorised to prohibit others from feeding their flocks on the same pastures. Canaan was theirs by gift of promise, but they were not to enter on the possession till the cup of the iniquity of the Amorites or Canaanites, who occupied it along with them, was full. And it is remarkable that before this specific time, the Israelites did not require Canaan. The increase of population of this race during the first four hundred years is perhaps one of the most singular phenomena in the history of human society. The descendants of Abraham by Hagar and Keturah, and of Esau by his wives, appear to have multiplied exceedingly and rapidly, while the race by Sarah, Rebekah, Leah, and Rachel amount to little more than seventy persons in the space of about two hundred years; while, during the succeeding period of the same duration, they probably amounted to millions.

The smallness of their number at first was favourable to their happiness, if we reflect on their situation. God had ordained them to sojourn in Canaan. The pastoral resources of that land had been greatly diminished by a fearful catastrophe, and its population was rapidly increasing by the rising families of the Canaanites, and most probably by arrivals of of new tribes. The districts of the cities of the plain, well watered by the Jordan, once the richest in Canaan, had been utterly destroyed by fire from heaven, and the lake named the Dead Sea, which appeared in their place, is computed at seventy miles in length and twenty in breadth, having a circuit of three hundred miles. It overflows its banks to a considerable extent in the rainy season; and its saline waters inflict barrenness wherever they reach. Indeed all the coasts exhibit an awful scene of solitude and desolation. Now, if the pastures were insufficient to feed the united flocks of Abraham and Lot, till the latter resorted to the plains of Sodom, how could the race of Israel and the Canaanites have lived in Canaan after these had disappeared, had they been numerous? Few as they were, they repeatedly felt the pressure of want, which money could not remove, and but with difficulty could alleviate.

They had, it is true, the promise of Divine interposition, in every season of trial. But this promise was conditional; they could only confidently expect it when they lived so as to

please God. Look at the family of Jacob ; had they not more reason to fear the wrath, than hope in the favour of the God of their fathers? The only one of the twelve who visibly feared Him had been sold into slavery by his brethren, only two of the eleven were unprepared to murder him because he testified against their wickedness. It became not, therefore, the Divine Majesty to exempt them from suffering with the unholy race among whom they sojourned.

But no sooner did they relent, and deplore their iniquities, than Jehovah remembered his holy covenant, and showed them mercy. That they repented and returned to God about the time of their descent into Egypt, seems, from the sacred Record, unquestionable. Hitherto they had been totally disqualified to advance the great object for which they had been favoured by God more than any other race. Instead of being with Jacob, their father, witnesses for God among the degraded Canaanites, their general conduct must have caused his name to be reviled and his worship despised. And the most complete renovation of character would not, for a considerable period, if ever, have procured them a good report of all those who had long known them. It was therefore more probable that they would, after their happy recovery to the true religion, promote its interests more extensively in Egypt than in Canaan. No public worshipper of God can have much moral influence on society, if he is manifestly either hypocritical or inconsistent in conduct. Hence universally acknowledged integrity and truth is an indispensable quality in a public teacher ; "a bishop must be well reported by all men." We may therefore conclude that the removal of Jacob's family into Egypt was not more expedient for their future usefulness than for their temporal comfort. They were divinely prepared to strengthen the hands of their brother Joseph in the work of recommending the true religion to the Egyptians, and it was therefore proper that they should join him.

Perhaps the moral and religious state of Egypt more deeply concerned the world, in the days of Joseph, than that of any other country. In the time of Abraham, no large kingdom or empire appears to have been formed. A shadow of one presented itself in the East. Chedorlaomer, by conquest or alliance, united under him a few chiefs called kings, and extended his power in Canaan and Arabia. But we hear no more of him after Abraham and his feeble allies overthrow his forces. It is therefore not probable that his dominion was



great or permanent. The king of Egypt at that period seems to exhibit no more majesty than the king of Gerar, whose power certainly stretched not beyond a small district. And the probability is, that Egypt then contained as many kings as cities. Tradition, indeed, attests that the inhabitants of Egypt were originally governed by seven kings, and consequently its political state resembled that of Canaan when Joshua conquered its sixty kings.

That the inhabitants of Egypt were subjected to one prince in Joseph's time, and that they had constructed a system of religion, we have reason to believe. But we have no evidence that the Pharaohs had acquired great physical power in the time of Moses. The most wonderful monuments of its riches, military greatness, and civilization, belong confessedly to a later age. And it is scarcely credible that Egypt was a mighty power at the time of the exodus of Israel, when we find that its rulers never attempted to revenge the insults and sufferings which they had endured from Moses in Egypt, and still more at the Red Sea.

That the Egyptians owed much of their advancement in civilization to the administration of Joseph, is strongly probable. The slight notices of him indicate that he possessed consummate talents as a statesman. We have, however, still more evidence that his influence was almost boundless; and that he improved it to recommend true religion, we cannot doubt. He was truly zealous for the honour of Jehovah. He and his race were considered sacred. This we conceive originated the practice of circumcision by the priests of Egypt. They monopolized the rite to augment their sanctity in the eyes of the people. And the veneration cherished for Israel during the ministry of Joseph may, most probably, account for the future appearance of many practices in Egypt, which the laws of Moses sanctioned. His code of laws was only an enlargement of those observed by the patriarchal families. And from them the Egyptians, doubtless, received those common to both nations. It is at least certain that Moses solemnly prohibited his people from adopting any customs that were of Egyptian origin.

However much advantage the Egyptians may have derived from Joseph and his brethen, their future history too clearly showed that it was not permanent in respect to religion. For while no ancient people, perhaps, made more progress in human wisdom and the knowledge of the useful, if not the ornamental arts of society, none ever more rapidly and completely

renounced the religious principles and practices which were enjoined by the inspired persons whom God raised up in the early ages of mankind, or devised and established a system of idolatry more calculated to enslave the human intellect, debase the affections, and demoralise the conduct. This system was, perhaps, not perfectly formed during the period of Israel's detention in Egypt. But that it had been introduced, and had even become popular, seems certain, for the Israelites were, as a community, deeply tainted with it, before they were emancipated by Moses. This is obvious from their conduct in the wilderness. And their religious declension sufficiently vindicates the Divine pleasure in suffering the Egyptians to inflict on them innumerable and overwhelming evils. These were happily blessed to rouse them to serious consideration, and to incline them to listen to the voice of the few faithful elders whom God had preserved to guide them. And, when under the pressure of the most oppressive slavery they groaned and prayed before the Lord, he heard them, and commissioned Moses to deliver them.

Crediting his message as truly divine, they tranquilly departed in regular order, but without arms, from the land of their slavery, and God was with them. Though destitute of arms, the Egyptians amply supplied them with money to procure them. For, terrified by the most fearful and unparalleled judgments or plagues which fell upon them, they readily gave them whatever they desired. Their first supply of arms was, however, perhaps obtained in a manner the most wonderful and unexpected,—the arms of the army of Egypt, drowned in the Red Sea, fell into their hands, for the dead bodies were thrown upon the coast, *Exod. xiv. 12.*

They had not been long accustomed to the use of arms when they were called to encounter the Amalekites. Perhaps it was this race who had invaded Egypt in the interval between Abraham's descent into Egypt, and the time of Moses, whose conquering chiefs are named in history the "shepherd kings." They had grievously tyrannised over the conquered, in so much that the Egyptians continued for many generations to detest all who lived by tending flocks: "a shepherd was an abomination to the Egyptians." Whatever probability may be in this conjecture, we know that the Amalekites were a very ancient and mighty people, who are supposed to have lived in caves or tents, and in habits and manners resembling the Arabs. It seems certain that they possessed at least one city in the days of Saul, and must have

been numerous and warlike, for the army which he considered necessary to march against them, amounted to 210,000; 1 Sam. xv. 4—7. In Abraham's age, they were known as a distinct people, possessing an extensive country, reaching from Havilah to Shur, or from the Dead Sea to the Red Sea, Gen. xiv. 7; and Balaam speaks of them as "the first," the head or origin of the nations, which sufficiently shows that they were even then deemed a great people of antiquity. Hence they could not belong to the race of Esau, and indeed no hint is ever given in Scripture that they had the remotest connexion with Abraham. They are uniformly associated with the Canaanites and Philistines, descendants of Ham, and to him the Arabs trace the Amalekites. According to Arabian tradition, they were the only pure Arabs, and those of them who escaped the sword of Saul became mixed Arabs, being blended with other races. That they were to disappear as a nation and separate people was the import of the prophetic curse announced to Joshua; and we find no mention of them, except as individuals, after the reign of Hezekiah, 1 Chron. iv. 41—43. The fearful and somewhat singular sentence passed on them was doubtless occasioned by great wickedness; and the narrative of Moses conveys some idea of it. They had from their position the most favourable opportunities of knowing the True God, and his peculiar love for Israel. Doubtless they knew the miracles which he had wrought for them in Egypt and at the Red Sea; and most probably witnessed the miraculous supply of water; yet it is remarked that they "feared not God." They gave awful proof that they despised him, for they were the first to attack Israel, and that in the most cruel and savage manner: they fell on those exhausted by fatigue, or feeble by age or infancy; Exod. xvii. 8—16. Deut. xxv. 17—19. They sought their destruction without the least provocation, and the chief motive probably was, that they might possess the new stream which God had caused to flow in the desert; for they may have considered all the products of the desert as their own, and that the water was not the property of Israel, although a supernatural gift. How obstinate their infidelity was is manifest, for notwithstanding their defeat, and the knowledge, perhaps, of the prophecy concerning them, they remained the implacable enemies of Israel. We notice the Amalekites thus particularly, because it would appear that they were the only people occupying the country which divides Egypt from Palestine, that were capable of trying their strength

with Israel; or, what may be more probable, because their defeat, almost immediately following the miracles in Egypt and the Red Sea, overawed all the other nations, so that Israel were permitted to sojourn many years in the wilderness in peace. The mode by which they were overcome in the first contest, was peculiarly fitted to instruct the chosen people: while Moses held up his hands, Joshua prevailed in battle. Thus Israel were taught that they had no reason to expect success in battle, if their leaders did not accompany their exertions with confidence in their supreme invisible King, and persevering intercession to Him for the people.

Few of the events which must have happened to Israel for at least thirty-eight years, are recorded. They were during these years organised as a nation and received the law. The generation, indisposed to entire subjection to the authority of God their supreme Sovereign, died, and their children were fully grown and prepared to take possession of the land promised to their fathers.

Travellers from the Red Sea reached Syria by different routes. One passed through Edom or Idumea and Canaan. This was the most direct, and first preferred by Israel. But their progress was arrested by the Edomites, who discovered unreasonable suspicion and total want of natural affection, compassion, and courtesy. They knew well their close relation to Israel by their common ancestor Abraham; nor were they ignorant of the Divine interpositions for Israel in Egypt, at the Red Sea, and at Sinai. But neither the signs of God's favour for their brethren, nor their most earnest entreaty for liberty to keep the high way, and food and drink at the common price, had the least power to raise a kind feeling in their bosoms, notwithstanding of the most pathetic appeal of Moses to their sympathies, by enumerating the unparalleled sufferings of Israel in the wilderness. This most barbarous conduct would have been unjustifiable in any people; but was also most unnatural, especially among the Arabians, for the allied tribes cherished the strongest attachment for each other; and this is one of the strongest features which characterise them to this day. The spirit of clanship never burned more intensely in a Highlander than it has always done in an Arab. The guilt of the Edomites was, therefore, of no common magnitude; and it was just and necessary they should suffer signal punishment. Accordingly, more alarming predictions were not announced respecting any people; and they have been completely accomplished.

Another great road to western Asia from the Red Sea, lay eastward, and ran through the regions separated from Canaan Proper, by the Dead Sea and Jordan, and inhabited by the Amorites. The wilderness to the south was possessed by the Moabites and Midianites, who were connected to Israel by Lot and Abraham. At the time that Israel advanced towards these countries, it seems probable that Moab was superior in power to Midian, for the king of Moab appears the greatest opponent of Israel; but he was zealously supported by the Midianites; Numb. xxii. 3—7. Calamitous was the passage of Israel through Midian and Moab. They sinned exceedingly by joining in the licentious worship of their enemies, and were fearfully punished. In one day, one thousand were put to death by the order of the rulers, and twenty-three thousand died by fatal disease. But they ultimately overthrew the army of Moab, and marched onwards still interrupted by the warlike attitude of the Amorites, who had acquired considerable power; and were ruled by two kings, who had extended their dominions towards the east, from the Jordan over a part of the lands which the Ammonites and Moabites had long possessed. Though the Amorites were Canaanites by descent, yet they were not among those of this race devoted to destruction, for their land was beyond the limits which God commanded Israel to conquer and purify from idolatry. It must not be forgotten, that they were not, however, among the nations whom Israel were prohibited from fighting with; for these only comprised the races of Lot and Esau. Israel would have left the kings Sihon and Og in the undisturbed possession of their fine kingdoms, had they allowed them to pass along the highway to Canaan. The Israelites had therefore no alternative but to retreat into the wilderness, or fight their way. They first conquered the kingdom of Sihon, and that of Og, who was one of the race of giants, who had for generations possessed the neighbouring regions. The Israelites immediately removed by death all the inhabitants, who sought not an asylum in other countries. The lands were rich in pasture. The tribes of Reuben and Gad, and half of the tribe of Manasseh desired to possess it, perhaps, because they had more numerous flocks than the other tribes. They received it on condition that those of them fit for war should accompany their brethren to Canaan, and not return to their families till all that country was conquered. This was effected in seven years; and about ten years later, Joshua, the faithful and successful captain of Israel, died, and was succeeded in

the offices of Deliverer and Judge, by Othniel, a near relation of Caleb, the noble and pious and upright companion of Joshua.

None could lawfully assume these offices without receiving their commission immediately from the supreme Sovereign of the nation. It was only when he intimated his pleasure, that the people were authorised to submit to the decision and obey the command of any one who claimed the dignity of visible chief ruler over Israel. This is evident from the peculiar nature of the constitution made by Moses, and it is abundantly confirmed by the facts recorded in the Book of Judges. Concerning this book, Jahn justly observes, that Samuel, the last of the fifteen Judges, was probably the author, and that it could not have been written later than his day, for the latest transactions detailed in it transpired when there was no king in Israel, ch. xxi. 25. It seems to consist of memoranda, or notes of the events most interesting to the Church of God, rather than a regular chronological history of the period to which it relates; and these events most impressively confirm the prophecies of Moses and Joshua, which announced the future apostasies of Israel, the judgments of God on the apostates, and the Divine interpositions to deliver Israel as soon as their affliction wrought genuine repentance. If this opinion be correct, it is not surprising, that the sedulous efforts of a number of eminently learned men to ascertain the chronology of the narrative have hitherto proved most unsatisfactory. In general, however, we find that the number of years during which Israel were nearly destitute of liberty was about 111, which, added to 339, years that they enjoyed good government under the thirteen judges raised up for them, from the days of Joshua to Samuel, make 450 years; Acts xiii. 20. Few particulars are given illustrative of the character and conduct of Israel during the three-fourths of the period of the Judges, doubtless because they then conformed to the laws, and fulfilled the gracious designs of Heaven, by exhibiting, on the whole, the true religion to the view of the surrounding nations.

Disaffection and infidelity to Jehovah early appeared in Israel. Though they generally worshipped and served him all the days of Joshua and the rulers who were his contemporaries, yet, before his death, the tribe of Benjamin were nearly annihilated, in consequence of their unholy and presumptuous attempt to prevent the other tribes from inflicting the just penalty of the law on the lawless, and disobedient,

and cruel inhabitants of one of their cities. The first who, as a tribe, sanctioned idolatry were the Danites ; and thus they appeared like a serpent concealed in the way, to destroy the unwatchful traveller, and verified the prediction descriptive of their character delivered by Jacob, Gen. xlix. 17.

Idolatry had been, perhaps, in all ages, adopted by individuals or families, either in the form of images or idol-worship. Nor is this wonderful, when we reflect on its power over the hearts of those who feel not the importance of religion, and, nevertheless, retain a degree of conviction that their circumstances are somehow influenced by invisible agency. While they like not to retain the True God in their knowledge, because the idea of his majesty, and purity, and truth impose restraint on their unhallowed passions, appetites, and pleasures, they cease not to strive to desire the favour of the unknown and invisible powers, whose existence they are compelled to believe or suspect. This opinion was forced on Israel by the voice of antiquity, and the universal consent of all nations, in all ages and countries ; and the fables concerning idols, and rites, and customs, and manners of their worshippers, pleased the imagination of the ignorant and inquisitive,—satisfied the sensual,—and quieted the tumultuous agitation of the consciences of the tyrants, oppressors, and profligate.

The progress of idolatry was checked in Israel by the many signal, and often tremendous, expressions of the holy vigilance and indignation of Jehovah, whenever it extensively and visibly prevailed among them. One of the most impressive tokens of his wrath was the withdrawing from them of his aid and favour, when any of the nations who hated them invaded their land. By Assyria, Midian, Moab, Ammon, Philistine, and other powers, they were successively enslaved. But as soon as they repented, and returned to God and his worship, they were uniformly liberated unexpectedly, and usually by means not adequate to the end, if we judge according to the maxims of human wisdom, or even by the ordinary arrangements of Providence in relation to the nations of the world.

The inconsiderateness and perversion of the human mind were, perhaps, more strikingly exhibited by Israel, than by any people who possessed equal opportunity to understand and attain their best interests. They were truly a foolish and wicked nation, whose character and lot were peculiarly fitted to instruct, warn, and correct the human race. It is remarkable, that the very generation who had most largely experienced the Divine wisdom in the Divine government by judges,

should have been the first who deliberately and determinedly desired a king, invested with all the authority and dignity of the absolute monarchs of the East.

Samuel's ministry appears to have been productive of more spiritual and temporal good to Israel than any one judge from the death of Joshua. They were evidently more intensely desirous of preserving their temporal prosperity than their spiritual. For though they abhorred the unholy conduct of Samuel's sons, and therefore wisely refused to accept them for magistrates, the chief reason of their aversion was, that they believed them destitute of the qualities essential to military commanders. Had they been truly concerned for the religious interests of the nation, they would have humbled themselves before God, and entreated Samuel to intercede with him to raise up for them a leader like unto himself, who would faithfully labour to maintain and establish the reformation which he had been honoured to effect. That they saw no need for such a leader, is manifest from the very language of their request; for they did not ask him of God, but of Samuel, and wished him, in order that they might be equal in power with the nations: "Now make us a king to judge us, like the nations." This plainly implied that they regarded the Divine constitution which they had received, not so well adapted to promote and secure national prosperity as that enjoyed by the surrounding nations. Thus they showed disloyalty of heart and renounced God for their King. Indeed, it is probable that they ascribed all their past calamities to their want of a king, and not to their own infidelity to Jehovah; and they were probably the more urgent to obtain a king, from the immediate prospect of war with the Ammonites, who occupied the country east of Gilead.

God testified his anger by giving them a king—that is, by not interposing to prevent them from choosing a king after their own heart. Such was Saul; a hero, ambitious of glory, and bold in war, destitute of religious principle, but zealous enough to protect and recommend it, as far as he regarded it suited to aggrandise his family, and extend and establish his power. He had not the humility necessary to a king of Israel who was not permitted to act the despot or tyrant, but to consult and obey Jehovah in all things. Solemnly was Saul warned of the danger to which this kingly spirit exposed him. Anticipating Israel's folly in desiring to be governed by kings, God, by Moses, had distinctly described the duty of a king. "He limited his power to that of his deputy to execute his laws



and permitted him not to act as he pleased. He received his royal commission from Heaven, and was strictly enjoined to regulate his whole conduct by the sacred book of the law, and the revelations of God by the high-priests and prophets. Any act of self-will or disobedience to the dictates of God, the supreme and absolute King, exposed the monarchs of Judah and Israel to certain, and often signal punishment; Deut. xvii. 14—20; 1 Sam. viii. 7—22; xiii. 13, 14; 1 Kings xiv. 7—16. Saul, the first king of Israel, was elected 1096 years B. C. His pride and public disobedience brought the nation to the verge of ruin; but God raised up David to save them. He raised Israel above all other nations, and after a triumphant reign of forty years, left a great people to his wise son. They were dreaded on every side. Now the tribe of Judah lay as a lion or lioness, which no nation ventured to rouse up. The Hebrews were the ruling people, and their empire the principal monarchy in Western Asia. From the Mediterranean Sea and the Phenicians to the Euphrates, from the river of Egypt and the Elanitic Gulf to Berytus, Hamath, and Thapsacus; and towards the east to the Hagarenes on the Persian Gulf, all were subject to the sway of Solomon. The Canaanites, indeed, had been neither annihilated nor expelled, but they were obedient and peaceable subjects. Their whole number might amount to between 400,000 and 500,000: since 153,000 were able to render soccage to the king. The warlike and civilized Philistines, the Edomites, Moabites, and Ammonites, the nomadic Arabians of the desert, and the Syrians of Damascus, were all tributary to him. Peace gave to all his subjects prosperity; the trade which he introduced brought wealth into the country, and promoted the arts and sciences, which then found an active protector in the king, who was himself distinguished for his learning. The building of the temple, and of several palaces, introduced foreign artists, by whom the Hebrews were instructed. Many foreigners, and even sovereign princes, were attracted to Jerusalem, in order to see and converse with the prosperous royal sage. The regular progress of all business, the arrangements for security from foreign and domestic enemies, the army, the cavalry, the armories, the chariots, the palaces, the royal household, the good order in the administration of the affairs of the empire, and in the service of the court, excited as much admiration as the wisdom and learning of the viceroy of Jehovah. So much had been effected by the single influence

of David, because he scrupulously conformed himself to the theocracy of the Hebrew state."

The successors of David maintained not the true glory of Israel. Solomon perhaps equalled him in intellectual talents, and surpassed him in scientific acquirements; but he had no correct views or suitable feelings of his position as the deputy-king of Jehovah, nor had he firmness of purpose to act according to his knowledge of the sacred laws of his nation. He was adorned with every excellence which could, upon the principles of human wisdom, qualify him to shed the brightest lustre on the throne of the mightiest empire. And certainly the worldly glory of the kingdom of Israel, in his day, justly deserved the universal approbation of the wise and rich and powerful. But the standard of glory, erected by human wisdom, is always found subversive of the benevolent designs of the Almighty; for it has never been, and, we conceive, never can be sustained, except at the expense of the moral degeneracy of the higher ranks, and the oppression, poverty, and misery, of all other classes, especially of the industrious and lower ranks, of the community. The grandeur and variety of the pleasures of an oriental court require an immense revenue. And this Solomon could only procure by violating the laws of his country. This conduct alienated from him the hearts of the religious; and the sufferings, which were produced by excessive taxation, predisposed the multitude to reject the royal race of David. Solomon's long reign was comparatively tranquil; owing, probably, to the influence of his father's name, the vastness of his own power, and the illusive splendour covering his throne. But even while encircled with majesty and honour, the sound of the approaching storm, ordained to shake to its foundation the throne of David, was heard in the distance; and perhaps Solomon's sepulchre was not closed on his lifeless body when anarchy and tumult inundated the nation. It was torn in pieces by the dexterous policy of Jeroboam, who acquired a dubious celebrity by founding a new kingdom, and constructing a new system of religion.

His father, Nebat, was dead; his mother was a widow in Ephraim. His powerful talents, more than his birth, may have procured him the favour of Solomon. He received the appointment of governor of the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh. By his office he became extensively known, for the Ephraimites were numerous. His power, and the unhappy state of the country, may have led him to show a disposition

to act independent of Solomon, and excite the jealousy of his master. But it is more certain that Solomon had learned that Ahijah had declared to him that he was to be king of the ten tribes. Believing that his life was in danger, the king immediately sought Jeroboam's life, which occasioned his flight into Egypt, where he remained till Rehoboam ascended the throne. He then appeared as the patriot of the nation, and prudently waited till the king had completely destroyed all hope of relief to the nation. Then he found it easy to unite the ten tribes, and prevail on them to form an independent kingdom, and appoint him king over them. He had now every opportunity to rule according to the laws of God; for he was, by the solemn advice of the prophet to Rehoboam, left to enjoy his kingdom in peace. But he despised the will of Heaven, and endeavoured to establish his power by human policy. He ventured not to establish idol-worship, which would have probably roused the indignation of the people; but he formed a system of image-worship, to prevent his subjects from intimate fellowship with Judah, at the temple; and as the priests were hostile to his scheme, he chose "the lowest," properly, a part of the people, not doubtless the least influential part, for he assuredly would adopt every method to increase the power of his government. Thus he was the first ruler in Israel who had established any form of idolatry; and hence he is often referred to as the author of their apostacy. On account of his consummate wickedness, the prophets of God announced to him the utter destruction of his race; and as signs of this, his most beloved son died, and his own hand was suddenly paralysed, and miraculously healed; and, finally, the king was expressed by name who was to expose his whole system to universal contempt; 1 Kings xi. 26—40; xii.; xiii.; xiv. 1—20.

Jeroboam had witnessed in Egypt the mighty influence of idolatry over the multitude, and as the first object of his government was to alienate the ten tribes from Judah, he doubtless saw that nothing was more likely to produce this than to present to them a form of religion, which combined all the apparent advantages which they derived from going up to sacrifice at Jerusalem, with all that could fascinate their senses and gratify their appetites and passions. To accomplish these various objects, one cannot, perhaps, conceive any thing more adapted than the ceremonial of image-worship, which Jeroboam established, B. C. 975. To the form of worship at the temple, he added golden statues and splendid temples at

Dan and Bethel, the extremities of his kingdom. To assemble in these places was much more convenient than to travel to Jerusalem; and what could any one, not spiritually enlightened, see or enjoy in the latter city, equal in beauty, solemnity, or social delights, to the scenes exhibited in the former cities? From this time, the ten tribes were usually denominated the kingdom of *Israel*, and two tribes, Judah and Benjamin, who continued faithful to the house of David, were called the kingdom of *Judah*.

This disjunction of Israel eclipsed the glory of their race. The decline, of which it was a conspicuous sign, progressed more or less rapidly, till Israel ceased to be numbered among the nations. Instead of continuing to unite to witness for the True God, and to enjoy, as one family, the rich blessings of Heaven, they became rival powers; and, each being zealous for its own interests, successive wars prevailed between them, till the ten tribes, who were generally, if not always the aggressors, were conquered and carried into captivity, about two hundred and fifty-three years from the establishment of their kingdom, B. C. 772; and during this period no less than nineteen kings had reigned over Israel.

Doubtless, their original separation from their brethren was much deplored by every pious and patriotic Israelite. But it must have given rise to grateful and adoring reflection on the goodness of Providence in future ages, for the greater number of the subjects of the Israelitish kingdom proved themselves wholly disqualified to fulfil the great work for which God had chosen their fathers, and exalted them above all nations. "Individuals among them, indeed, continued to fear and confess the True God, so as to risk their all for his honour; for their adherence to his institutions brought on them a charge of disloyalty and treachery. The majority persevered in image-worship, and gradually imported the idols of the surrounding nations. Nor did they thus apostatise from God in consequence of prevailing ignorance. For notwithstanding their rebellion against his government, and their contempt for the noble example of fidelity to him occasionally presented to them by Judah, he suffered long with them, and sent them faithful prophets, such as Jonah, Elijah, Elisha, Amos, and Moses, who braved every danger from the hatred and malice of the royal and priestly power, to reclaim them from error, rescue them from present misery, and save them from impending, total, and irretrievable ruin,—not one of their kings, nor apparently any of their great men, ever repented and returned

to the pure worship of God. They formed the closest alliances with idolatrous kingdoms; and some of them put forth their energies to destroy Judah, and, with that kingdom, to extirpate the true religion from the earth.

Ahaz exceeded all his predecessors in wickedness; and under the influence of his idolatrous queen, the worship of strange gods became universal. Jehu produced a temporary reform; but the nation was not reclaimed. They ceased to be witnesses for the True God, and therefore their destruction was inevitable.

During the period of the long-suffering of Jehovah towards the kings of Israel and Judah, several events transpired strikingly illustrative of the holiness and justice of his administration. From the relative position and connexion of these kingdoms, some of these events strongly and almost equally affected both kingdoms.

To obtain as distinct an apprehension as possible of those events, we shall first advert to those which appear to have had the greatest influence on the destiny of the Ten Tribes. Jeroboam was fully occupied all his reign in the employment of every means which he conceived suited to secure his kingdom against any attack from Judah. Many of his subjects abhorred the idolatrous system which his crooked policy imposed on them. All the tribe of Levi who resided in the regions seized by Jeroboam, with multitudes belonging to other tribes, fled to their brethren in Judah, and greatly augmented the power of Rehoboam; 2 Chron. xi. 13—17. In consequence of the increased population and strength of the kingdom of Judah, Abijah the son and successor of Rehoboam believed himself sufficiently powerful to recover the revolted tribes. Accordingly he commenced his reign by leading an immense army against Jeroboam. Though he failed in his object, yet by a complete victory, in which half a million of the Ten Tribes were slain, the power of Jeroboam was broken, and his son and successor, and all his family, were put to death by Baasha, an Issacharite, who took possession of the throne of Israel. This usurper supported the state religion of Jeroboam, and left the faithful no hope of reformation, which induced a great number of the Israelites to join their brethren in Judah, who were happy under the pious king Asa. Contentions for the throne, anarchy, and tumults prevailed several years in Israel, till Omri, one of the generals, overcame every competitor, and built for his capital the beautiful and strong city of Samaria. His son

Ahab apparently strengthened his kingdom by marrying Jezebel, the infamous daughter of the king of Zidon. Completely governed by her, he sold himself to commit all iniquity. He introduced the most abominable form of idol worship, trampled on the liberty, and disregarded the welfare of the people. In his reign the most wonderful condescension and boundless power of God were manifested by the ministry of the great reformer Elijah the prophet ; and it was doubtless for the confirmation of his mission that God granted Ahab a most unexpected and great victory over Syria, and afterwards a still more signal deliverance to his people, by relieving them at once from famine and the overwhelming power of the Syrians, who besieged Samaria ; but instead of acknowledging the True God, he meanly sought the friendship of the defeated and idolatrous king. This was followed by the murder of righteous Naboth, who was condemned under the most hypocritical form of piety and justice ever exhibited in any nation. This brought his affairs in relation to God, who claimed the especial sovereignty of Israel as well as Judah, to a crisis ; Jehovah immediately commissioned Elijah to predict the most tremendous judgment on Ahab and his house. The king, deeply affected, gave public evidence of repentance of his sin ; and this gave occasion to the manifestation of Jehovah's love and righteousness, and delight to exercise long-suffering and mercy ; for, notwithstanding the defective nature of Ahab's penitence, the extreme degradation and misery threatened were not inflicted in his day. The awful words of Elijah were literally and fearfully confirmed by the fierce and sanguinary Jehu, who ascended the throne of Israel through the blood of his sovereign and of all the royal race, and of forty princes of the kingdom of Judah.

Notwithstanding the imperfection of Jehu's reformation, the righteous Sovereign of Israel and Judah publicly declared that it was His pleasure that the usurper should possess the throne of Israel to the fourth generation. Jehu's grandson, Jeroboam II. more than restored the kingdom to its pristine glory. He was stimulated to all that was good by the prophets Jonah and Hosea. He captured Damascus and Hamath, and acquired all the regions which Israel had formerly possessed, east of the Jordan, from Hamath to the Dead Sea. The decline of Israel was rapid from the succession of Zechariah, son of Jeroboam, to the throne. He was assassinated by Shallum, a servant in the palace, who, after reigning one month, was slain by Menahem, the commander of the troops

in the metropolis. He ascended the throne B. C. 772. About this time the power of Assyria became conspicuous in the East. Pul, its sovereign, invaded Israel, but Menahem pacified him by a present of one thousand talents of silver, which he compelled his subjects to furnish him. He reigned in peace eleven years. His crown passed to his son, Pekaliah, who was murdered and succeeded by Pekah, the general of his army. Damascus had cast off the yoke of Israel, and, with Rezin, its sovereign, Pekah entered into an alliance avowedly in order to conquer Judah. This alliance eventually occasioned the ruin of its authors and their kingdoms. Tiglath-Pileser, the successor of Pul in Assyria, marched, at the head of an army through Syria, and forced Rezin to remain at home to defend his own kingdom. The Assyrian monarch then advanced into the kingdom of Israel, laid waste its northern division, and carried captive the tribe of Naphtali. This was followed by a conspiracy against Pekah, conducted by Hoshea, who seized the kingdom, and attempted to save Israel from Assyrian slavery by an alliance with Egypt, who was, at that time, the rival of Assyria for the sovereignty of the East. This brought Shalmanezzer, the successor of Tiglath-Pileser, into the kingdom of the Ten Tribes. His army spread indescribable desolation everywhere; and, after a siege of three years, he captured Samaria, and carried captive all the Israelites who had not fled and who survived the horrors and ravages of this sanguinary invasion. Thus was accomplished, in the sixth year of the reign of Hezekiah, king of Judah, the many predictions of the total destruction of the apostate tribes of Israel. From this time their existence as a nation ceased; and their very residence no one has been able distinctly to ascertain for ages past. All those who are universally acknowledged to belong to the race of Jacob claim to be the descendants of Judah.

The moral aspect of the principal events which befell Judah from the time of the revolt of the Ten Tribes were, if possible, more instructive than those which we have noticed respecting Israel. The perfect separation of the Ten Tribes from the house of David was certainly a strong expression of the displeasure of Jehovah with that house; but he withdrew not his favour from Judah. He, nevertheless, subjected them to severe discipline. Rehoboam imitated not the virtues, but the vanities and vices of his distinguished father, and provoked the wrath of Jehovah, who employed the growing power of Egypt to inflict on him terrible punishment.

Shishak, its sovereign, perhaps stimulated by Jeroboam, to whom he had given an asylum, invaded Judah, captured Jerusalem, about three years after the revolt of Israel, and did not return till he had procured the wealth of the kingdom and the immense riches of the temple; in so much that Rehoboam had to substitute for its golden shields and vessels similar articles of baser materials. In consequence of his public repentance and reformation, which were imitated by his people, God preserved the peace of the kingdom fifteen years, at which time Abijah succeeded his father; and notwithstanding his defective fidelity to the invisible king of Judah, he was honoured in humbling Jeroboam, the proud and idolatrous king of Israel. He reigned only three years, and gave place to his illustrious son, Asa, who, during the long reign of forty-one years, governed his people, on the whole, as became a deputy of Jehovah. He purified the kingdom from idolatry, repaired and increased the number of the fortresses, and raised an army of five hundred and eight thousand men. His greatness awakened the envy or cupidity of Zerah, king of the Ethiopians or Cushites. If by these are to be understood the inhabitants of the country of Africa, bordering on Egypt, Zerah must have reduced the latter kingdom, for how otherwise can we suppose that he could have passed through it, as he must have done before marching into Palestine. But he may have ruled over the Cushites, who possessed the Asiatic coasts of the Red Sea, which still continued one of the principal seats of commerce. Be this as it may, his vast army, consisting of numerous war chariots and a million of footmen, were totally routed at Mareslah, in the south of Judah; and their rich spoils graced the triumphant return of Asa to Jerusalem. This pious king shaded the glory of his last days by bribing Benhadad, the king of Syria, to attack Baasha, king of Israel, who harassed Judah, probably because Asa protected the multitude of the Israelites, who sought in that age to dwell under the shadow of the house of David; 2 Chron. xv. 8, 9.

Jehoshaphat surpassed his father Asa in piety, and especially in his unparalleled labours to educate and establish the whole community in the true religion. The most obvious and astonishing proofs of the Divine favour for him were witnessed in the sudden destruction of the immense army of the races of Moab, Ammon, and other nations, which unexpectedly arrived about thirty miles from the metropolis. Panic-struck in the night season, they rose against one another



and were almost consumed before morning. 'Three days were spent by the army of Jehosaphat in gathering the spoil, on account of which they named the place of the encampment, near Engedi, Berachah, "the blessing," 2 Chron. xx. 20—30. Inattention to the Divine law, which denounced marriage with idolators, or ambition of family aggrandisement, proved a fatal snare to this good king. He married his son and heir, Jehoram, to Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab and Jezebel. He may have been seduced to make this alliance when he witnessed Ahab's repentance. Disastrous were the results of this error, not only to the house of David, but also to the whole nation.

Under Jehoram, the inhabitants of Judah appeared united, as became the subjects of one king. Jehoram surrendered himself to the guidance of his wife, who was animated by the diabolical spirit of her mother Jezebel. The court patronised idolatry in all its most sensual and licentious forms; and Judah, if possible, exceeded Israel in every species of superstition and wickedness. The weak and wicked king slew all his brethren. The glorious works of Asa and Jehosaphat were destroyed by their worthless son. The Edomites cast off his yoke; and the Philistines and Arabians overrun Judea, spoiled the capital, and carried away the wives and all the children of the sovereign, except Jehoahaz, the youngest, perhaps the same called Ahaziah. He succeeded to the throne when his father died, after enduring two years one of the most tedious, tormenting, and repulsive diseases which attack the human frame.

The power of sovereignty was conferred on Ahaziah, but the exercise of it was completely directed by his mother; and, by consequence, all the unholy and idolatrous practices and customs characterising the preceding reign, continued to prevail; and the closest alliance was formed between Israel and Judah. Jehoram, king of Israel, taking advantage of this favourable circumstance, determined to recapture Ramoth-Gilead from the Syrians. This city, situated in the mountains of Gilead, was strong, and who ever possessed it could, without much difficulty, give law to Israel. Jehoram and Ahaziah, with their combined forces, obtained possession of it; but the former was wounded during the siege. Committing the city to the care of Jehu, his ablest general, he returned to Jezreel. Jehu soon contrived to dethrone his master. He was joined by the chief officers of his army. Leaving a garrison in the city, they hastily marched to Jezreel,

and put to a barbarous death the whole family of Ahab. Ahaziah, king of Judah, witnessed the scene, and fled. The party of Jehu pursued him, and though he escaped, yet he was fatally wounded, and died before he reached Megiddo, a city of Manasseh. He left only one son, named Jehoash, or Joash, seven years of age, who, in a few days, remained the last branch of the root of Jesse.

No child was ever exposed to more violent or powerful enemies. Jehu certainly desired his death, for he appears to have aspired to the crown of Judah, as well as that of Israel. What other motive could have impelled him to attempt the murder of Ahaziah, and actually slay forty-two of his princes? But the mother of the child was his most dangerous and implacable enemy. Athaliah probably believed that idolatry could never be permanently established, and the worship of the True God extirpated in Judah, while any one of the race of David lived. Her enmity to the True God, and her passion for the idols of her native city, could only be appeased by the blood of her only son. It was most probably at her instigation, that her husband had drenched his hands in the blood of his brothers; and he was no sooner dead than she murdered, as she supposed, all the "seed royal." But not less vain than wicked are the purposes which have for their object to subvert the counsels and invalidate the promises of the Almighty. Divine Providence saved Joash. His father's sister had secretly conveyed him to the temple, and she had ample means to conceal him in the sacred edifice; for her husband, Jehoiada, was the high-priest. He was eminent for his knowledge and reverence for God and his law; and had the happiness of prevailing on the child to submit himself to all the laws prescribed by Moses to direct the conduct of a king of the chosen people. Imagining that no one remained to claim the throne, Athaliah reigned six years, the patroness of idol-priests, the avowed enemy of the pure worship of God, the protector of her priest, in profaning the holy temple. Every preparation being secretly made to raise the child to the throne, it was only the voice of exultation of an emancipated people that warned Athaliah that her reign was finished, and her immediate death inevitable; a solemn warning that assurance of safety in a course of iniquity is delusion.

While Jehoiada lived, Joash imitated the example of his most pious ancestors, and the nation prospered. But zeal for idol-worship was repressed, not extinguished. On the death of the high-priest, who had exercised all the functions of first

servant of the crown and chief counsellor of the sovereign, the chiefs of Judah persuaded Joash to restore idolatry, and persecute the faithful worshippers of God, 2 Chron. xxiv. 17, 18. His apostacy and extreme callousness of heart were awfully manifested by the murder of the faithful Zechariah, son of Jehoiada, the preserver of the murderer. He and his seducers were speedily punished. Hazael, the sanguinary king of Syria, desolated Israel, and invaded Judah with a small army, "destroyed all the princes, and seized their wealth." To prevent entire ruin, the king, who was suffering under grievous diseases, "took all the hallowed things that Jehoshaphat and Jehoram, and Ahaziah, his fathers, kings of Judah, had dedicated, and his own hallowed things, and all the gold that was found in the treasures of the house of the Lord, and in the king's house, and sent it to Hazael king of Syria: and he went away from Jerusalem." While Joash lay on his couch, his servants, by whose solicitations he had probably subverted all the reformation effected in his early days, instead of sympathising with his sorrow, put an end to his life. His son Amaziah, in his twenty-fifth year, ascended the throne. This prince, like his father, began his reign well, and received proof of the Divine approbation, by a signal victory over the Idumeans. But he soon became unfaithful to Jehovah, and nothing prospered in his hand. Joash, the grandson of Jehu, king of Israel, defeated the army of Amaziah, took him prisoner, demolished part of the wall of Jerusalem, and only liberated the king, and retired after "he had taken all the gold and silver, and all the vessels that were found in the house of the Lord, and in the treasures of the king's house, and hostages, and returned to Samaria." The ransomed king survived his disgrace fifteen years, but did nothing worthy of record, and his life was terminated ingloriously by a band of traitors. He was succeeded by his justly renowned son, Azariah, better known by the name of Uzziah. This monarch acted worthy of an heir of David's throne. He was, however, more eminent in the arts of war, agriculture, and architecture, than in the practice of religion. He restored his kingdom to a very high rank in the East. God "strengthened him exceedingly." His latter days were nevertheless clouded; for, probably, believing that his royal dignity was defective, without power of offering sacrifice, which heathen kings possessed, he presumptuously assumed the office of priest. This was a public violation of one of the first laws of the nation; and conspicuous and humbling was the

punishment instantly inflicted by the supreme and invisible King. Uzziah was seized by incurable leprosy, and was shut up, all his future days, in a palace reared apart from society.

His son and successor Jotham imitated his father's excellencies, and became mighty during a reign of sixteen years. Ahaz, his son, entered on his reign in apparently favourable circumstances; the cities were multiplied and the fortifications strong. The people, however, continued to degenerate; idolatrous rites were observed, and immorality prevailed. Ahaz conformed to the manners of the nation, and the storm of Divine vengeance seemed about to destroy the kingdom of Judah. This was the avowed object of a league recently made between the kings of Israel and Syria. God had compassion on Judah from respect to the covenant made with their fathers. Their enemies in vain attempted the conquest of Jerusalem, but they inflicted dreadful calamities on the country. Ahaz, instead of renouncing superstition and licentiousness, and imploring pardon and assistance from the Lord, gave himself up to the most barbarous practices of idolatry, and procured the alliance of Assyria, at a vast expense, and substituted the symbols of Assyrian superstition for those Divinely established in the holy temple. Thus he demoralised his people, and weakened his kingdom, which was only saved from total destruction by the Divine mercy conferred on his son Hezekiah.

This pious prince ascended the throne of Judah about six years before the captivity of the Ten Tribes. He was successful in obtaining one of the most remarkable revivals of religion which had been witnessed from the days of Joshua, and the strength of his kingdom was exceedingly increased by the multitudes among the Ten Tribes who were reconciled to Judah, and joined in the great festivals at Jerusalem. Hoshea, king of Israel, had evidently granted entire religious toleration, either from a secret love of the laws of Moses or entire indifference to idolatry. He not only permitted his people to go up to Jerusalem, but did not prevent the servants of Hezekiah from removing every relic of idolatry in several places in the kingdom of Israel; 2 Chron. xxx. 1, 10, 11; xxxi. 1.

Hezekiah having restored order in Judah, exerted all his energies to procure the independence and maintain the honour of his kingdom. Being successful in recovering from the Philistines more than they had taken from Judah in the

reign of his father, he declined to send the tribute which the king of Syria demanded ; but, threatened by Sennacherib, the new king of Assyria, whose warlike powers were known and dreaded, he stripped the temple of its ornaments, and impaired his treasury to pacify the indignant monarch. His submission was of no avail, and nothing remained but to fortify Jerusalem and trust in Jehovah. He was encouraged thus to act by the faithful prophets, especially by Isaiah, and he was miraculously delivered. The overthrow of the Assyrians was complete, and no event in the history of the race of Israel more illustriously displayed that they were under the special protection of the supreme Ruler in heaven and earth.

After a reign of twenty-nine years, Hezekiah died, leaving a happy and prosperous people to the care of his son Manasseh, who was only twelve years of age. This unhappy youth was most probably seduced, as Joash had been, by wicked counsellors. He became the most depraved of all the race of David, and the most cruel tyrant that ever occupied a throne. Enthusiastically devoted to idols, he sacrificed to them his family and the faithful worshippers of God, and filled Jerusalem with their blood. When he had reigned twenty-two years, his country was invaded by Esar-Haddon, who carried him captive to Babylon. Then Divine mercy visited him ; his humble and contrite prayers were heard, and he was liberated and restored to his throne. "From the greatest sinner he became the greatest penitent, and from the bloodiest tyrant one of the best of kings." He zealously promoted true religion and the welfare of his people ; he reigned fifty-five years, and was succeeded by his unworthy son Amon, who was killed by his chief officers. The citizens of Jerusalem inflicted on the conspirators just punishment, and raised his son Josiah to the throne.

This prince was only eight years old when he began to reign, and in his twelfth year he appears to have actively engaged in the administration of his kingdom. But from his eighth year, (the year of his father's death,) he had feared and served the God of his fathers, and to honour him was evidently the principal object of his life. His grandfather's labours, in the last and happy period of his life, to subvert the idolatry he had spent his life to establish, were, it is most probable, comparatively fruitless ; for it is scarcely credible that, had he succeeded to persuade all ranks to renounce idolatry, they could have lapsed, during the short

and eventful reign of his son Amon, into that frightful state of superstition and wickedness from which Josiah attempted to rescue them. In personal religion this prince appears to have excelled all his ancestors; and in fidelity to Jehovah, whose deputy he was, he was equal, if not superior to his father David, "the man according to God's heart." He had his reward; for Judah enjoyed profound peace and uninterrupted prosperity till the thirty-first year of his reign. Assisted by ministers animated by a kindred spirit, and encouraged by the faithful prophets Jeremiah and Zephaniah and the prophetess Huldah, Josiah was honoured to accomplish a reformation the most perfect conceivable, to the utmost extent at least which human means and efforts could effect. Hence we may see the Divine propriety in making his name and work the subject of prediction in the days of Jeroboam, more than three hundred years before he was born; 1 Kings xiii. 2.

In his time Babylon and Egypt contended for the possession of Syria, if not for universal empire. Egypt had been long celebrated; and its present sovereign Necho was one of the most distinguished of its kings, as a warrior and conqueror. Babylon was ruled by an able prince, who had already extended his dominion over many countries. Probably Judah had been tributary to his kingdom from the time of Manasseh. And, on this account, Josiah may have considered it his duty and the interest of his country to oppose Necho, when he marched from Egypt to conquer Carchemish, supposed to be the ancient Circesium and the modern Kirkesieh. This was a strongly fortified city on the Euphrates, and the defence of Syria on its eastern frontier. The most solemn assurances of Necho that he had no design of attacking Judah, were insufficient to induce Josiah to live in peace. He led his troops against the Egyptians, was defeated at Megiddo, and mortally wounded. On reaching Jerusalem he died, exceedingly lamented by all his people; and with him vanished the last rays of the sun whose light had long cheered the house of David.

It is plain from the books of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Zephaniah, that the reformation by Josiah was, in respect of the community in general, and especially of the chief men, merely external and superficial. In heart they remained the abject votaries of idolatry, and were only restrained by the authority and power of government from every species of immorality and impurity. Hence the king was no sooner

buried than the fountain of iniquity overflowed the land. Anarchy, strife, and contention reigned; and an unprincipled faction set aside the heir, and raised to the throne the younger brother, Jehoahaz, a young man after their own heart. He had reigned only three months when Necho, having captured Carchemish, returned through Syria, and summoned Jehoahaz to meet him in Hamath, where he made him prisoner, and intrusted the government to his elder brother Eliakim, whom he named Jehoiakim. This prince, by accepting the dignity and the new name from the king of Egypt, confessed himself his tributary; and as such, presented him an hundred talents of silver, and a talent of gold, which he compelled the people to furnish. His brother was carried a chained captive into Egypt, where he died; and Jehoiakim submitted to Egypt eight years. At that period he acknowledged the superiority of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, the founder of the first of the four great empires of prophecy. Three years later he revolted from Babylon, probably at the suggestion of Egypt. Nebuchadnezzar speedily conquered all the surrounding nations, the hereditary enemies of Israel, and found them more than willing to join the Chaldeans and Syrians, to reduce Judah to slavery. The united army laid waste the whole land, took possession of Jerusalem, and threw the king in chains. Nebuchadnezzar proposed to carry him to Babylon; but according to Josephus, he was put to death, or died suddenly before the departure of the Babylonians, when they probably undesignedly fulfilled the prediction by Jeremiah, that his body would be exposed to the beasts of the earth and the fowls of heaven, and buried in Jerusalem.

The enemy spoiled the city and temple of all its riches, made captive above three thousand of the young nobles, most admired for their personal beauty and mental and physical accomplishments, and appointed Jehoiachin, called also Coniah, son of Jehoiakim, king, on condition of an annual tribute. Nebuchadnezzar adhered to this arrangement only three months. He returned to Jerusalem; and was met on his approach by the king and his court. They were made prisoners, and the city was again sacked; all were seized for slaves who were most distinguished for intelligence, or for knowledge of the most useful or ornamental arts; the former were about ten thousand, and the latter one thousand. These with the king and his ministers were removed to Babylon. The government was now committed by Nebu-

chadnezzar to Mattaniah, whom he named Zedekiah, one of the sons of Josiah, and consequently uncle of Jehoiachin.

This prince was certainly disposed to maintain his fidelity to Babylon, and to this he was strongly urged by Jeremiah the prophet, as indispensable to the permanence of the dynasty of David, and preservation of the nation from a slavery of seventy years duration. But almost all whom the king chose for counsellors and companions were ignorant, proud, and self-sufficient. They boasted that they alone were true patriots, who sought the independence of Judah, and that they must prosper, for God would never suffer his holy city and temple to be destroyed. The prophet and all who revered God and trembled at his word, were regarded and treated as the traitors of their country. The king, if not wicked, was weak and irresolute; and was at last seduced by the specious reasonings of his real or pretended friends, and the deceitful promises of the ambassadors from Egypt, Edom, Moab, Ammon, Tyre, and Sidon; Jer. xxvii. 3. They prevailed on him to enter into a league with them against Babylon. He declined sending the usual tribute; and in the ninth year of his reign, his land was again covered by the army of Nebuchadnezzar, who found the city strongly fortified; and, notwithstanding his vast resources he had no alternative but to return, or, by a tedious siege, compel submission by famine or assault. For some time the besieged cherished the hope of aid from their allies. And their delusive expectations were, for a moment, flattered by the rumour of the approach of an army from Egypt. The Babylonians raised the siege, and marched to repel them; but Pharaoh-Hophra, called also Apries, king of Egypt, soon retired into his own kingdom, and the siege was renewed and prosecuted with vigour. It was commenced on the very day predicted by Ezekiel, who lived hundreds of miles distant; and in the eleventh year of Zedekiah's reign, in the ninth day of the fourth month, B. C. 588, the city was broken up, and the king and court arrested in their flight; Ezek. xxiv. 1, 2; 2 Kings xxv. 1—4.; Jer. lii. 4—7. Then followed the vengeance of the enraged conqueror; and the fire of Divine jealousy and justice sent forth its flames on every side; for the long-suffering of Jehovah had come to an end. The city was given up to pillage; no compassion was shown for the rich or poor, the old or young, the mother or infant; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 17; Psa. cxxxvii. 8, 9. Every thing valuable in the temple and city was seized; and the whole set



on fire. All was one scene of desolation, carnage, and blood. The royal family and the king's ministers were carried to Riblah, a strong city of Syria, in the district of Hamath, on the road to Mesopotamia. There they were condemned as rebels, and put to death. The greatest indignity was previously inflicted on Zedekiah, by depriving him of sight, according to the prophetic warning which he had despised; Jer. lii. 8—11. The whole nation were reduced to slavery, and carried away into Babylon, with the exception of the poorest of the people, who were committed to the care of Gedaliah, son of Ahikam, Jeremiah the prophet and Baruch, his friend and companion in the service of the God of Israel.

A number of all ranks seem to have escaped falling into the hands of the Babylonians. These fled to the neighbouring regions; and after the departure of the Babylonians, a considerable company returned into the land under Ishmael, one of the princes of the royal race. All the admonitions of Jeremiah to submit to Babylon, as the just punishment of their sins, and all the sufferings endured in consequence of their disobedience to the Divine oracles by the prophet, had produced no salutary change on Ishmael and his party. Imagining that to him, in absence of the royal family, belonged the exclusive right to rule the people, he viewed with envy and indignation the exaltation of Gedaliah. Revenge raged in his bosom, and, by the most consummate hypocrisy, he deceived the pious and unsuspecting ruler. Invited by him to a feast, Ishmael and his party slaughtered Gedaliah, and all the Jews and Chaldeans who were his guests. By similar duplicity he imposed on a large company assembled from various quarters to worship God with Gedaliah, in Mizpah. There he slew them, and cast their bodies into a large pit in the vicinity, Jer. xli. The king's daughters, and all the people remaining in the city, he carried away captive, and proceeded to the country of the Ammonites. Pursued by one of the chiefs whom Gedaliah had appointed to rule over the various districts, and by the captains of the forces left by the Chaldeans to protect the inhabitants, he was deserted by all, except eight men, who, with him, found safety with the king of Ammon.

The poor Israelites, dreading that the Chaldeans would take vengeance on them for Ishmael's contempt of their sovereign's authority, left Mizpah, and halted at Chimham, near Bethlehem, purposing to proceed to Egypt. Jehovah, by Jeremiah, declared that he would preserve them in their own

land; but that, if they entered Egypt, he would utterly destroy them. The leaders first pledged themselves to obey the word of the Lord; but they soon lost courage, and basely accused the prophet of announcing falsehood in the name of God; and persuaded the people, and even forced Jeremiah and all who believed his word, to follow them into Egypt. The prophetic warning was speedily verified. Nebuchadnezzar conquered the king of Egypt, slew multitudes, and carried still more into captivity. Among the latter, Josephus particularly mentions the Jews who sojourned in that country. Thus were fulfilled the many predictions of the captivity of the kingdom of Judah, and the complete desolation of the Holy Land. Seventy years it remained almost wholly uncultivated; and nearly as long it was traversed at pleasure by the Arabs, or occupied by the enemies of its native population.

While, however, Jehovah executed justice on his chosen people, and made them drink the cup full of his holy jealousy and fierce indignation, he showed great mercy to those of them who continued to fear his great and glorious name. These are usually denominated by the prophets, "the remnant;" and are described as consisting chiefly of those who were carried captive at the times of the first invasions of Judah by the Babylonians, previously to the destruction of the city and temple. To this remnant all the Divine promises are addressed. While some of them were illustrious by their rank, or respected for their knowledge and wisdom, they all appear to have excelled in moral excellence and enlightened devotion; and the names of some of them stand high in the register of the most eminent men who ever adorned their own nation, and these are, confessedly, the first in the world in relation to true religion. Such were Ezekiel, Daniel, and his companions. During the captivity, others, admired for every excellence, were raised up to invigorate the faith, confirm the hope, and cherish the devotion of their feeble-minded brethren. These were the associates or genuine successors of "the remnant," beloved by the God of their fathers. Though nominally slaves, yet their influence was almost boundless over those who considered themselves their masters and proprietors. This is obvious to all who have attentively perused their history. But who can conceive the power which they must have had over the opinions and conduct of their own brethren, who were less esteemed, and many of them, doubtless, exceedingly oppressed by tyrants.

nical masters or rulers? To this may most probably be ascribed, in a great degree, the marvellous change on the Jews, from the time of their exile, in respect of idolatry. The zeal for the worship of the True God, and abhorrence of idol and image-worship, exemplified by the Jews, who were honoured in the Babylonian and Persian courts, became universal and most prominent traits in the character of all the Jews.

In every place of their exile, they publicly turned from idols to serve the Living and True God. That the Babylonians were struck with the pathos and fervour of their devotion, seems plain from their urgent request to be entertained by their songs. But it is not probable that, enthusiastic votaries as they were to their idols, they did not often persecute the Jews on account of their religion. But it is possible that the Jews were permitted to worship God according to their own laws after the exaltation of Daniel, and the miracles wrought for his deliverance, and that of his faithful associates. Indeed it would seem that the first exiles were not treated as slaves, but rather as colonists, subjected in general to the laws of the empire, but allowed to retain the forms and customs of social life, which characterised their nation. This opinion is countenanced by the notice of Ezekiel assembling around him the elders of the colony settled on the banks of the Chebar. Other communities of the Jews may have been so favoured, through the influence of their honoured brethren in the metropolis, that they may have exhibited in the land of their exile their religion, and the mode of social life to which they had been accustomed from age to age. That, however, they were exposed occasionally, in some places, to the most cruel and insulting treatment, no one can doubt, who regards the book of "the Lamentations of Jeremiah" as an inspired record. Divine mercy sustained them, and, at the proper time, heard their groans and prayers, and sent them an unexpected, long desired, and great deliverance, by the agency of Cyrus, according to the word proclaimed by Isaiah, many generations before the birth of the conqueror.

## CHAPTER III.

### STATE OF THE JEWS IN THE REIGN OF ARTAXERXES LONGIMANUS.

No events in the history of the true religion, from the times of David, king of Israel, to the final dispersion of that people, were of more importance than their captivity in Babylon and their restoration to their own land. The former was the darkest night that had ever descended on the true worshippers of God, and threatened to extinguish their brightest hopes for time and eternity; the latter threw an effulgence of light on all the great and precious promises of salvation to all nations, and exposed to their full view the solid and stable foundations of their faith and hope in Him whom they fervently loved and earnestly expected. And hence may be discerned the Divine propriety in the conspicuous and extensive place given in the prophecies to the captivity and restoration of Israel. These events were repeatedly predicted by Moses and all the prophets. When the impenitence and unbelief of the chosen people rendered their exile inevitable, and hastened on that awful calamity, God showed his wisdom and rich mercy to his faithful ones by announcing to them the precise duration of their sufferings, and imparting to them numerous promises of deliverance. Jeremiah was commissioned to declare that the captivity would terminate at the expiry of "seventy years;" and to express strongly his belief in the truth of the prophetic word, he obeyed the Divine command to purchase a portion of the land which was to be immediately seized by strangers. By comparing his predictions with the registers of the Persian court, Daniel, in answer to prayer, was enabled to ascertain that his people were assuredly to be restored about the time of Darius the Mede; and the accuracy of his knowledge was speedily confirmed; for in less than two years Cyrus granted to all Israel liberty to return to the Holy Land, and to build Jerusalem and the temple. By consequence the beginning of the captivity must have been about

seventy years earlier than that period. And this number of years, according to the computation of the most learned chronologists, exactly corresponds with the interval which elapsed from the fourth year of Jehoiakim, when all the Jews, who were eminent for rank, talents, or usefulness, were carried away to Babylon, until the first year of Cyrus. By some writers, however, the "seventy years" are calculated from the burning of the temple by Nebuchadnezzar to the dedication of the second temple, finished by Nehemiah; the interval between which comprised neither more nor less than the number of years fixed by prophecy. Those who can appreciate a narrative of the trials and difficulties, encouragements and final success of Israel, in their labours to re-organize and establish their nation, will find it in the books of Ezra, Nehemiah, Haggai, and Zechariah. Their records, equally inimitable for their simplicity and truth, never fail to produce a delightful, salutary, and lasting impression on every enlightened and candid mind. It would be foreign to our object to insert them entire; a particular enumeration of the facts which they contain would, most probably, impart little pleasure to the reader of this work. We shall merely advert to the state of the Jews in the time of Nehemiah.

Malachi, the last inspired writer of the Old Testament, wrote after the restoration of the temple, for he distinctly refers to its service. While he ministered, the Jews had a governor, and consequently he must have been contemporary with Nehemiah, the last governor of the city, and the chief instrument in restoring the original constitution of Moses. He was governor many years, and most zealously and disinterestedly promoted the welfare of the people. He imposed on them no tribute, at least for his own support; and, from the liberal grants of Artaxerxes Longimanus, the then king of Persia, to him, and Ezra his predecessor in office, for the restoration of the city and temple, and its service, the tribute, if any was required by Persia, must have been trifling. This monarch was distinguished, during his long reign of more than forty years, by his patronage of the Jews in their own land, and in every part of the empire; a remarkable circumstance, which some ascribe to the influence of Esther the Jewess, whom they suppose to have been his wife. It is, however, more certain that he authorised Nehemiah to re-establish the entire laws of Moses, and to call in the power of the Persian governors of all the districts west of the Euphrates,

to protect and assist him in the important work which he was appointed to perform.

Under Nehemiah's government the daily services of the temple and the great festivals were observed according to the law; the Aaronic priesthood and several orders of the Levites and Nethinims were established, and the separation of the people from all unholy alliances was effected. Some have indeed supposed that, in declaring the marriage of Israelites with idolaters invalid, Nehemiah and Ezra carried their national reformation beyond the constitution of Moses, and in support of their opinion, they appeal to the conduct of Joseph, Samson, Solomon and Esther: it is, however, far more probable that their examples were contrary to the spirit of the law than that Nehemiah and Ezra misinterpreted that law. They were supernaturally guided in their ministerial labours, and their whole conduct demonstrated their accurate knowledge and supreme reverence for the law. How fully persuaded they were that God had prohibited his people from marrying not only the descendants of Canaan, but also the Ammonites, Moabites, and Egyptians, is plain from *Ezra ix. 1*; *Neh. xiii. 23*. And the reasons which these venerable instructors urged to induce Israel to put away the wives whom they had taken from these people, lest they should tempt them to idolatry, will apply with equal force to every idolatrous nation. If we believe that Israel were chosen out of the nations to witness for God, we can scarcely doubt that it was unlawful for them to intermarry with any idolatrous nation. It will be perhaps difficult to conceive them placing themselves under stronger temptations to worship idols, than by choosing wives indiscriminately from among the heathen nations, those only excepted whom they were commanded to extirpate. Indeed, had they not been exceedingly prone to form conjugal as well as political alliances with idolaters, a new law on this subject was scarcely necessary, after what was written, *Gen. vi. 2, 3*, for it is obvious from this passage that the first great degeneracy from the true religion originated in the worshippers of God uniting by marriage with idolatrous families. With such an awful example before his eyes, no man living in the fear of God, and desirous to keep himself from idols, would have ventured to choose an idolater for his wife; for he must have seen that by such conduct he would expose himself to the strongest temptation to depart from the living and true God. But the law delivered. *Exod. xxxiv. 16*; *Deut. vii. 3*. was sufficient to

guide Israel on the subject ; for the most powerful argument enforcing obedience applied to all idolaters equally with the Canaanites : "Neither shalt thou make marriages with them. For they will turn away thy sons from following me, that they may serve other gods ; so will the anger of the Lord be kindled against you, and destroy thee suddenly." It, however, merits notice, that the Israelites might, without transgressing the law, marry heathens, Canaanites not excepted, if they were converted to the true religion ; for religious proselytes were incorporated with the Jews, not in their civil, but religious capacity : one law was common to the stranger and the home-born. By attention to this principle, we are enabled to account for a prince of Judah, in the best days of the Jewish nation, marrying Rahab the harlot, a Canaanite ; and for the venerable Boaz choosing Ruth the Moabite for the wife of his bosom. In respect of Moses, there is strong reason to believe that Zipporah was a religious woman : her father, a prince of Midian, and his family, appear to have been believers, worshippers of the God of Israel, *Exod. xviii. 9—12*. As to Joseph, if we attentively consider his whole conduct,—his zealous regard to personal religion, and his care to preserve Israel separate from the idolatrous Egyptians—influenced by Christian love, (*1 Cor. xiii. 5—7*), we shall feel disposed to conclude that his wife and family were religious proselytes. If the prince of Midian was converted, why not the prince of On ; Joseph was not less disposed to speak for his God than Moses, and the grace of God is rich and free. Many of the Egyptians, a "mixed multitude," were Jewish proselytes ; by faith they and Israel passed through the Red Sea, which the idolatrous Egyptians essaying to do, were drowned.

Nehemiah appears not to have been much more successful in his ministry than Elijah, Hezekiah, Josiah, and other holy men, who had also attempted to reform Israel. Those who first returned from Babylon were probably in general the most religious of the nation ; and hence Nehemiah, perhaps, was encouraged by them in his work. And it is manifest that he effected a more complete reformation than any preceding reformer. The form of the constitution was completely restored ; but many most imperfectly conformed to it, and not a few others presumptuously violated its generous spirit, and transgressed its most important laws. Though by words and solemn swearing they adopted the form of godliness, yet in practice they renounced its power. Thus they fulfilled the

predictions of Moses and the prophets, that the nation would in all ages show themselves a disobedient and obstinate people. After the captivity, they never relapsed into idol or image worship, the predominant great sin of their ancestors; and thus they fulfilled another prediction, that the restored from Babylon would be ashamed of their idols: Hos. ii. 4. But according as they multiplied and prospered, they became selfish, sensual, and hypocritical. Being destitute of the love of God, they offered to him in sacrifice animals which they could neither sell nor eat. Conjugal infidelity was not deemed by them a crime, and those who had power or influence, oppressed and crushed the poor; Mal. i. ii.

True religion, however, flourished among a few. They feared Jehovah, unfeignedly loved one another, were accustomed to contemplate the nature, perfections, and doings of their God, and frequently associated together for religious conversation and worship; Mal. iii. 16. Thus the Israelites of the age of Nehemiah, as a nation, in regard to religion, resembled their ancestors in all preceding ages. The majority were unbelievers, hypocrites, or apostates; and the minority walked in the steps of their fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

We have no decided evidence that prophets were successively raised up in future as in former generations, to instruct, warn, reprove, and comfort them. It is generally believed that from Malachi to the times of John the Baptist, the Divine Spirit inspired no one in Israel. This, however, seems improbable, when we observe that God announces that he would still manifest himself to be their king, by supernatural events. Of this we have ample evidence in the writings of Haggai and Zechariah; and it is fully implied in the address of Jehovah by Malachi:—"Bring ye all the tithes into the storehouse, that there may be meat in mine house, and prove me now herewith, saith the Lord of hosts, if I will not open you the windows of heaven, and pour you out a blessing, that there shall not be room enough to receive it. And I will rebuke the devourer for your sakes, and he shall not destroy the fruits of your ground; neither shall your vine cast her fruit before the time in the field, saith the Lord of hosts. And all nations shall call you blessed; for ye shall be a delightful-ome land, saith the Lord of hosts." And had they not been familiar with supernatural communications, it is not easy to account for the ready conjecture of the people on the occasion of Zecharias' silence on coming out of the temple, that he



had "seen a vision." But such communications may have been chiefly, if not exclusively, continued through the agency of the high-priests. To their exalted office was attached the privilege of consulting or inquiring for the people what was the mind of the Lord respecting them in cases of great emergency, doubt, perplexity, and distress. The answer was received by the instrumentality of the Urim and Thummim. Perhaps some may infer, that with the loss of this the high-priest lost also the privilege of revealing the mind of the Lord after the captivity; but as the privilege seems to have been enjoyed by the chiefs of the chosen race of the Sethites, who were the chief priests from the beginning till the consecration of Aaron, it may have been continued with his successors after the restoration from Babylon. And it is only on this supposition that we can perceive the propriety of the interpretation of the declaration of Caiaphas to the Jewish council:—"It is expedient," he said, "that one man die for the people, and that the whole nation perish not." This is considered by John, a prediction and he informs us that Caiaphas was inspired to utter it, not because he was, by office, a prophet, or even understood the full import of his words, but because he was high-priest that year, John xi. 51. Hence, we apprehend, that John believed that the gift of predicting future events, or of revealing the secret designs of the Almighty, was inseparable from the office of high-priest. Brief are the notices of the peculiar services of the high-priest after the days of the prophets. The most remarkable instance of any of them receiving supernatural instruction is that which we shall have to record of the high-priest Jaddua, in the time of Alexander the Great.

The chief ministers of Jehovah, the supreme King, according to the original form of government, were Moses, his successors the judges and kings, and the high-priests; and the inferior ministers were the elders, or heads of the tribes and of families. This form of government was probably restored by Ezra. Seventy elders were chosen in the wilderness to assist Moses; and the Jews assert that these had successors, who constituted what they call the Sanhedrim, or great council of the nation, who, with the supreme civil ruler and high-priest, judged all cases of difficulty. Of the existence of this council we, however, discern no distinct trace in the history of the Jews, from the days of Moses till the times of the Maccabees; but from that period it became the supreme court of the nation. That Nehemiah or the high-priest, in imitation

of Moses, occasionally assembled the chiefs of the nation to assist them in the government, we have no reason to doubt; and this may have given rise to the Sanhedrim. The high-priest, or his deputy, was the president; and the members were chosen from the priests, chiefs of tribes or families, and from the scribes, or those esteemed for their learning. This council usually met in a hall built partly within and partly without the temple, from which edifice it was excluded by the Romans when they deprived the council of the power of life and death, about three years before the death of Jesus Christ. After this we observe the Sanhedrim assembled in the palace of the high-priest. Appeals from the lower courts, and "other weighty matters, were brought before this tribunal. Among other questions of importance, subject to its decision, the Talmudists include the inquiry, 'Whether a person be a false prophet or not?' Comp. Luke xiii. 33. Its power had been limited in the time of Christ by the interference of the Romans. It was still, however, in the habit of sending its legates or messengers to the synagogues in foreign countries, (Acts ix. 2.) and retained the right of passing the sentence of condemnation, or, what is similar in effect, of decreeing punishment in cases where there was proof of criminality; but the power of *executing* the sentence, when passed, was taken from it, and lodged with the Roman procurators, John xviii. 31. There was one exception, it is true, during the procuratorship of Pilate, and only *one*; for he permitted the Sanhedrim themselves, in the case of Christ, to see the sentence of which they had been the authors, put in execution, John xviii. 31; xix. 6. The stoning of Stephen was not done by the authority of the Sanhedrim, but in a riot, (Acts vii.) James, the brother of John, (Acts xii. 2,) was slain in consequence of a sentence to that effect from king Herod Agrippa. The high-priest Ananus did indeed condemn James, the brother of Jesus, (*i. e.* relation or cousin,) to be stoned, and others likewise; but it was done when the procurator was absent, and was disapproved by the Jews themselves."

The first rational, or what may be justly named a liberal constitution, conferred on any nation, we have sufficient reason to assert, was that delivered by Moses to Israel. He placed them under just and equitable laws, clearly announced to all, and ordained that all should be taught to know them. The oriental governments were generally despotic, the will of the sovereign was the law, and the law of to-day might be set aside to-morrow; and in what were accounted free states,

such as those of Greece, the multitude were slaves, and required to submit to laws which were framed not for their benefit but for that of their masters. The rulers of Israel were no properly legislators: their sole duty was to govern and judge according to institutes, which they were bound not less than the other members of the community to obey. And the legislator had delivered the most solemn injunctions, that all ranks and ages should acquire an accurate knowledge of all the laws, and cherish a sacred regard for them, as the revealed will of their God, Sovereign, and Judge. A whole tribe were consecrated to teach and explain them; and a similar office was assigned to all parents in relation to their children. This supposes that the entire community were to be taught to read and understand the law. That Moses neglected no appropriate means to diffuse this species of knowledge among all the tribes, we may be assured, when we reflect on his fidelity to the Lord, and his love for his people. To what extent he was imitated by the rulers who succeeded him, we have no means of ascertaining, for the subject is seldom referred to in the Scriptures.

That the people in future ages remembered not his enterprises to cultivate knowledge of their national constitution, is obvious from their history. Their indifference may have roused the prophets to devise and execute plans to dispel the moral darkness which surrounded them. One of these was the institution of schools or colleges, which were probably open to all who aspired to be instructors of the people. Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, adopted a scheme still more calculated perhaps, to enlighten all the people. He appointed a number of the sacred order, and of the most learned of the chiefs and rulers, to go over the whole country, and teach all classes. And the prophets and most religious persons appear, during the captivity, to have assembled the people for religious instruction and devotional exercises. These assemblies probably originated the synagogues. They may have been established as early as Nehemiah, if not before his time. How solicitous he and Ezra, and other eminent persons were to promote the knowledge of the law among the people, every one perceives who knows the sacred writings. We know not the precise time that synagogues were instituted; but the apostle speaks of them as ancient, and very numerous: "For Moses of old time hath in every city them that preach him, being real in the synagogues every sabbath day."

While, from the erection of the temple of Solomon, sacrifice

and the offering of incense, the principal rites of public worship, could only be lawfully observed at the temple, Israel might attend in any place to all the other services of religion. The places at first selected for their public meetings were probably under shades of trees, particularly near the banks of rivers and streams. These were named *proseuchæ*, oratories, or retired spots, usually resorted to by the pious for private and social worship; and to these, probably, reference is made in *Psal. cxxxvii. 1—3*; *Acts xvi. 13*. Edifices, called synagogues, Josephus says, were early raised by the Jews in foreign countries; but not in Judea till the age of the Maccabees. Their name, signifying an assembly, was derived from the object to which they were appropriated. The following extract may suffice for a description of them drawn from the Jewish writings. They “could only be erected in those places where ten men of age, learning, piety, and easy circumstances could be found to attend to the service which was enjoined in them. Large towns had several synagogues; and soon after the captivity, their utility became so obvious, that they were scattered over the land, and became the parish churches of the Jewish nation. Their number appears to have been very considerable; and when the erection of a synagogue was considered as a mark of piety, (*Luke vii. 5*.) or gratitude to heaven, we need not be surprised to hear that they multiplied beyond all necessity, so that in Jerusalem alone there were not fewer than 460 or 480. They were generally built on the most elevated ground, and consisted of two parts. The one on the most westerly part of the building contained the ark or chest, in which the book of the law and the sections of the prophets were deposited, and was called the temple by way of eminence. The other, in which the congregation assembled, was termed the body of the church. The people sat with their faces towards the temple, and the elders in the contrary direction, and opposite to the people; the space between them being occupied by the pulpit or reading desk. The seats of the elders were considered as more holy than the others, and are spoken of as ‘the chief seats in the synagogue,’ *Matt. xxiii. 6*. The stated office-bearers in every synagogue were ten, though in rank they were but six. Their names and duties are given by Lightfoot, to whom the reader is referred. But we must notice the *Archisynagogos*, or ruler of the synagogue, who regulated all its concerns, and granted permission to preach. Of these there were three in each synagogue. Dr. Lightfoot believes

them to have possessed a civil power, and to have constituted the lowest civil tribunal, commonly known as 'the council of three,' whose office it was to decide the differences that arose between any members of the synagogue, and to judge of money matters, thefts, losses, &c. To these officers there is probably an allusion in 1 Cor. vi. 6. The second office-bearer was 'the angel of the church,' or minister of the congregation, who prayed and preached. In allusion to these the pastors of the Asiatic churches are called *angels*, Rev. ii. iii. The service of the synagogue was as follows:—The people being seated, the minister, or angel of the church, ascended the pulpit, and offered up the public prayers, the people rising from their seats, and standing in a posture of deep devotion, Matt. vi. 5; Mark xi. 25; Luke xviii. 11, 13. The prayers were nineteen in number, and were closed by reading the execration. The next thing was the repetition of their phylacteries; after which came the reading of the law and the prophets. The former was divided into 54 sections, with which were united corresponding portions from the prophets; (see Acts xv. 21; xiii. 27.) and these were read through once in the course of the year. After the return from the captivity, an interpreter was employed in reading the law and the prophets, (see Neh. viii. 2—10,) who interpreted them into the Syro-Chaldaic dialect, which was then spoken by the people. The last part of the service was the expounding of the Scriptures, and preaching from them to the people. This was done either by one of the officers, or by some distinguished person who happened to be present. The reader will recollect one memorable occasion on which our Saviour availed himself of the opportunity thus afforded to address his countrymen, (Luke iv. 20.) and there are several other instances recorded of himself and his disciples teaching in the synagogues. See Matt. xiii. 54; Mark vi. 2; John xviii. 20; Acts xiii. 5, 15, 44; xiv. 1; xvii. 2—4, 10—12, 17; xviii. 4, 25; xix. 8. The whole service was concluded with a short prayer, or benediction. The Jewish synagogues were not only used for the purpose of divine worship, but also for courts of judicature, in such matters as fell under the cognizance of the 'council of three,' of which we have already spoken. On such occasions the sentence given against the offender was sometimes carried into effect in the place where the council was assembled. Hence we read of persons being *beaten* in the *synagogue*, and *scourged* in the *synagogue*, Matt. x. 17; Mark xiii. 9."

In later times, the Greek or Alexandrine version was read in the synagogues of the Hellenists, or Jews and Proselytes, who spoke the language of Greece; and this version was long highly esteemed by the Talmudists, till they observed that Christians appealed to it in their controversies with their nation. The doxologies and prayers were also anciently repeated in the language spoken by the worshippers.

The entire structure of the political, civil, and religious polity of Israel was founded on the sacred writings. These were therefore inexpressibly precious to every genuine patriot in all ages; but their value was much enhanced to the pious after their exile. From the inspired records issued the only rays of hope which cheered and animated them during the long and dark night of their captivity; and by these were their steps directed, and their strength augmented in their course, after the dawn of their deliverance broke on their wondering eyes. How unfeigned and ardent was their love for the laws, promises, and predictions which God had communicated to their fathers, may be easily discerned by every attentive reader of the sacred books written during and very early after the captivity. The authors repeatedly appeal to "the law of Moses," as the rule for regulating all the affairs of their nations, and confess and deplore their disobedience to the oracles and instructions of the prophets as the principal cause of all the calamities which they had endured. Can we then doubt that the restored Jews possessed copies of the writings which had been received as inspired by their faithful kings, priests, and prophets? The second book of Esdras, among the many proofs of its apocryphal and fabulous character, makes Ezra to assert that the law had been burnt, and that the Holy Ghost would enable him to write it anew, and all things that had been done since the beginning of the world; and this opinion was entertained by some of the Christian fathers. It is, however, in direct opposition to repeated declarations in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, that they re-established the worship of God according to "the law of Moses, the man of God," and as it was "written in the book of Moses." That these eminent men, and the contemporary prophets, in imitation of the inspired men of former generations, augmented the sacred writings, we may readily believe. Nor is the tradition improbable that Ezra, with their approbation, collated a number of copies, in order to present the nation with a perfect copy of all the inspired writings down to his time. For this work he was fully qualified by the con-

summate knowledge of these writings, by which we find him distinguished above all his contemporaries, and still more by the spirit of prophecy which we know rested on him.

To say with some that the Sacred Scriptures which are in our hands are of no greater antiquity than Ezra, betrays extreme ignorance of the subjects and style of them. What pretended miracle on record may not be credited sooner than the opinion that Ezra, or any one man of his or any future age, composed the books of Moses, the sacred historical writings, and the prophets? The respective books carry indelible marks of their authenticity and genuineness, as has been in general in controvertibly proved by not a few learned men; and, indeed, they all contain internal evidence that they belong to the different ages in which they indicate that they were written. A number of explanatory phrases and words occur in some of the most ancient books, which were expedient to enable readers in the later ages of the Jews to understand the record; and these Ezra was most likely to add, from the strong desire which it is manifest he felt to put his people in possession of Divine knowledge. Thus, for example, to the ancient Laish is given its later known name Dan, Gen. xiv. 14; and descriptive narrations often conclude with the phrase, "unto this day." Interpolations of a similar nature frequently occur as in Gen. xxxvi. 31, Deut. iii. 11, Prov. xxv. 1.

With the exception of a few names in the genealogical lists, the probability is strong that during Nehemiah's ministration, before the death of inspired men, the canon of the Old Testament was perfected by Ezra, who is said to have lived to the age of one hundred and twenty years. He divided it, tradition says, into three parts; the Law, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa or holy writings. To this division our Lord is believed to allude in Luke xxiv. 44, and it is noticed and explained by Josephus; for in his first book against Apion, he remarks, "We have only two and twenty books which are to be believed as of divine authority, of which five are the books of Moses. From the death of Moses to the reign of Artaxerxes, king of Persia, the prophets, who were the successors of Moses, have written in 13 books. The remaining four books contain hymns to God, and documents of life for the use of men." In which division, according to him, the law contains, 1 Genesis, 2 Exodus, 3 Leviticus, 4 Numbers, 5 Deuteronomy: the writings of the prophets, 1 Joshua, 2 Judges and Ruth, 3 Samuel, 4 Kings, 5 Isaiah, 6 Jeremiah, with his Lamentations, 7 Ezekiel, 8 Daniel, 9 the twelve

minor prophets, 10 Job, 11 Ezra, 12 Nehemiah, 13 Esther : and the Hagiographa, 1 the Psalms, 2 the Proverbs, 3 Ecclesiastes, 4 the Songs of Solomon ; which altogether make 22 books. " This division," Prideaux observes, " was made for the sake of reducing the books to the number of their alphabet, in which are 22 letters. But at present they reckon these books to be 24, and dispose of them in this order, 1st, the law, which contains, 1 Genesis, 2 Exodus, 3 Leviticus, 4 Numbers, 5 Deuteronomy ; 2ndly, the writings of the prophets, which they divide into the former prophets and the latter prophets ; the books of the former prophets are, 6 Joshua, 7 Judges, 8 Samuel, 9 Kings ; and the books of the latter prophets are, 10 Isaiah, 11 Jeremiah, 12 Ezekiel, and 13 the twelve minor prophets ; 3rdly, the Hagiographa, which are, 14 the Psalms, 15 the Proverbs, 16 Job, 17 the Song of Solomon, which they call the Song of Songs, 18 Ruth, 19 the Lamentations, 20 Ecclesiastes, 21 Esther, 22 Daniel, 23 Ezra, and 24 the Chronicles. Under the name of Ezra, they comprehend the book of Nehemiah, for the Hebrews, and also the Greeks, anciently reckoned Ezra and Nehemiah but as one book. But this order hath not been always observed among the Jews, neither is it so now in all places ; for there hath been great variety as to this, and that not only among the Jews, but also among the Christians, as well Greeks as Latins. But no variation herein is of any moment ; for in what order soever the books are placed, they are still the word of God, and no change as to this can make any change in that divine authority which is stamped upon them." The same intelligent writer adds, that " The five books of the law are divided into 54 sections. This division many of the Jews hold to be one of the constitutions of Moses from Mount Sinai ; but others, with more likelihood of truth, attribute it to Ezra. It was made for the use of their synagogues, and the better instructing of the people there in law of God ; for every sabbath day one of these sections was read in their synagogues ; and this, we are assured in the Acts of the Apostles, was done amongst them of old time, which may well be interpreted from the time of Ezra. They ended the last section with the last words of Deuteronomy on the sabbath of the feast of tabernacles, and then begun anew with the first section, from the beginning of Genesis, the next sabbath after, and so went round in this circle every year. The number of these sections was 54, because, in their intercalated years (a month being then added) there were 54 sabbaths. On other years they reduced them to the number of



the sabbaths which were in those years, by joining two short ones several times into one; for they held themselves obliged to have the whole law thus read over in their synagogues every year. Till the time of the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes, they read only the law; but then being forbid to read it any more, in the room of the 54 sections of the law, they substituted 54 sections out of the prophets, the reading of which they ever after continued. So that, when the reading of the law was again restored by the Maccabees, the section which was read every sabbath out of the law served for their first lesson, and the section out of the prophets for their second lesson, and so it was practised in the time of the Apostles. And therefore, when Paul entered into the synagogue at Antioch in Pisidia, it is said that 'he stood up to preach, after the reading of the law and the prophets;' that is, after the reading of the first lesson out of the law, and the second lesson out of the prophets. And in that very sermon which he then preached, he tells them, 'that the prophets were read at Jerusalem every sabbath-day,' that is, in those lessons which were taken out of the prophets. These sections were divided into verses, which the Jews call *pesukim*. They are marked out in the Hebrew bibles by two great points at the end of them, called from hence *soph-pasuk*, i.e. the end of the verse. If Ezra himself was not the author of this division (as most say,) it was not long after him that it was introduced; for certainly it is very ancient. It is most likely it was invented for the sake of the Targumists or Chaldee interpreters. For, after the Hebrew language had ceased to be the mother tongue of the Jews, and the Chaldee grew up into use amongst them instead of it, (as was the case after their return from the Babylonish captivity,) their usage was, that, in the public reading of the law to the people, it was read to them, first in the original Hebrew, and after that rendered by an interpreter into the Chaldee language, that so all might fully understand the same. And this was done period by period; and therefore, that these periods might be the better distinguished, and the reader more certainly know how much to read at every interval, and the interpreter how much to interpret at every interval, there was a necessity that some marks should be invented for their direction herein. The rule given in their ancient books is, that in the law the reader was to read one verse, and then the interpreter was to render the same into the Chaldee; but that in the prophets the reader was to read three verses together, and then the interpreter to render the

same three verses into Chaldee in the same manner ; which manifestly proves that the division of the Scriptures into verses must be as ancient as the way of interpreting them into the Chaldee language in their synagogues ; which was from the very time that synagogues were erected, and the scriptures publicly read in them after the Babylonish captivity."

The division into verses was common to the Greeks and Romans, and it may have been adopted from them by the Jews after the times of Ezra. The present division of the Psalms is obviously of ancient date ; for the Apostles observe it, as in Acts xiii. 13. But the dividing of the Scriptures into chapters is a modern invention, ascribed to Cardinal Hugo de Sancto Caro, who died about 1262. He wrote a commentary on the whole Scriptures, and the first concordance of them adapted for the Vulgate.

Prideaux adduces strong reasons in support of the opinion that the whole Scriptures were transcribed by Ezra in the Chaldee character ; "for that having now grown wholly into use among the people after the Babylonish captivity, he changed the old Hebrew character for it, which hath since that time been retained only by the Samaritans, among whom it is preserved even to this day. This was the old Phenician character, from which the Greeks borrowed theirs. And the old Ionian alphabet bears some similitude to it, as Scaliger shows in his notes upon Eusebius's Chronicon. In this Moses and the prophets recorded the sacred oracles of God, and in this the finger of God himself wrote the ten commandments in the two tables of stone. There are some, I acknowledge, who strenuously contend for the antiquity of the present Hebrew letters, as if they, and none other, had always been the sacred character in which the holy scriptures were written ; and the Samaritan was never in use for this purpose but only among the Samaritans, who, in opposition (say they) to the Jews, on the rise of that enmity which was between them, wrote out the law of Moses (which is the only scripture they receive) in this character different from them. Were we to judge of sacred things by their external beauty, we should concur with this opinion, for the Chaldee character is one of the beautifullest, and the Samaritan the uncouthest, and the most incapable of caligraphy of all that have been used among the different nations of the world. But the opinion of the most learned men, and upon good grounds, is on the other side ; for there are many old Jewish shekels still in being, and others of the same sort are frequently dug up in

Judea, with this inscription on them in Samaritan letters, *Jerusalem Kedosha*, *i. e.* Jerusalem the holy; which inscription shows that they could not be the coin either of the Israelites of the Ten Tribes, or of the Samaritans who afterwards succeeded them in their land; for neither of them would have put the name of Jerusalem upon their coin, or ever have called it the holy city. These pieces therefore must have been the coin of those of the two tribes before the captivity; and this proves the Samaritan character to be that which was then in use among them. And it cannot be said that these shekels are counterfeited by modern hands, for Rabbi Moses Ben Nachman tells us of several which he met with in his time which had this inscription upon them in Samaritan letters, who lived above 500 years since. And therefore it must follow that the present Hebrew character was introduced among the Jews after the Babylonish captivity; and the general testimony of the ancients is, that it was Ezra that did first put the holy scriptures into it, on the review which he made of them on his coming to Jerusalem. Eusebius, in his Chronicle, tells us so, and St. Jerome doth the same, and so do also both the Talmuds; and the generality of learned men, as well among the Jews as Christians, hold to this opinion. Capellus hath written a tract for it, and Buxtorf, the son, another against it; they who shall think fit to read them will see all that can be said on either side: but I think the argument which is brought from the shekels cannot be answered."

To Ezra was also ascribed the introduction of the Hebrew points; but the learned generally regard them as the work of comparatively modern Jews; and that they are of no other use than to intimate the sense in which the original authors understood the Sacred Writings. It is remarkable that the Pentateuch used by the Jews has always been without points, which certainly is enough to excite strong suspicion that they were unknown to the great reformers of the Jewish nation.

These eminent men, one of the most prominent characteristics of whom was burning zeal for the law of Jehovah, doubtless made provision for the diffusing of the knowledge of that law. And nothing was more essential to this than the multiplying of copies of it, that it might find its place in every family. A class of priests appear to have always existed in the nation. These were denominated Scribes, and must have been numerous almost at all times; for various duties were imposed on them. Some of them were secretaries to the kings and great men, and others were employed in the forma-

tion and care of the genealogies of the families, and the enumeration of all the men above twenty, and under sixty years old, who were liable to be called to serve in the army. Others, besides being appointed to guard the purity, and supply copies of the sacred writings, were expected to explain their meaning to the people. The Scribes are often mentioned from the times of the Judges to the last age of the Jews. Among those of them wholly devoted to religious affairs in the time of the re-establishment of the nation, Ezra was evidently the most esteemed and honoured. This class greatly increased in his day, or soon after, under the name of Masorites. This name, most probably, belongs to a future age; for it is derived from Masorah, which signifies "tradition;" and indicates that those to whom it was appropriated, were the zealous advocates, and defenders of the traditionary religious opinions of the fathers. In this trait of character, they had no resemblance to Ezra and his companions; for in the record of their principles or practices we have the clearest proof that they were, in religion, exclusively guided by the revelations written by Moses and the prophets. In opposition, however, to this undoubted fact, the Masorites pretended to believe, and strenuously maintained, that Ezra not only had restored the law of Moses, which they said had been lost during the captivity, but that he had also restored the true interpretations of the law. And that these might be implicitly received by all, they insisted that God had delivered them to Moses, at the same time that the law itself was communicated to him in Mount Sinai. These interpretations, conveyed, as their authors said, down from generation to generation, constitute the traditions, which for many ages, have been more revered by the Jews than the inspired writings.

The Jewish traditions were, perhaps, comparatively few at first; but they were so exceedingly augmented in successive ages, that the teachers called in the New Testament scribes, lawyers, rabbis, masters or doctors, judged it expedient about A. D. 105, to collect them in a work, named the Mishna, or Oral Law. On this work was written many commentaries; the principal of which are known under the name Talmuds, or Gemara, which denotes perfection. There are two Talmuds; one written in Judea, about A. D. 300, and the other in Babylon, A. D. 500. Than these no work contains more striking evidence of the delusion and pride of human intellect. Having renounced belief in the pure doctrines and precepts of the Sacred Scripture, the authors and their mentally

blinded disciples, regard as Divine truth the most absurd and incredible opinions; a curious review of which may be seen in "The Traditions of the Jews," published in 1742, by J. Peter Slehelin, London. Nothing has assuredly more concealed from mankind, the excellence of the true religion, or alienated their minds from its Divine Author and Object, than the demand on his worshippers to believe doctrines, and sacredly to observe ceremonies, merely sanctioned by human authority or antiquity. And nothing has been a more productive cause of the divisions and animosities, strifes, contentions, revilings and murders, which have disgraced and ruined the communities who have avowed themselves the worshippers of the True God, the God of love, of order, of holiness, and of peace.

An instructive illustration of this is afforded by the Pharisees, the first known and the most influential recognized sect of the Jews. Enough is recorded of them to show that they took their rise among the Masorites, whom they, perhaps, rivalled, and at length far exceeded, in their zeal for the traditions of the elders. The appellation was apparently limited to a class of religious teachers, whose disciples embraced, almost all who pretended to fervent devotion; see the article Pharisees in the Biblical Pocket Dictionary. Many have supposed that they originated in the introduction of the philosophy of the Stoicks, because they admitted with that philosophical sect, that all things were decreed by God. This doctrine, which is often called fate, if correctly understood, was common among the Jews in all ages. The most pious acknowledged God in all things; and while they repudiated the idea that God was the author of any moral evil, directly or indirectly, they firmly believed that every being owed its existence, capacities, and continuance to Him, and that he permitted nothing to be thought or done, but what he would render subservient to accomplish his purposes. Thus they viewed all things of God; he was not only the universal Creator, but also the superintendent of all his works, performing in heaven and earth, and the invisible state, whatsoever he pleased. Nor were any of the other doctrines peculiar to the Pharisees borrowed from learned pagans. They were the truths of revelation, either disguised or perverted. Thus they taught the immortality of the soul, and the resurrection and eternal duration of the transformed body; the future rewards of the righteous, and future eternal punishment of the wicked; and that good and bad angels existed; the former

ministering for God on earth, and the latter under their chief, Satan or Beelzebub, deceiving or inflicting evil on man in the present world. It seems also, probable, that they believed in the transmigration of souls, at least to the extent of their passing from one human body into another. This opinion was, however, much more ancient than the Grecian or Roman philosophers; it was prevalent among the ancient Egyptians and Asiatics.

No doctrine was more dear to the Pharisees, or had more influence on their life, than that God had pledged himself to accept, protect, bless with special favour in this life, and eternally exalt the Jews, on account of Abraham's excellence, if they carefully observed the law and the traditions. They believed that he hated every other people, and purposed to reduce them to a state of slavery under them, when Messiah appeared and ascended the throne of David his father. They extended ceremonial washing far beyond the laws of Moses, and declared the neglect of the most unmeaning of them, such as the washing of hands before meals, a crime equally great as fornication, and worthy of death. They refused to eat with Gentiles or any who adhered not to the traditions. They assumed the appearance of extreme gravity and devotion, making broad their phylacteries, fasting twice a week, praying frequently in public places, and ostentatiously supplying the wants of the poor.

A few of them were distinguished by integrity, steadfastly obeying the laws of justice, truth, and purity; according to the letter of the law, as interpreted by the traditions, they were "blameless." But the leaders of the sect were generally destitute of moral principle, and unmoved by the dictates of conscience. Their ambition, thirst for applause, covetousness, and sensual habits and pursuits, were unbounded, except by whatever was necessary to prevent the multitude from detecting their real character; for they omitted nothing that was calculated to induce all ranks to venerate them for piety and zeal towards God, and to confide in them as the only safe guides in religion and the affairs of life. To augment their authority and power, they laboured and travelled to disseminate their opinions, they compassed sea and land to make proselytes who, might be prepared to execute any scheme, however immoral or atrocious, which they conceived would advance their worldly interests or gratify their malignant and licentious desires and appetites. They indeed claimed to be the legitimate successors of the holy prophets; their fathers

had killed them, but their monuments they carefully preserved and profusely ornamented.

Nothing satisfied these rabbins short of completely enslaving the minds of the multitude. To effect this they undermined the authority of the Scriptures, and exalted their own as that alone which was infallible. Thus, like the corrupt Christian teachers of later centuries they maintained that the written law could not be understood without the Mishna, or traditions of the church. The spirit of the pharisees pervades the Talmuds and their expositors. The oral and written laws, remarks a rabbi, "depended on each other like two twins of a roe. And to him who separateth the one from the other, are directed the words, 'A whisperer separateth chief friends.' He is as one that hath no God." Others thus write: "To study the Scriptures is neither virtue nor vice. It is something of a virtue to study the Mishna; but the greatest of all virtues is the study of the Gemara. The Scripture is like water; the Mishna like wine; and the Gemara spiced wine. The words of the scribes are more delightful than those of the prophets. You must believe the judge, should he say that thy right hand is the left, or the left the right. He who murmurs against his rabbi, doth as much as he who murmurs against God. He who transgresses the precepts of one learned in the law is worthy of death. It is duty to respect the disciples of the wise, but much more their instructions. The fear due to the rabbins is equal with the fear of God. It is proper for every man to honour his father, but much more his teacher; for the former is merely the instrument of bringing him into this life, while the latter guides him to the life hereafter, which is eternal. He who teaches a Talmud ordinance in the presence of his instructor, is guilty unto death. Every one who partakes of a feast where a wise man is present, doth as much as if he shared in the presence of the Divine glory. To receive the disciple of a rabbi into one's house, is a service equal to offering daily sacrifice; and to do him any service, or suffer him to enjoy and use your goods, is, as it were, to be linked to the Divine glory."

## CHAPTER IV.

### STATE OF THE PAGAN WORLD IN THE REIGN OF ARTAXERXES LONGIMANUS.

CYRUS stands in the system of prophecy on a loftier eminence than any other king, if we except good Josiah, king of Judah : the name of each was announced hundreds of years before his birth, by Him to whom all things are ever present. And it is worthy of notice, that the principal work performed by each is described by the prophetic Spirit with a particularity which occurs very frequently in Divine predictions, 1 Kings xxii. 2 ; Isa. xlv. 27, 28 ; xlv. 1—3. Whether we can perceive it or not, doubtless these kings discovered, in character or conduct, some peculiar excellence, to show the Divine propriety of the exclusive honour conferred on them. No king of the chosen people exhibited a life as blameless, or a reformation as perfect, as did Josiah. We can speak with less certainty of the character and deeds of Cyrus. But in two things, and these the most interesting to the true religion, he surpassed all the former kings who reigned over the Pagan world. He was the first, and perhaps the last, who, without any apparent service received from the race of Jacob, bestowed on them the greatest and most valuable favours, which sovereign, ample, and uncontrolled power, and overflowing wealth, can command. He generously and spontaneously liberated them from slavery,—restored them to their land,—and, from his treasures of state, for which, as a despotic monarch, he was responsible to no man, he supplied them with means to rebuild their city and re-establish their religion. But his exaltation had, we conceive, a still more extensive influence on the true religion ; for he was the first of a succession of Pagan sovereigns who exposed idol-worship and idols to the scorn and derision of the human race.

Cyrus appears to have been the first conqueror who laid the basis of that political connexion between Asia and Europe,



which eventually produced, or was followed by, exceedingly great and permanent changes in the principles and conduct of mankind. The only Europeans probably known to the Asiatics were Greeks; and for them they do not seem to have entertained much respect. They, however, soon learned to admire and fear them. The Grecian race had been for a number of ages rising in rank among the nations. Colonies from Egypt had early brought into Greece the learning, arts, and religion of their native country; and several of the most talented Greeks, by persevering investigation of the state of knowledge in Egypt, and other countries which they visited, enriched their minds; and, on returning to their own country, successfully laboured to advance its civilization. Even before the age of Cyrus, the Grecian race had filled Greece Proper, and established large and prosperous colonies along the coast of the Ægean sea in Asia Minor, and towards Thrace, on the Italian coast, south-east from Rome, and in Sicily. The principal kingdom in Western Asia at this period appears to have been Lydia, whose capital was the magnificent Sardis, situated at the foot of Mount Timolus, in Asia Minor. Its reigning sovereign, Cræsus, celebrated for his immense wealth, had formed an alliance with Babylon, whose king, Nabonadius, or Labynatus, instead of defending his throne against Cyrus, fled to Sardis, and persuaded Cræsus to raise a vast army to subdue the Persians. He collected at Thymbra, a city not far from Sardis, more than four hundred thousand men, consisting of Egyptians, Thracians, Greeks, and natives of all the nations of Asia Minor, who were his allies. Cyrus quickly led his army to Thymbra, obtained a complete victory, and Cræsus was among the captives; but he was liberated by the generous conqueror, on condition of becoming a tributary king to Persia. From this time many Greeks served in the Persian armies, and were acknowledged to excel in war all their companions in arms. "Cyrus, after the conquest of Lydia, continued in Lesser Asia till he had subdued the several nations inhabiting that great continent, from the Ægean sea to the Euphrates. From thence he marched into Syria and Arabia, and having reduced those nations likewise into subjection, he again entered Assyria, and marched towards Babylon, the only city in the East that now held out against him; the king Labynatus, having blocked himself up in the capital. Cyrus, however, by perseverance, after a vigorous siege of two years, surmounted all difficulties, and became master of the kingdom, B. C. 538. The taking of Babylon

put an end to the Babylonian empire, and fulfilled the predictions which the prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Daniel, had uttered against that proud metropolis." The siege and capture of this great city are thus described by Keith.—"Babylon had been the hammer of the whole earth, by which nations were broken in pieces, and kingdoms destroyed. Its mighty men carried the terror of their arms to distant regions, and led nations captive. But they were 'dismayed,' according to the word of the God of Israel, whenever the nations which he had stirred up against them stood in array before their walls. Their timidity, so clearly predicted, was the express complaint and accusation of their enemies, who in vain attempted to provoke them to the contest. Cyrus challenged their monarch to single combat, but in vain; for 'the hands of the king of Babylon waxed feeble.' Courage had departed from both prince and people; and none attempted to save their country from spoliation, or to chase the assailants from their gates. They sallied not forth against the invaders and besiegers, nor did they attempt to disjoin and disperse them, even when drawn all around their walls, and comparatively weak along the extended line. Every gate was still shut; and 'they remained in their holds.' Being as unable to rouse their courage, even by a close blockade, and to bring them to the field, as to scale or break down any portion of their stupendous walls, or to force their gates of solid brass, Cyrus reasoned that the greater that was their number, the more easily would they be starved into surrender, and yield to famine, since they would not contend with arms nor come forth to fight. And hence arose, for the space of two years, his only hope of eventual success. So dispirited became its people, that Babylon, which had made the world as a wilderness, was long unresistingly a beleaguered town. But, possessed of many fertile fields, and provisions for twenty years, which in their timid caution they had plentifully stored, they derided Cyrus from their impregnable walls, within which they remained. Their profligacy, their wickedness, and false confidence were unabated; they continued to live carelessly in pleasures, but their might did not return; and Babylon the great, unlike to many a small fortress and unvalled town, made not one effort to regain its freedom or to be rid of the foe. Much time having been lost, and no progress having been made in the siege, the anxiety of Cyrus was strongly excited, and he was reduced to great perplexity, when at last it was suggested and immediately determined on, to turn the

course of the Euphrates. But the task was not an easy one. The river was a quarter of a mile broad, and twelve feet deep; and in the opinion of one of the counsellors of Cyrus, the city was stronger by the river than by its walls. Diligent and laborious preparation was made for the execution of the scheme, yet so as to deceive the Babylonians. And the great trench, ostensibly formed for the purpose of blockade, which for the time it effectually secured, was dug around the walls on every side, in order to drain the Euphrates, and to leave its channel a straight passage into the city, through the midst of which it flowed. But, in the words of Herodotus, 'If the besieged had either been aware of the designs of Cyrus, or had discovered the project before its actual accomplishment, they might have effected the total destruction of their troops. They had only to secure the little gates which led to the river, and to man the embankment on either side, and they might have enclosed the Persians as in a net from which they could never have escaped.' Guarding as much as possibly they could against such a catastrophe, Cyrus purposely chose, for the execution of his plan, the time of a great annual Babylonish festival, during which, according to their practice, the Babylonians drank and revelled the whole night. And while the unconscious and reckless citizens were engaged in dancing and merriment, the river was suddenly turned into the lake, the trench, and the canals; and the watchful Persians, both foot and horse, so soon as the subsiding of the water permitted, entered by its channel, and were followed by the allies in array, on the dry part of the river. 'I will dry up thy sea, and make thy springs dry. That sayeth to the deep be dry, I will dry up thy rivers.' One detachment was placed where the river first enters the city, and another where it leaves it. And 'one post did run to meet another, and one messenger to meet another, to show the king of Babylon that his city is taken at the end, and that the passages are shut.' 'They were taken,' says Herodotus, 'by surprise; and such is the extent of the city, that, as the inhabitants themselves affirm, they who lived in the extremities were made prisoners before any alarm was communicated to the centre of the place,' where the palace stood. Not a gate of the city wall was opened; not a brick of it had fallen. But a 'snare was laid for Babylon—it was taken, and it was not aware; it was found and also caught, for it had sinned against the Lord. How is the praise of the whole earth surprised! For thou hast trusted in thy wickedness, and thy wisdom, and thy knowledge, it

hath perverted thee, therefore shall evil come upon thee, and thou shalt not know from whence it riseth, and mischief shall come upon thee, and thou shalt not be able to put it off, &c.—None shall save thee.’ ‘In their heat I will make their feasts, and I will make them drunken, that they may rejoice and sleep a perpetual sleep, and not wake, saith the Lord. I will bring them down like lambs to the slaughter, &c. I will make drunken her princes and her wise men, her captains and her rulers, and her mighty men, and they shall sleep a perpetual sleep,’ &c. Cyrus, as the night drew on, stimulated his assembled troops to enter the city, because in that night of general revel within the walls, many of them were asleep, many drunk, and confusion universally prevailed. On passing, without obstruction or hinderance, into the city, the Persians, slaying some, putting others to flight, and joining with the revellers as if slaughter had been merriment, hastened by the shortest way to the palace, and reached it ere yet a messenger had told the king that his city was taken. The gates of the palace, which were strongly fortified, were shut. The guards stationed before them were drinking beside a blazing light, when the Persians rushed impetuously upon them. The louder and altered clamour, no longer joyous, caught the ear of the inmates of the palace, and the bright light showed them the work of destruction, without revealing its cause. And not aware of the presence of an enemy in the midst of Babylon, the king himself, (who, as every Christian knows, had been roused from his revelry by the hand-writing on the wall,) excited by the warlike tumult at the gates, commanded those within to examine from whence it arose; and according to the same word, by which ‘the gates’ (leading from the river to the city) ‘were not shut, the loins of kings were loosed to open before Cyrus the two-leaved gates.’ At the first sight of the opened gates of the palace of Babylon, the eager Persians sprang in. ‘The king of Babylon heard the report of them—anguish took hold of him,—he and all who were about him perished: God had numbered his kingdom and finished it: it was divided and given to the Medes and Persians: the lives of the Babylonian princes, and lords, and rulers, and captains, closed with that night’s festival: the drunken slept a perpetual sleep, and did not wake. ‘Her young men shall fall in *the streets*, and all her men of war shall be cut off in that day.’ Cyrus sent troops of horse throughout the streets, with orders to slay all who were found there. And he commanded proclamation to be made, in the

Syrian language, that all who were in the houses should remain within; and that, if any were found abroad, he should be killed. These orders were obeyed. 'They shall wander every man to his quarter.'—'I will fill thee with men as with caterpillars.' Not only did the Persian army enter with ease as caterpillars, together with all the nations that had come up against Babylon, but they seemed also as numerous. Cyrus, after the capture of the city, made a great display of his cavalry in the presence of the Babylonians, and in the midst of Babylon. Four thousand guards stood before the palace gates, and two thousand on each side. These advanced as Cyrus approached; two thousand spearmen followed them. These were succeeded by four square masses of Persian cavalry, each consisting of ten thousand men; and to these again were added, in their order, the Median, Armenian, Hyrcanian, Caducian, and Sacian horsemen,—'all,' as before, 'riding upon horses, every man in array,'—with lines of chariots, four abreast, concluding the train of the numerous hosts. Cyrus afterwards reviewed, at Babylon, the whole of his army, consisting of one hundred and twenty thousand horse, two thousand chariots, and six hundred thousand foot. Babylon, which was taken when not aware, and within whose walls no enemy, except a captive, had been ever seen, was also 'filled with men as with caterpillars,' as if there had not been a wall around it.—The Scriptures do not relate the manner in which Babylon was taken, nor do they ever allude to the exact fulfilment of the prophecies; but there is, in every particular, a strict coincidence between the predictions of the prophets and the historical narratives both of Herodotus and Xenophon."

Cyrus, having conquered Babylon, as the captain of the combined armies of the Persians and Medes, generously placed on the throne his relation Cyaxares, or Darius, called in Scripture Darius the Mede. Cyrus succeeded him, and after a prosperous reign of seven years, left an immense empire to his son Cambyzes, a vain, suspicious, vindictive, and cruel prince, whose reign was chiefly distinguished by his conquest of Egypt, which he did not long survive. Smerdis, pretending to be a son of Cambyzes, whom he had privately murdered, obtained the sceptre, as the proper heir, for a few months. The impostor was detected; and eight nobles freed the empire of the usuper, by putting him to death. One of these, known in history under the name of Darius Hystaspes, was exalted to the throne, B. C. 521, and the others became

his hereditary counsel. About the seventeenth year of his reign the Greeks in Iona renounced his authority, and the Athenians sent a fleet and army to assist them in their efforts to maintain their liberty. The united army captured Sardis. A soldier undesignedly raised a fire, which rapidly spread over the city, and wholly consumed it, except the citadel. When this event was reported to Darius he was filled with indignation against the Greeks, especially the Athenians. To confirm this resentment, he ordered one of his servants to repeat aloud every day, at the hour of dinner, "Remember the Athenians." Some years later the mighty army of Persia invaded Greece, and were repelled on the celebrated field of Marathon, when the military prowess of the Grecians astonished the world. Darius probably ascribed the disgrace of his army to the incapacity of their officers; and he resolved to place himself at their head. He, however, died before the preparations for the new invasion of Greece were completed.

His son Xerxes had no sooner subdued the Egyptians, who had revolted, than he determined to execute the purpose of his father. To insure success, he entered into "an alliance with the Carthaginians, at that time the most powerful people of the West, in which it was agreed, that while the king was to invade Greece in person, with all the force of Asia, the Carthaginians, with three hundred thousand men, were to attack the colonies of Greek extraction in Italy and Sicily." The world had never beheld a more terrible array than that exhibited by the fleet and army of Xerxes. The latter, on arriving in Thrace, were computed at "one million and seven hundred thousand foot, and fourscore thousand horse, which, together with twenty thousand men that conducted the camels, and took care of the baggage, amounted to one million eight hundred thousand men; the former consisted of twelve hundred and seven large ships, and three thousand galleys and transports; on board of all these vessels were found to be five hundred seventeen thousand six hundred and ten men. After he had entered Europe, the nations on this side of the Hellespont that submitted to him, added to his landforces three hundred thousand more, and two hundred and twenty ships to his fleet, on board of which were twenty-four thousand men; so that the whole number of his forces, when he arrived at Thermopylæ, including servants, eunuchs, women, sutlers, and other people of that sort, amounted to near five million."

The noble defence and glorious triumph of Athens and Lacedæmon, whom almost all the other states of Greece left

to contend against Persia have no parallel in the records of the world. Leonidas, king of Lacedemon, with his three hundred Spartans, withstood the whole power of Persia, died in the contest, and obtained undying fame. The Persian fleet was destroyed; the army melted away, and the vain and proud monarch with difficulty escaped the vengeance of those whom he had long hated and despised.

On the expulsion of his army from the soil of Greece the Grecian name became renowned over the earth, and the great king trembled on his throne. Every successive effort to retrieve his honour terminated in fresh disasters. And he who had vainly boasted that he was lord of the earth and the ocean, to alleviate the anguish of prostrated pride and disappointed hopes, surrendered himself to the low gratifications derived from pompous exhibitions and voluptuous pleasures. While he slept, the chief guardian of his palace deprived him of life, B. C. 456, and, after murdering the heir, placed the youngest son, Artaxerxes, on the throne. He is said to have been the handsomest man of the empire; but his arms being longer than common, the Greeks usually called him Longimanus.

Instructed by his father's experience and his own observation, he very soon perceived that the interests of the empire required him to study the arts of peace rather than those of war and conquest; hence he sedulously avoided all wars which were not necessary to maintain the power and the integrity of his dominions. To escape the fetters by which Providence had rivetted the Persian kings to Asia, they had for half a century struggled in vain, shed the blood of myriads of their people, exhausted the strength of the empire, and laid waste its richest provinces. The small states of Greece formed an impenetrable defence to Europe.

Fully convinced of this, Artaxerxes procured peace with these states by acknowledging their independence, their right to their seas and islands, and gave freedom to the Asiatic Greeks to live according to their own laws. In consequence of this, the intercourse between Europe and Asia on the one hand rapidly extended; and the language, civilization, science, and arts of Greece, were more widely diffused; and on the other the peculiar principles, customs, and manners of the Asiatics became more accurately and generally known to the Europeans; and many of the worshippers of the True God, of the fire, and of idols of gold, silver, wood, and stone, exchanged ideas, while they affectionately mixed together in the

armies, cities, and villages. This change of circumstances was certainly in favour of the true religion, for rays of light, however few or weak, tend to dissipate darkness.

Could Artaxerxes Longimanus have personally inspected all the plans secretly devised, and the acts performed in his name, the vast multitudes under his government would have had ample reason to have hailed him as their father ; for he was comprehensive in understanding, deliberate in judgment, and just and generous in his dispositions and conduct. But when we reflect on the general character of the principal servants of despotic governments, especially among nations almost wholly destitute of the first principles of morals, we have reason to believe that few of the governors of his provinces resembled him. And though not altogether irresponsible, yet they possessed sufficiency of power to prevent, in general, any serious complaint of their injustice, oppression, or cruelty, reaching his ears. One small province alone was secure, during the greatest part of his long reign, from many of the calamities which barbarous rulers very possibly inflicted on the empire. Judea was favoured with many native rulers who had aspired to power, and most diligently and faithfully exercised it, solely to protect the people, and promote by every means which they could command, the welfare of all ranks.

This some ascribe to the influence of Esther the niece of Mordecai. They believe that Artaxerxes was named by the Jews Ahasuerus ; and, by consequence, that the remarkable transactions recorded in the sacred book that bears her name, transpired in the early part of his reign. But not a few refer these to the reign of his father Xerxes. All, however, agree that Ezra received his commission to preside over his own people in Jerusalem, in the seventh year of Artaxerxes : and that he was succeeded by Nehemiah, in the twentieth year of that monarch, during the whole of whose subsequent reign he retained his office, and survived him a number of years.

The Old Testament was evidently completed during this king's reign ; and, about the same period, Herodotus the first profane historian worthy of credit, wrote his celebrated work. Other works of equal, or even of more value, may have been written before his age ; but none of them have descended to us. And it may be justly regarded as one of the first and best fruits of the great and astonishing impulse which the human mind had received, at a comparatively recent period, in Greece and Asia, and which was, perhaps, diffused and felt,



in a less or a greater degree, over the whole of the then known world. Fabulous tradition is the only vehicle which contains any notice of the state of the globe, of mankind, their transactions, and the events which affected them, previously to the writings of Herodotus. All remains enveloped by a dark cloud, through which no eye can distinctly discern the light of truth. Every step to approach it occasions confusion of intellect, doubt, despair, or scepticism. If there be one fact visible, it is, that mental darkness covered the earth, and thick moral darkness the people; and the truth of this is amply illustrated, and incontrovertibly confirmed, by the testimony of the holy oracles.

Reckoning from the death of Joseph, in Egypt, to the reign of Darius Hystaspes, we have a period of about eight hundred years, during which every record, divine or human, leads us to believe that idolatry, perfectly constructed into a system of religion, was established in all nations, and conformed to by every individual, without suspicion, or at least without venturing to express doubt of its inutility or immoral and mentally degrading tendency. The form of this religion was radically the same every where, although all the idols and rites were not precisely similar in aspect. It was also, in every case, exclusively adapted to gratify the senses, and exclude every just conception of the universal Creator, Sovereign, and Judge of the universe. The inevitable effect was, that mankind lived altogether as absolutely irresponsible to the Supreme and Perfect Being, all-sufficient to impart perfect blessedness, and inflict inconceivable misery. Such a God was not in all their thoughts. He was supplanted by imaginary beings all of whom were extremely imperfect; and not a few of those deemed most worthy of adoration, were flagrantly wicked, partial, and unrelenting. The state of the mind or affections, and general conduct of mankind, were scarcely an object of interest to any idolater, compared to the observances of rites to which no spiritual signification was attached, and some of the principal of which were most impure, cruel, and sanguinary,—such as prostitution of females, endurance of personal sufferings, and human sacrifice. Thus the whole system was evidently constructed to repress or extirpate moral feeling, and to permit sensual desires, passions, and appetites to govern man, at least, without any dread of displeasing a Being who had any claim to supreme love, or any right from his nature, or even conduct, to regard his votaries with aversion, or to refuse to grant his favour when

they honoured the gods of their country by observance of their ritual.

While morals were completely separated from religion, the parts of its ritual declared indispensable entirely discounted the exercise of the intellectual powers, in relation to God and his will, and subjected the worshippers to the dominion of the guardians of idolatry. These claimed the exclusive privilege of knowledge of the will of the gods, and of having at command never-failing means to obtain this knowledge, and to dispense their favours, and execute their wrath or vengeance. By consequence, every man who presumed not to despise the gods, necessarily limited his opinions on every subject to those communicated by his teachers, and his actions to the rules which they chose to prescribe. The multitude being thus reduced to mental as well as moral slavery, lived and acted merely to advance the honour and interests, and gratify the will and pleasure, of their religious lords. These, in every nation, comprised all to whom the government of the nation was intrusted—kings, priests, and diviners, who monopolized all knowledge and all power. The king was always nominally the head or chief of all the officers of religion, and occasionally, if not frequently, officially performed the duties of high-priest. Under his direction, and supported with all political and civil power, they pretended to predict future events by divination, to explain prodigies, interpret dreams, and to avert evils, or to confer benefits, by means of augury and incantations."

In some cases, as in Greece, according as civilization advanced, religion was so far separated from policy, that its doctrines and ceremonies were intrusted to priests; and the instruction of the laws, and the regulation of the manners, to persons celebrated for wisdom and patriotism; these were denominated, 'wise men.' But the former always were expected, and indeed bound to act in subserviency to the latter, by the application of all the apparatus of idolatry, to retain the people in slavery. For the opinion of Strabo was universally admitted, "that it was not possible to lead a promiscuous multitude to religion and virtue by philosophical harangues: this could only be effected by the aid of superstition, by prodigies and fables; the thunderbolt; the ægis, the trident, the spear, torches, and smoke, were the instruments made use of by the founders, and supporters of states, to terrify the ignorant vulgar into subjection." And that this method might always succeed, it was an universal and unalterable rule to

conceal from the vulgar the knowledge of the gods, and the peculiar manner of maintaining intercourse with them. The principal patrons of the gods were all accounted wise; and these included the priests, diviners, and others initiated into the mysteries. Many suppose that among these mysteries were included correct and honourable conceptions of the only True and Living God, and of the laws of nature and providence. If so, can we imagine any depravity of mind, or wickedness of conduct more dreadful than the fact, that the most intelligent class of men engaged, on oath, to retain this knowledge to themselves, in order to maintain absolute authority over the consciences of their fellow-men, and treat them as the beasts of the field? That they were guilty of the latter crimes, no one will deny; but no satisfactory evidence has been, nor, we think, can be adduced, that they continued possessed of the knowledge of the True God, and secretly adored him. The metaphorical or allegorical phraseology employed by those called 'wise' among the heathen, in their representation of the origin of all things, the gods, the heavens, and the earth, sufficiently demonstrate that they had no distinct, defined, and determinate ideas of the one all-perfect or all-sufficient Deity. Those who taught not that all things were eternal, ascribed their origin to a principle indescribable, from which they asserted that every thing in the universe issued,—gods, man, sun, moon, and stars, earth, air, and seas; and to which all these things would ultimately return. This principle pervaded every being and thing, consequently, every thing was of the same nature, and, in the lapse of ages, would be absorbed by the principle whence it emanated. This principle, originating all things, has certainly no more relation to the Supreme Being than any figment of the mind has to a real being or substance. The common sense interpretation of this opinion is, that all things proceeded from nothing, and would ultimately return to nothing. It is therefore obvious that nothing remained to be objects of worship except the gods, which the wise multiplied past numbering, according as their vain imaginations or their worldly interest suggested; and these phantoms of deluded or deluding minds were supported by a vast scheme of imposture, which unhappily darkened the understanding, perverted the judgment, and demoralised the affections of the human race for many ages, and still exists in some great nations, subjecting them to the dominion of the prince of darkness. This wretched thralldom may be, in our own time, wit-

nessed in a mitigated degree, in Tartary, India, and Burmah, as it prevailed in ancient Babylon, Syria, Egypt, Greece, and Europe; and one cannot, without a degree of wonder and melancholy, survey a not remote approximation to it in Spain, Italy, and other countries whose inhabitants seem little disposed to think that "light is sweet, and that it is a very pleasant thing to behold the Sun" of righteousness and truth.

The reign of idolatry almost wholly limited the powers of man to the acquisition of the arts to support and destroy life. Personal independence, in thought or action, was unknown. Nominally the will of the sovereign was the boundary of freedom, but in reality the will of the wise, or the priesthood, alone swayed the human race; for monarchs appear to have been as completely their slaves as the people. Very few of the individuals of transcendent talents who sat on the thrones of this world dared to command and control the wise. No one was permitted to utter a thought opposed to the expressed opinion of the arbitrators of knowledge; nor could any one change his position or rank in society, without the consent of the regulators of conduct. Life and property were equally insecure; for the will of the despot, or of his servants the wise, disposed of both as they pleased. Notwithstanding this tremendous power of the wise, rational freedom was as little enjoyed by themselves as by the multitude whom they enslaved; for they were not, by the unalterable rules of their incorporation, permitted or expected to add one thought, discovery, or art, to the treasury of knowledge conveyed to them by their predecessors. And as the preservation of that treasure depended almost, if not wholly, on the oral instruction or traditions of the wise, its value would doubtless be lessened, although the quantity might be augmented, every successive generation. Thus the world exhibited a scene unspeakably calamitous and terrific. The mind of the human race was still as death, while their passions raged with the fury of hell; and their habitations were "full of horrid cruelty."

In their history, according to our apprehension, the captivity of the Jews was an event of the deepest interest. It originated a mighty under-current in the ocean of mind, which, though perhaps not detected, yet was powerfully felt at the extremity of its shores, especially in Central and Western Asia, Greece, Italy, and the adjacent regions. The men of that generation, accustomed to the overthrow and ruin of nations, might possibly perceive nothing very uncommon or remarkable in the conquest and dispersion of the Jews, the con-

flagration of their holy temple and city, and the desolation of their favoured land. But let any candid and enlightened mind reflect on the nature of the transactions which were produced by the ministry of Daniel and his companions, and on the infinite importance of the subjects specified in the decrees proclaimed by the orders of Nebuchadnezzar, and he will not hesitate to believe that they were consummately fitted to awaken the human mind, to a new, a rational, and spiritual life. The absolute supremacy, self-existence, and all-sufficiency of the one God, were announced in the plainest and most sublime phraseology, and the universal acknowledgement of those great and eternal truths was enforced by special arguments, which were most appropriate to command the attention of the generation to whom they were addressed. From the fact that the authority by which they were made known was treated as infallible, and the power by which they were enforced was felt to be irresistible, and the least expression of disregard of it instant and inevitable destruction, no one could remain unaffected by the subjects placed before him. He might secretly hate them, but his thoughts must have been fixed on them. The number who, by these means, came, for the first time, to know the True God, no one can tell. It may be that, through Divine mercy, many became, in this sense, Jews.

Similar remarks are suggested by the transactions of Darius the Mede, the Cyaxares of profane history, and of Cyrus, which respected the Jewish people. But we proceed to notice the first recorded public expression of contempt for idols. Tradition favours the opinion that the Persians, unlike all other ancient nations, were at no period *idol*-worshippers, according to the definite meaning of words. However questionable this may be, it is most probable that the principal men among them, as early as Cambyzes, had become *image*-worshippers, and had thus returned to the first stage of idolatry, when the Supreme Being was adored through the medium of various objects, accounted symbolical representations of him. It is only on this supposition that one can believe in the power of that king to persuade his army to rob the temples of Egypt, and destroy them and the various idols of that country. The idols of Phenicia and of other kingdoms were treated with like indignity by future Persian kings.

On the death of Cambyzes, the throne was seized by Smerdis, one of the magi, or wise men. It is probable that they were suspected or known to have supported his usurpation;

for they were all massacred at his death ; and this tremendous vengeance on the priesthood may have afforded opportunity to Zoroaster to construct and establish the system of image-worship, which long prevailed, as the national religion of Persia. Tradition speaks of several religious leaders or philosophers of this name ; he who is believed to have actually existed, and to have instituted or restored the worship of the sun and fire, is reported to have flourished in the reign of Darius Hystaspes, who succeeded Smerdis. The idols of every country were usually more feared than despised by conquerors ; in so much that they deemed it necessary for the securing of conquered countries to carry the idols captive with the chief inhabitants. Their destruction by the Persians was regarded by other nations with horror, and pronounced a crime unparalleled, calling for the most terrible vengeance of the gods. Scarcely, however, could such a deed have been performed in the presence of all classes of the community, without rousing the thoughts of strong reflecting minds ; and even forcibly impressing on their hearts, the great and overwhelming truth, that the idols were nothing, and were of no service to states, except to deceive and delude the ignorant, simple, and sensual.

The progressive, and it may be imperceptible and invisible diffusion of this feeling may have enabled Artaxerxes to advance more easily and effectually than he could otherwise have done, the liberty of the Jews to worship the True God publicly, in all parts of his empire. In past ages, whoever openly renounced idols would have instantly suffered death. Conquerors were missionaries of the gods whom they worshipped. Hence Nineveh is denominated "the mistress of witchcraft, that selleth nations through her whoredoms, and families or tribes through her crafts." To maintain the dominions acquired by the sword and blood, they establish idolatry, and the whole system of divination, which invested it with power to undermine the judgment and brutalize the feelings which elevate man to the highest rank in the visible creation of God.

Persecution for opinion had shown itself in Asia immediately after the character and conduct of the Jews were understood. It, however, was not witnessed in Greece before the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus ; for it was then that independence of thought manifested itself in Europe. Anaxagoras, and Socrates, one of his disciples, who far surpassed his master in reputation, and, it is not doubted, in useful talents

and mental acquirements, certainly were contemporary with Artaxerxes. Anaxagoras was not the first Grecian who investigated the truth of received opinions, and judged for him self, on the appearance of nature, and the mental powers of man ; and others, perhaps, had discerned the system of deception which universally predominated. But no one before him is recorded to have surmised, or declared, that inanimated substances were destitute of mind, and therefore not proper objects of religious worship ; because that creation demonstrated that its Author must possess an infinitely intelligent mind. However deficient may have been his discernment of the Infinite and the Eternal, it is certain that it led him to ridicule the diviners, who pretended to reveal the mind of the gods by the phenomena exhibited by dead or living animals, or by intercourse with beings which only existed in the imagination of their devout or self-interested votaries. He conceived himself "born to contemplate the heavens," neglected his estate, and assumed the office of a public teacher of philosophy in Athens. The profane nature of his instructions roused the indignation of the citizens. He was accused of reviling the gods and their ministers, and condemned to death ; but after an imprisonment, the sentence was, through the great influence and exertions of his celebrated pupil Pericles, mitigated into a fine and banishment. He passed the rest of his days in Lampascus, a famous city on the Hellespont, whence, by the agency of many whom he instructed, his comparatively rational philosophy was very extensively disseminated over Greece and Asia Minor. Diogenes Apolloniades, succeeded him in his school or academy, and presuming to teach the same truths, was, like him, compelled to save his life by flight.

Socrates far excelled all his philosophical predecessors, by the mode of study which he recommended, and the subjects which he communicated ; and, as Mitford remarks, "his life forms a new era in the history of Athens and of man." He had acquired juster conceptions than his learned instructors of the Creator, and of the relative and social duties of mankind : and he felt his personal obligations to them and interest in them. Probably it was the voice of his conscience or judgment in its very imperfectly enlightened state, that he meant by the divine spirit who, he said, constantly attended him, "whose voice, distinctly heard, never expressly commanded what he was indisposed to do, but frequently forbade what he had intended." He was the first in Greece who had ever even proposed to ascertain and explain the principles of morals.

The rule of conduct universally followed in his time was that "might made right." Benevolence, integrity, justice, or other moral excellencies, were scarcely visible in any class of society. The learned sought fame or usefulness by investigating nature or perfecting the sciences apart from morals or religion. This scene provoked the displeasure of Socrates, and he resolved to devote his life to learn and teach the duty of man to man. "He estimated the value of knowledge by its utility, and recommended the study of geometry, astronomy, and other sciences, only so far as they admit of a practical application to the purposes of human life. His great object, in all his conferences and discourses, was to lead men into an acquaintance with themselves; to convince them of their follies and vices; to inspire them with the love of virtue; and to furnish them with useful moral instructions. Cicero might, therefore, very justly say of Socrates, that he was the first who called down philosophy from heaven to earth, and introduced her into the public walks and domestic retirements of men, that she might instruct them concerning life and manners. The moral lessons which Socrates taught, he himself diligently practised; whence he excelled other philosophers in personal merit, no less than in his method of instruction. His conduct was uniformly such as became a teacher of moral wisdom." His views of Deity and the homage due him by man were most imperfect, and far from harmonious; for while he seems most strongly disposed to recommend him as alone worthy of supreme love and reverence, he approved by word and deed of the superstitions which debased the human race. "To unveil the nature of Deity was not among his pretensions. He only insisted on the perfect goodness and perfect wisdom of the Supreme God, the creator of all things, and the constant superintendence of his providence over the affairs of men. As included in these, he held that every thing done, said, or merely wished by men, was known to the Deity, and that it was impossible he could be pleased with evil. The unity of God, though implied in many of his reported discourses, he would not in direct terms assert; rather carefully avoiding to dispute the existence of the multifarious gods acknowledged in Greece; but he strongly denied the weaknesses, vices, and crimes commonly imputed to them. So far, however, from proposing to innovate in forms of worship and religious ceremonies, so various in the different Grecian states, and sources of more doubt and contention than any other circumstances of the heathen religion, he held that men could not in these matters do wrong, if they



followed the laws of their own country and the institutions of their forefathers. He was therefore regular in sacrifices, both upon the public altars and in his family. He seems to have been persuaded that the Deity, by various signs, revealed the future to men, in oracles, dreams, and all the various ways usually acknowledged by those conversant in the reputed science of augury. 'Where the wisdom of men cannot avail,' he said, 'we should endeavour to gain information from the gods; who will not refuse intelligible signs to those to whom they are propitious.' Accordingly, he consulted oracles himself, and he recommended the same practice to others, in every doubt on important concerns."

Notwithstanding his conformity to the religion of his country, by his representation of the pure and spiritual nature of its gods, and his persevering disinterested efforts to reclaim the people from vice and profligacy, he roused the envy of the public teachers, who were supported by their scholars and the people, by condemning their opinions and practices. He was accused of blasphemy, or of reviling the gods of Athens, proclaiming new gods, and corrupting the principal youth, by selecting passages from Homer to enforce anti-democratic principles. Though no satisfactory proof that he was guilty of the crimes of which he was accused was adduced, the clamour of the people caused the sentence of death to be passed against him. Had he condescended to supplicate the rulers of the city, he might have obtained an acquittal or mitigation of the sentence; but this he declared was unbecoming a lover of the truth—a character which, as we shall afterwards have occasion to observe, he was ambitious to exemplify in his life and death. Though his perception of Divine truth was obscure, and his representation of it still more imperfect, yet his instructions and example subverted the dominion of idolatry, and from his time it was insufficient to maintain the presumptuous assumptions of its chief advocates to direct and control the public mind, and prevent personal inquiry after truth. Succeeding philosophers, however, were either satisfied with the knowledge of Deity which he had communicated to them, or, alarmed by his fate, declined to denounce idol-worship, or expose the deceptive arts of its ministers. He left no writings, but, by comparing his sentiments reported by those of his friends who were qualified to judge and worthy to be credited, with the opinions of the future philosophers of Greece and Asia, it is certain that not one of them entertained more just conceptions of the True and

Living God, the spiritual nature of man, and the invisible state. This is manifest from the numerous works of Plato, the most celebrated disciple of Socrates, and confessedly the philosopher who was most eminent for his knowledge of religion and morals.

This great philosopher taught that there was a Supreme Being, the former of all things ; but this Being, according to him, was neither the only eternal existence, nor in nature possessed of immeasurable perfection. He held that there were two eternal, independent causes of all things ; God and matter. The latter was a substance without form or quality, but received both from the former. Human reasonings are generally inconsistent and contradictory, and Plato's were not an exception. He speaks of nature possessing a power capable of resisting the will and operation of Deity, and this he regards as the origin and necessary continuance of evil in the universe. "It cannot be that evil be destroyed, for there must always be something contrary to good. God wills, as far as it is possible, every thing good, and nothing evil." Plato seems still further to assign limits to the perfection of Deity, by the assertion that He formed a perfect world, according to eternal, immutable patterns. What is to be understood by these patterns has never been determined by the learned. Some consider them to consist of conceptions or ideas eternally existing in the Divine mind ; and others, that they mean innumerable real beings, subsisting in God, and proceeding from him, actually distinct from him and matter, but employed by him to form sensible things, to be contemplated by rational beings. The latter opinion is obviously equivalent to the emanations from God, which characterised the vain philosophy of the wise men of oriental countries. This imagination probably originated another equally destitute of truth,—that each material world was endued with a soul, and, like the matter from which it was formed, eternal. It was not therefore difficult for the philosopher to believe that the soul was immortal, although he supposed it material, and on that account partaking of the imperfection and evil belonging to matter. Hence he ascribes the evident moral defects of the human race to the manner in which God originally formed the universe, and particularly to an act of these souls in some unknown remote period. "God," says Plato, "separated from the soul of the world inferior souls, equal in number to the stars, and assigned to each its proper celestial abode ; but that these souls (by what means, or for

what reason does not appear) were sent down to the earth into human bodies, as into a sepulchre or prison. He ascribes to this cause the depravity and misery to which human nature is liable; and maintains, that it is only by disengaging itself from all animal passions, and rising above sensible objects to the contemplation of the world of intelligence that the soul of man can be prepared to return to its original habitation." His system of morals, of course, contained no principle tending to humble man in the presence of his Creator, nor any adequate motive to reconcile to God a heart alienated from the holiness of his nature and laws, and conscious of being justly exposed to his displeasure and vengeance. The sum of his morality was that "our highest good consists in the contemplation and knowledge of the first good, which is Mind, or God. All those things which are called good by men, are in reality such only so far as they are derived from the first and highest good. The only power in human nature which can acquire a resemblance to the Supreme Good, is reason. The minds of philosophers are fraught with valuable treasures; and, after the death of the body, they shall be admitted to Divine entertainments; so that, whilst with the gods they are employed in surveying the fields of truth, they will look down with contempt upon the folly of those who are contented with earthly shadows. Goodness and beauty consist in the knowledge of the first good and the first fair. That only what is becoming is good: therefore virtue is to be pursued for its own sake; and, because it is a Divine attainment, it cannot be taught, but is the gift of God. He alone who has attained the knowledge of the first good is happy. The end of this knowledge is, to render man as like to God as the condition of human nature will permit. This likeness consists in prudence, justice, sanctity, temperance."

The revolution in religious and moral principles which had been thus commenced in Greece, passed to the metropolis and chief provinces of the Roman empire, rapid as lightning, after the extension of its power to Greece and Asia. It was confessedly superficial, as our notice of it, in its nature, and inefficient to produce a radical and enduring change on the human affections, in relation to God or man. It was, however, salutary on the interests of true religion. This every one may discover who adverts to the liberty of religious thoughts and actions permitted from the time of Artaxerxes throughout nearly the whole known world. The worship

of the True God gradually and progressively spread in the empire of idols, and multitudes of their votaries became utterly regardless of their honour ; and not a few joined the synagogues, and ascended occasionally to the temple of the Jews, who had been for many centuries universally hated or despised, as the enemies of the gods and of mankind.

Whence came the dim light of truth which partially illuminated the minds of the original agents of this moral revolution ? Did these men possess talents transcending their learned predecessors who were the very pillars of idolatry ? Or were they naturally more disposed to seek after the One God and Saviour ? No one will, on these accounts, place Anaxagoras, Socrates, and Plato, before Thales, Lycurgus, and Solon. The purer light of the former had doubtless fallen on them, as it radiated from the holy fire of Moses and the prophets, which every great event dispersed wider and wider over the inhabited world. This fire the philosophers, influenced by it, may not have perceived, or in the pride of intellect, might have disdained to acknowledge. Nor would this be surprising ; for similar has been the mental condition of the philosophers and learned in the Christian age. Every truly candid man is fully persuaded that they own all their superiority over the ancients, in religion and moral ideas, to Christianity, but few among them have discerned or publicly avowed this fact. That Greece was assuming, and Rome about to take, a new position in relation to the countries in which the Jews sojourned, at the period when moral light shone on them, will, we think, be distinctly observed by all who may peruse the subsequent pages ; and the extreme darkness in which the learned Greeks and Romans remained must excite the astonishment of all reflecting persons, who are not strongly persuaded of the entire aversion of the hearts of all, and especially of those who deem themselves the exclusively wise and the prudent of this world, from Jehovah the absolutely perfect and independent Being.

## CHAPTER V

### THE REIGN OF DARIUS NOTHUS.

THE death of Artaxerxes Longimanus was generally lamented, for during his long reign the Persian empire, in Asia, had been, on the whole, prosperous and happy. And had his numerous subjects foreseen the calamitous events which were about to fall on them, their grief would assuredly have been more intense and universal. To the Jews especially his memory was peculiarly dear, for they had been more favoured by him than by any of his predecessors. If they, however, apprehended that his demise would prove detrimental to their interests, the pious among them doubtless soon perceived abundant reason to admire and adore the love and goodness of the God of their fathers; for the state of the empire continued for several years remarkably favourable to the interests of their nation, and of the true religion.

The royal family were the first to bewail the loss of their generous and just chief and sovereign. He had left only one son, named Xerxes, by his queen, but seventeen sons by his concubines. The former ascended the throne amidst the joyful acclamations of the people. He appears to have been more disposed to sensual gratifications than qualified to govern a great empire. His ambitious, cruel, and unnatural brother Sogdianus, taking advantage of his weakness and folly, conspired to destroy him. On a festival day the king had retired to his chamber intoxicated; he was soon followed by his treacherous brother, led on by Pharnacias, one of the king's favourite eunuchs. They easily murdered the king, and found no difficulty to proclaim Sogdianus his successor. He had scarcely taken possession of the throne when he also killed Bagorazus, the most faithful of all his father's eunuchs, and one respected by all the nobles and the army. These therefore gladly joined his brother Ochur, who raised an army in Hyrcania, the government of which had been committed to

him by their father, and hastened to the capital, with the avowed purpose to revenge the death of Xerxes. Having seized Sogdianus, he condemned him to suffer death by suffocation in ashes, a mode of punishment inflicted by the Persians on the greatest criminals, and which is thus described by ancient writers:—"A large quantity of ashes was thrown into one of the largest towers; the criminal was cast in from the top, and the ashes were, by a wheel, turned perpetually round him, till he was suffocated."

Ochus was immediately proclaimed king in less than seven months after his father's death, and changed his name to that of *Darius*, to which historians add *Nothus*, the bastard, to distinguish him from other Persian emperors named Darius. The reign of Darius Nothus, which lasted nineteen years, was far from tranquil. He first had to defend his power against a great rebellion, headed by Arsites, one of his brothers by the same mother. This prince found a fit instrument to fulfil his pleasure in Artyphius, son of Megabyzus, who had been one of the noblest servants and ablest commanders of the army of Artaxerxes. The son was probably stimulated to revolt from a desire to revenge the disgrace and sufferings inflicted on his admired father. He twice defeated the king's army, and would perhaps have finally triumphed, had not the Greeks in his army been prevailed on by bribes to desert him in the third encounter. On surrendering himself to the general, Artasyras, by whom he had been conquered, his life was spared for some time through the fatal policy of the queen Parysatis. She persuaded the king to delay the putting of the general to death, lest it should render the rebel brother desperate, and thereby prolong the rebellion. The wisdom of her advice was quickly seen; for Arsites, on learning the clemency showed Artyphius, delivered himself up to his royal brother. The queen having thus succeeded in her subtle scheme rested not till Darius after a violent struggle with his brotherly affection, yielded to her entreaties, and put to death his brother and Artyphius.

Thus occupied in subjugating or punishing with death the real or supposed rivals of his power, who lived in the provinces situated nearest the capital, the more remote most probably were left by him for a number of years to be governed according to the rules prescribed by his father. History, at least, records no change in Syria, Judea, and Phenicia, during the greater part of the reign of Darius Nothus. The Jews were every where distinguished by their fidelity to Persia.

This was so universally known that they owed to it, as we shall see, the singular favours conferred on them by their future conquerors. By consequence, every thing known of this period tended to the prosperity of the government of Judea while Nehemiah lived. He is believed to have performed the great act which perfected the restoration of Moses' law, and the last recorded to have been done by him, about A. M. 3595, B. C. 409. The correctness of this date is manifest from the *Chronicon Alexandrium*, which contains the fullest, and, at the same time, a true account of the succession of the Jewish high-priests. For if, as it is generally understood, Joiada was high-priest when one of his sons was expelled for his profanation of the temple, the last act of Nehemiah could not be much earlier; for Eliashib, the father of Joiada, only died, B. C. 413. That Nehemiah survived him is not doubtful, but how long is quite uncertain. If, however, he was appointed governor of Judea, B. C. 445, he appears to have held that office more than thirty years, several of which he spent at the Persian court, when he could only rule Judea by a deputy.

Under his able and just administration for so long a period, doubtless the population and the happiness of the restored nation of the Jews greatly increased. He found them so few and scattered over the country, that he deemed it expedient to people the holy city by persuading those in the rural districts to cast lots to decide who should settle as citizens; and one of every ten was chosen. That the city and kingdom presented a scene far more animating before his death, we may reasonably infer, when we reflect on the state in which Judea appeared two or three generations later, notwithstanding the numerous evils which it had suffered in the interval. Many things contributed in his day to augment the population, and extend the influence of his people: and accomplish such predictions as that in *Zech. i. 16, 17*. "I am returned to Jerusalem with mercies: my house shall be built in it, saith the Lord of hosts, and a line shall be stretched forth upon Jerusalem. Cry yet, saying, Thus saith the Lord of hosts, My cities through prosperity shall yet be spread abroad; and the Lord shall yet comfort Zion, and shall yet choose Jerusalem." The Jews had rest from all their surrounding hereditary enemies, who quietly submitted to the Persian rule. The Tyrians, restored to liberty, resumed their former commercial pursuits, and were honoured by the rulers of Persia, who owed them much for the use of their ships, when required in war

Indeed they were rarely disposed to quarrel with the Jews, from whom they received, in exchange for their merchandise, the most of their articles of food. The Moabites, Ammonites, Philistines, and Edomites seem also to have returned from the Babylonian captivity, and to have multiplied ; but except the last, these nations interfered not much with the affairs of the Jews. The Egyptians were not in circumstances to do them wrong ; for after repeated and mighty efforts, in which they were strengthened by the powerful assistance of the Athenians, they were compelled to bow to Persia, except those whom Amyrtæus withdrew to the fens, which were inaccessible to the Persians. Here the disaffected were permitted to remain in peace many years, and the only attempt they made to recover the kingdom, from the tenth year of Artaxerxes to the eleventh of Darius, proved abortive.

The care of Nehemiah to preserve the purity of the temple worship, to which allusion has been made, was the undesigned occasion of the complete establishment of a false but imposing form of the true religion in Samaria, which proved a fertile source of grief to the true worshippers of God, and of much perplexity to the Jews, for several ages. Samaria was the name of the capital of the Ten Tribes of Israel. It was situated in a rich district to which it gave name, about twenty miles from Jerusalem, on the road to Galilee. This district was peopled by a mixed multitude, transplanted from various idolatrous countries in the East, by the king of Assyria, to supply the place of the Israelites, whom he had carried away captive. From the original narrative of this people in 2 Kings xvii. 24—41. we learn that on taking up their residence in the holy land, they suffered much from the incursions of beasts of prey, which they conceived to be a punishment inflicted on them for their idolatrous practices. Terror impelled them to desire instruction how to worship the God of Israel. In compliance with their desire, the Assyrian king sent them a priest belonging to the Ten Tribes. Probably they durst not have submitted to be taught by a priest of the kingdom of Judah. Unhappily their new teacher taught them not the true nature of idolatry or of the true religion ; and the result was, that, like the Ten Tribes, they for sometime professed to worship the True God and their native idols. It seems, however, probable that they had really become, or pretended to be, ashamed of idol-worship before the return of the Israelites from captivity ; for they then expressed a wish to be considered one with them in the worship of the True



God. But the Israelites had no confidence in them, and indeed they seem to have had ample reason to suspect their sincerity, if we may judge by their future conduct, for they showed themselves the most active and most dangerous enemies of the restored captives. They persecuted them by every means in their power; and gladly received among them every Israelite who was unwilling to submit in all things to the laws of Moses, or who subjected himself to punishment among his own people. But their power to seduce the Jews and disunite them was comparatively insignificant, while their form of religion was distinctly different from that instituted by Moses; for religious errors are powerless if not exhibited in the semblance of truth. This defect in the arts of the Samaritans to injure the Jews was most probably supplied by the son of Eliashib, the high-priest, when he joined them. Having married the daughter of Sanballat, the Persian governor of Samaria, his father-in-law built him a temple on mount Gerizim, intended to rival that on mount Sion, and of it he was constituted the first high-priest.

This memorable event happened, according to Josephus, at a later period. But it is more probable that he made a mistake in chronology than that there were at different periods a Persian governor named Sanballat, and that a son of a high-priest who succeeded Joiada, also apostatised and married the governor's daughter. To Joiada's son, called by Josephus Manasseh, may, most likely, be ascribed, not only the erection of the temple on Gerizim, but also the adoption of the books of Moses by the Samaritans. A temple would have been no proper bond of union without a form of worship; and a Jewish high-priest ambitious to seduce his countrymen to imitate his example would, at once, from policy, prefer the form prescribed by Moses. This was especially natural to Manasseh, who had not renounced the religious rites, but rather the moral restraints of the laws of Moses. By these circumstances, the previous alienation existing between the Samaritans and Jews was confirmed and strengthened; each maintained that they alone were the chosen people of God. The number of Jews evil-affected towards their own nation who joined the Samaritans, became so great that they denied their original descent, and insisted that they were the legitimate descendants of the patriarchs. Hence the female's address to our Lord at Jacob's well.—“Art thou greater than our father Jacob, who gave us the well, and drank thereof himself, and his children, and his cattle?” Their pretensions, as well as

their unconquerable opposition, exceedingly provoked the pride and indignation of the Jews, who had the pleasure of conquering them years afterwards, under their great leader Hyrcanus. He razed their temple, but he could not change their hearts. The Samaritans continued to regard its site sacred, and used it as the seat of their national worship. This is still done by those who claim at the present day the honour of being their legitimate descendants. They are now very few in number, and reside in Nepolose, the ancient Shechem or Sychar, a town beautifully situated about forty miles from Jerusalem.

They acknowledged no part of the Scriptures inspired except the Pentateuch, probably because the other portions represented Jerusalem and its temple as the exclusively sacred seat for the public worship of the True God. The present race possess a very ancient manuscript, which they assert to be nearly 3000 years old. They respect the books real or apocryphal of Joshua and the Judges. They profess to look for Messiah, whom they regard only as a man, who shall assume the royalty, and make their town the metropolis of his universal empire. They show a catalogue of their high-priests regularly descended from Aaron, and vaunt that they alone retain the Hebrew characters in which God gave the law to Moses. Ezra they regard as an imposter, and pronounce cursed the characters used by the Jews in their writings.—See *Chr. Teacher* for Nov. 1839.

The Samaritan Pentateuch deservedly holds a high place in sacred literature. Several of the Christian fathers knew and quoted it; but it was afterwards lost sight of till Joseph Scaliger called the attention of the learned to it. The first copies that appear to have reached Europe, we owe to the venerable archbishop Usher. Two versions are extant; one in the Arabic, and the other in the Samaritan characters. The latter, Horn observes, “was made from the Hebrew-Samaritan text into the Samaritan dialect, which is intermediate between the Hebrew and the Aramæan language. This version is of great antiquity, having been made at least before the time of Origen, and not improbably before the commencement of the Christian æra. The author of the Samaritan version is unknown, but he has in general adhered very closely and faithfully to the original text; so that this version is almost exactly the counterpart of the original Hebrew-Samaritan codex with all its various readings. This shows, in a degree really surprising, how very carefully and accurately

the Hebrew Pentateuch has been copied and preserved by the Samaritans, from the ancient times in which their version was made. The Arabic version of the Samaritan Pentateuch is also extant in Samaritan characters, and was executed by Abu Said, A. D. 1070, in order to supplant the Arabic translation of the Jewish Rabbi, Saadia Gaon, which had till that time been in use among the Samaritans. Abu Said has very closely followed the Samaritan Pentateuch, whose readings he expresses, even where the latter differs from the Hebrew text; in some instances, however, both Bishop Walton and Bauer have remarked, that he has borrowed from the Arabic version of Saadia. On account of the paucity of manuscripts of the original Samaritan Pentateuch, Bauer thinks this version will be found of great use in correcting its text. Some specimens of it have been published by Dr. Durell in the 'Hebrew Text of the Parallel Prophecies of Jacob relating to the Twelve Tribes,' &c. (Oxford, 1763, 4to.) and before him by Castell, in the fourth volume of the London Polyglott; also by Hwiid, at Rome, in 1780, in 8vo.; and by Paulus, at Jena, in 1789, in 8vo." A brief but satisfactory account of the Samaritan Pentateuch is given by Horne in his introduction to the Holy Scriptures, vol. 2. pages 93—97. Sixth Edition.

The construction of a corrupt system of religion in the vicinity of the Jews was followed or accompanied by other alarming events. The Egyptians, who were never reconciled to the Persians, were prepared to cast off their yoke, and only waited an opportunity, which the feeble and distracted administration of Darius Nothus encouraged them to expect. The least evil which the Jews had reason to dread from the revolt of Egypt was, that their country would be traversed and impoverished by the Persian army on its way to that country. In addition to this, many of them would be called to join the invaders. And if the Egyptians succeeded to render themselves independent, it was most probable that they would invade Judea, and revenge themselves on the Jews, who were well known as the most faithful friends of the Persians. That such events must have been anticipated by the principal Jews, to whom the state of the empire was known, cannot be doubted. Darius discovered little of the wisdom or firmness of mind indispensable in the sovereignty of a great people. He permitted himself to be entirely governed and directed by his queen and three of his chief eunuchs. Of the latter Artoxares was the most loved, honoured, and trusted by his master, who almost in all things was guided by his

counsel. This man became intoxicated by the power with which he was invested, and rashly aspired to the throne. "He had found Darius's weak side, by which he insinuated himself into his confidence. He had studied all his passions, to know how to indulge them, and governed his prince by their means. He plunged him continually in pleasures and amusements, to engross his whole authority to himself. In fine, under the name and protection of queen Parysatis, to whose will and pleasure he was the most devoted of slaves, he disposed of all the affairs of the empire, and nothing was transacted but by his orders." He could, in these circumstances, at any time, cut off his king, and he believed that his appearing a eunuch was the only thing which might indispose the Persians to acknowledge him his successor. To remove this impression, he wore an artificial beard, married, and caused it to be propagated that he belonged not to the class of eunuchs, although he had deemed it expedient to assume the appearance of one. He revealed his design and object to his wife, who discovered the whole to the king. The traitor was seized, and delivered over to the ambitious and revengeful queen, who, on account of his boldness in deceiving her, felt malignant pleasure in inflicting on him an ignominious and cruel death.

This fortunate deliverance of the king from the fatal snare laid for him in his palace gave no stability to his throne. Anarchy and rebellion were widely spread. Lydia, one of the most valuable and important provinces of the empire, was governed by Pisuthnes. He knew well the weakness of the imperial government, and resolved to constitute himself the independent king of his province. "What flattered him with the hopes of succeeding in his attempt, was, his having raised a considerable body of Grecian troops, under the command of Lycon the Athenian. Darius sent Tissaphernes against this rebel, and gave him, with a considerable army, the commission of governor of Lydia, of which he was to dispossess Pisuthnes. Tissaphernes, who was an artful man, and capable of acting in all characters, found means of tampering with the Greeks under Pisuthnes; and, by dint of presents and promises, brought over the troops with their general to his party. Pisuthnes, who, by this desertion, was unable to carry on his designs, surrendered, upon his being flattered with the hopes of obtaining his pardon; but the instant he was brought before the king, he was sentenced to be suffocated in ashes, and accordingly met with the same fate as the rest of the

rebels. But his death did not put an end to all troubles ; for Amorges, his son, with the remainder of his army, still opposed Tissaphernes ; and for two years laid waste the maritime provinces of Asia Minor, till he at last was taken by the Greeks of Peloponnesus, in Iasus, a city of Ionia, and delivered up by the inhabitants to Tissaphernes, who put him to death."

A fiercer tempest burst on Egypt, a province, if possible, of greater consequence than even Lydia. While the latter country was in a state of revolt, Amyrtæus left his *fens*, for this was the common name of the region of which Persia had not been able, or at least not inclined, to deprive him of. The Egyptians, being generally disaffected, hastened to his standard, and the Persians were speedily expelled. Amyrtæus, having been acknowledged the sovereign of all Egypt, restored the kingdom to peace, and formed an alliance with the Arabians, with the avowed purpose of invading Phenicia. His schemes were no sooner made known to Darius than he resolved to anticipate him. In order to do this effectually, he recalled his fleet from the Lacedemonians, whom it had been appointed to aid in their efforts to obtain the sovereignty of Greece. While his fleet proceeded to Egypt, he led, in person, a great army thither, and succeeded in reducing it. It is probable that Amyrtæus fell in defence of his kingdom, for we find that his son Pausiris was appointed by Darius its tributary sovereign.

During the war in Egypt the Arabians and Medes revolted, but they were soon brought into subjection, and Darius returned in triumph to his capital.

Those who permit their affections to sway their judgment never learn wisdom by experience. Of this Darius Nothus was an example. He passionately loved or feared his queen Parysatis, and had not courage to refuse her any thing which she desired. Their youngest son, Cyrus, was her favourite, and she eagerly sought to place him in a condition to succeed immediately to the throne on the death of his father. This induced her to prevail on the king to appoint Cyrus to the supreme command of all the provinces of Asia Minor ; an office which a youth of not more, perhaps, than sixteen years of age could scarcely be supposed qualified to hold ; and this his conduct fully proved, and occasioned much misery to the empire. His hasty elevation awakened and strengthened his ambition, uncontrolled by reason. Dazzled with the splendour of high authority, to which he had been little accustomed,

and jealousy of the least omission in point of ceremonial homage, discovered by a remarkable action the secret of his heart. Brought up from his infancy in the reigning house, nurtured under the shade of the throne, amidst the submissions and prostrations of the courtiers, entertained long by the discourses of an ambitious mother that idolized him, in the desire and hope of empire, he began already to affect the rights of sovereignty, and to exact the honours paid to it with surprising haughtiness and rigour. Two Persians of the royal family, his cousins-german by their mother, his father Darius's sister, had omitted to cover their hands with their sleeves in his presence, according to a ceremonial observed only to the kings of Persia. Cyrus, resenting that neglect as a capital crime, condemned them both to die, and caused them to be executed at Sardis without mercy. Darius, at whose feet their relations threw themselves to demand justice, was very much affected with the tragical end of his two nephews, and looked upon this action of his son as an attempt upon himself, to whom alone that honour was due. He resolved therefore to take his government from him, and ordered him to court, upon the pretext of being sick and having a desire to see him." On his arrival at court, his mother succeeded to reconcile him to his father, and to maintain him in the government of Asia Minor. This was an unhappy event, especially to Athens. The preceding governors of Persia, in Asia, had studied to preserve the balance of power in Greece, by assisting the weakest states. But he adopted a different policy; and by profuse expenditure enabled the Lacedemonians to conquer and subdue the Athenians, by which the celebrated Peloponnesian war was terminated, and the Grecians united under Sparta, whose rulers soon attacked Persia, apparently in the confident hope of overthrowing the empire.

About this time, B. C. 404, Darius Nothus was seized with disease, which soon terminated fatally. The queen had attempted in vain to prevail on him to declare Cyrus his successor, instead of his elder brother, named Arsaces. The latter attended his father in his illness, and earnestly desired him to say by what means he had so successfully reigned, that he might imitate his example, and be blessed. The answer deserves to be recorded in letters of gold: "I have ever done to the best of my knowledge, whatever religion and justice required, without swerving from the one to the other."

Our slight retrospect of the reign of Darius sufficiently shows that many well educated Jews of the higher orders

must have, at this period, become well known to the Greeks; for multitudes of both nations served and mixed together in the Persian armies. And as we know that the Jews were distinguished at this time by their correct religious and moral principles, the true religion must have been more extensively known in Europe than in any former age. Does not this support the opinion suggested of the true origin of the vast improvement, at this period, in Grecian philosophy, in our brief review of idolatry and philosophy in chapter third? It may be proper to add here, that Socrates is the universally acknowledged instrument in his noble work, which was steadily pursued by his disciple Plato. He was, like all the citizens of Athens, occasionally a soldier, had made many campaigns, and was present in many battles; consequently he may have had ample opportunity to acquire knowledge of the Jewish people, their character, principles, and religion; and his capacities fitted him to appreciate them. Happy had it been had he searched more diligently for Divine truth, and not limited his research almost wholly to the principles which merely contribute to secure man's temporal happiness in the various relations of this life. In this attainment he indeed far surpassed all his teachers and the Pagan philosophers of preceding generations. Socrates was put to death about three years after the death of Darius. His father was a sculptor, and he first learned and excelled in this trade; but "Criton is reported to have taken him out of his father's shop, from the admiration of his fine genius, and the opinion that it was inconsistent for a young man capable of the greatest things, to continue perpetually employed upon stone with a chisel in his hand. He became the disciple of Archelaus, who conceived a great affection for him. Archelaus had been pupil to Anaxagoras, a very celebrated philosopher. Socrates' first study was physics, the works of nature, and the movement of the heavens, stars, and planets, according to the custom of those times in which only that part of philosophy was known; and Xenophon assures us of his being learned in it. But after having found, by his own experience, how difficult, abstruse, intricate, and at the same time how little useful that kind of learning was to the generality of mankind, he was the first, according to Cicero, who conceived the thought of bringing down philosophy from heaven, to place it in cities, and introduce it into private houses; humanizing it, to use that expression, and rendering it more familiar, more useful in common life, more within the reach of man's capacity, and applying

it solely to what might make them more rational, just, and virtuous. He found there was a kind of folly in devoting the whole vivacity of his mind, and employing all his time in inquiries merely curious, involved in impenetrable darkness, and absolutely incapable of contributing to human happiness, whilst he neglected to inform himself in the ordinary duties of life, and in learning what is conformable or opposite to piety, justice, and probity,—in what fortitude, temperance, and wisdom consist,—what is the end of all government, what the rules of it, and what qualities are necessary for commanding and ruling well.” Socrates, on the whole, surpassed his contemporaries, as far in the purity of his life as in his knowledge; and though, by sacrificing to Æsculapius, he died as a fool dieth, yet his inflexible adherence to what he deemed the truth, renders his memory melancholy dear to all true philosophers.



## CHAPTER VI.

### REIGN OF ARTAXERXES MNEMON.

THE most prominent subjects of the history of the church of God, or his avowed worshippers, are not their usual conduct and the ordinary events which befell them, but their most remarkable declensions and reformations in the true religion, and those deeds by which, collectively or individually, the power of faith was displayed in them, and those providences which most signally discovered that they were the peculiar objects of the Divine care and protection. Such subjects are overlooked or contemned by mankind generally; and as common historians write only for their instruction, and to procure their applause, they bring before them only those things which they know will interest or please them. It is not therefore surprising that we have little direct information of the state of the Jews in the writings of the heathen historians of Greece or Rome. Now, as Greeks and Romans were the exclusive recorders of the events which transpired in those times, we could not expect that they would inform us of the religious state of the Jews; and when they are silent concerning their political state, we may conclude that nothing of the kind very striking had occurred among them. This remark applies to all the histories extant of the latter kings of Persia. Josephus, the Jewish historian, passes wholly over thirty-one years of the reign of Artaxerxes Mnemon, doubtless because he found no facts on record which he judged worthy of preservation respecting his own nation. It is therefore probable that the Jews had hitherto continued to prosper, although not under native governors, chosen by the Persian king, as in the previous interval from their restoration.

In the thirty-second year of Arsaces, known in history by the name of Artaxerxes, one incident noticed by Josephus shows that a foreigner was their governor, and ruled over

them without any respect to their laws, at least when obedience to these suited not his views, and that the Jews were still, as a nation, rigid observers of the ritual laws of Moses. On that year Joiada the high-priest died, leaving two sons, Jonathan and Jesus; the former was his father's legitimate successor, and held the office about thirty-two years: but he owed his actual possession of his official dignity not to fitness to perform its duties, but to the religious zeal of his people. Jesus or Joshua was ambitious; and having acquired the friendship of Bagoas the Persian governor, he obtained from him the promise of the high-priest's office. On the death of his father, he claimed the office, and in an altercation with his brother, within the temple, he received a stroke from him which occasioned his instant death. The governor appears to have been in the city at the time of this melancholy and wicked deed, and hastened to the temple to ascertain its reality; for, according to Josephus, the report of so great a crime was incredible, one so cruel and impious having never been committed by the Greeks or Barbarians. Bagoas attempted to enter the temple; this roused the indignation of the multitude, who were filled with horror at the thought of the sacred place being defiled by his presence. On being repulsed, he exclaimed, "Have you had the audacity to perpetrate a murder in your temple, and now refuse me admittance? Am I not purer than the dead body whose blood pollutes it?" Filled with wrath, he resolved to punish the whole nation, and demanded that henceforth they should pay a certain sum to Persia for every victim which was offered for sacrifice daily in the temple. The oppressive law was enforced during the life of Artaxerxes. Nor is it probable that this was the only oppressive act of Bagoas' administration; for a man who conceived himself at liberty to dispose of the chief office of the religion of the Jews, would not hesitate to advance his own interest by every possible means which he considered expedient. Indeed, his tyrannical government was perhaps the cause of the first and only revolt of the Jews from the Persians; for this happened very soon after the murder of Jonathan. If Bagoas the Jewish governor was the eunuch of this name who was a chief favourite in the next Persian reign, he could have no sympathy with the Jews, and was qualified by his great talents to inflict on them great injury, by means which he could easily make appear to his sovereign as just and necessary, so that they could have no hope of redress by an appeal to the Persian court.

Though the Jews are scarcely mentioned by the ancient writers concerning the Persians in the long reign of Artaxerxes Mnemon, yet several great events of this period had more or less influence on the interests of the true religion. This feature seems strongly impressed on the first, and perhaps most momentous event, the conspiracy of Cyrus to obtain the sovereignty of the empire.

The talented Parysatis, the mother of the king, retained her influence notwithstanding the death of her husband; and to secure it, by false accusations, the employment of assassins, or by poison, she removed from the palace all whom she hated or feared. But our object requires not the detail of the intrigues or sanguinary deeds of the court, which were common enough in Persia almost always, but were unparalleled while this demoniacal princess swayed the minds of her husband and son. In compliance with her solicitations, the former on his death-bed had assigned to Cyrus the perpetual government of Asia Minor, and the latter acquiesced in that arrangement. Reverence for God, and love and friendship to man, have never been regarded by historians indispensable to the formation of a great and perfect monarch; they estimate human character by exterior accomplishments rather than by moral excellence: this accounts for the too illustrious character given of young Cyrus by Xenophon, not from report but from personal knowledge. "He was," he says, "in the opinion of all that were acquainted with him, after Cyrus the Great, a prince the most worthy of the supreme authority, and had the most noble and most truly royal soul. From his infancy he surpassed all of his own age in every exercise, whether it were in managing the horse, drawing the bow, throwing the dart, or in the chase, in which he distinguished himself once by fighting and killing a bear that attacked him. Those advantages were exalted in him by the nobleness of his air, an engaging aspect, and by all the graces of nature that conduce to recommend merit. When his father had made him satrap of Lydia and the neighbouring provinces, his chief care was to make the people sensible that he had nothing so much at heart as to keep his word inviolable, not only with regard to public treaties, but the most minute of his promises; a quality very rare amongst princes, and which, however, is the basis of all good government, and the source of their own as well as their people's happiness. Not only the persons under his authority, but the enemy themselves, reposed an entire confidence in him. Whether good or ill were done

him, he always desired to return it double, and that he might live no longer, as he said himself, than whilst he exceeded his friends in benefits, and his enemies in vengeance. Nor was there ever a prince that people were more afraid to offend, nor for whose sake they were more ready to hazard their possessions, lives, and fortunes." This accomplished prince, whom the admired Grecian philosopher, the disciple of Socrates and leader of armies, indiscriminately eulogises in the finest and most animating glow of eloquence, burning with ambition, resolved to assassinate his brother in the temple of Pasargades, in the presence of the whole court and the multitude assembled to crown him. He was seized, and justly condemned to die. The prayers and tears of the mother, whom he resembled in intellectual power and immeasurable depravity, procured not only his pardon, but obtained an order instantly to return to his government. On arriving in Asia Minor, ample proof of his surpassing power over the minds of all ranks was speedily manifested. Treating with contempt the generosity and compassion of his royal brother, he conspired to dethrone him and determined to attack him in the seat of the empire. He exerted all his energies to prepare for this great enterprise; his court at Sardis was established on a scale of Asiatic grandeur; he received the numerous Persians who resorted thither with such condescension and affability as induced them to perfer his interests to those of their sovereign. He neglected no means calculated to impress the subjects of his provinces with the opinion that he was not less desirous of their welfare than of his own; he mingled with the common soldiers, and appeared their friend, without laying aside the authority and dignity of their commander. By various arts, he seduced the army and inhabitants of the provinces governed by Tissaphernes, one of the ablest and most faithful servants of the king. They refused obedience to their own governor, and placed themselves under the jurisdiction of Cyrus. This gave him an opportunity of declaring war against Tissaphernes, and under pretence of this, he augmented his army. In all his warlike plans he was assisted by Clearchus, one of the ablest generals of Lacedemon, who, being banished from Sparta, had found refuge at his court. To him alone of all the Greeks he revealed his secret designs, and employed him to raise a body of Grecian troops, from whom he hoped to receive more efficient aid than from any others. His friends in the Persian court increased, and most assiduously propagated whatever tended to elevate his character in the eyes of

the multitude. The reigning king was universally known and admired in the beginning of his reign for his resemblance in conduct and manner to his noble father. He was most generous, affable, just, and never better pleased than when he had an opportunity to do good to his subjects; but he was more inclined to peace than war. He was therefore, however worthy, not fitted to advance or maintain the glory of the great empire. Thus secretly reasoned the emissaries of Cyrus, whom they pronounced truly deserving of the throne of his celebrated ancestor, whose name he bore.

Cyrus had been the most efficient instrument by which the Lacedemonians had subdued the Athenians and all Greece. He sought their assistance, and they instantly gave orders to their fleet to join his, and to obey Tamos his admiral in all things. In the meantime, to deceive his brother and the court, he sent him grievous complaints against Tissaphernes, and besought, in the most submissive language, his majesty's protection and aid to reduce to obedience an unfaithful servant. This was his avowed purpose in preparing a fleet and army far exceeding what was necessary to conquer the provinces in revolt. The troops consisted of thirteen thousand Greeks, which were the flower and chief force of his army, and of an hundred thousand regular men of the barbarous nations. Clearchus the Lacedemonian commanded all the Peloponnesian troops, except the Achaeans, who had Socrates of Achaia for their leader. The Boeotians were under Proxenes the Theban, and the Thessalians under Mnemon. The barbarians had Persian generals, of whom the chief was Ariæus. The fleet consisted of thirty-five ships under Pythagoras the Lacedemonian, and of twenty-five commanded by Tamos the Egyptian, admiral of the whole fleet. Tissaphernes, rightly judging that all these preparations were too great for so small an enterprise as that against Pisidia, had set out post from Miletus to give the king an account of them. This news occasioned great trouble at court, and Artaxerxes hastily assembled a numerous army to meet his brother.

Cyrus having ordered the fleets to sail along the coast, left Sardis, and marched with his army towards the upper provinces of Asia Minor. The army knew neither the occasion of the war, nor into what countries they were going. Cyrus had only caused it to be given out that he should act against the Pisidians, who had infested his province by their incursions. In his progress he made it his sole application to win the affections of the Greeks, by treating them with kindness

and humanity, conversing freely with them, and giving effectual orders that they should want for nothing. He advanced continually by great marches. What troubled him most on the way was the pass of Cilicia, which was a narrow defile between very high and steep mountains, that would admit no more than one carriage to pass at a time. Syennesis, king of the country, prepared to dispute this passage with him, and would infallibly have succeeded, but for the diversion made by Tamos with his fleet, in conjunction with that of the Lacedemonians. To defend the coasts against the insults of the fleet, Syennesis abandoned that important post, which a small body of troops might have made good against the greatest army. When they arrived at Tarsus, the Greeks refused to march any farther, rightly suspecting that they were intended against the king, and loudly exclaiming that they had not entered into the service upon that condition. Clearchus, who commanded them, had occasion for all his address and ability to stifle this commotion in its birth. At first he made use of authority and force, but with very little success, and desisted therefore from an open opposition to their sentiments. He even affected to enter into their views, and to support them with his approbation and credit. He declared publicly that he would not separate himself from them; and advised them to depute persons to the prince, to know from his own mouth against whom they were to be led, that they might follow him voluntarily if they approved his measures; if not, that they might demand his permission to withdraw. By this artful evasion he appeased the tumult and made them easy, and they chose him and some other officers for their deputies. Cyrus, whom he had secretly apprised of every thing, made answer that he was going to attack Abrocomas, his enemy, at twelve days march from thence upon the Euphrates. When this answer was repeated to them, though they plainly saw against whom they were going, they resolved to proceed, and only demanded an augmentation of their pay, which the prince readily granted. The information soon after that he was marching against the king occasioned some murmuring, which, however, magnificent promises silenced, and called forth the strongest expressions of satisfaction and joy.

The army of Cyrus met with no serious interruption till they reached Cunaxa, about twenty-five leagues from Babylon. Here they were opposed by nine hundred thousand of the royal army, commanded by Tissaphernes, Gobryas, and Arbaces. Three hundred thousand more, under command

of Abrocomas, arrived, not till three days after the battle, which terminated in the death of Cyrus, and the destruction of the greater number of his friends and soldiers. In the beginning of the battle the enemy was routed by the Greeks, and Cyrus was proclaimed king; but the fierce ardour of the victors, and, it is said, their imprudence in pursuing a fleeing enemy, prevented them from reaping the fruit of their victory. As soon as the Greeks learned that Cyrus was slain, they sent deputies to Ariæus, his Persian general, to offer him the crown of the empire. He approved not their scheme, because, he said, many Persians more distinguished than he was, would never submit to him. He requested them to join him in the night, and march along with his army next day for Ionia. In the meantime, Artaxerxes sent a herald to the Greeks, demanding them to lay down their arms. Their only answer was, that they expected "Peace in continuing here, or war in marching. It became not the defeated to require the conquerors to submit." They avowed that they would rather die than resign their liberty. That night they made a covenant with Ariæus, which was solemnly confirmed by sacrificing a ram and a bull, a wolf and a boar, in whose blood the Greeks dipped their swords, and the Persians their javelins.

On their route to Babylon they had found no provisions for seventeen days; this sufficiently justified Ariæus in proposing to return by another way. On the evening of their first day's march heralds from the king reached them proposing a treaty of peace. The result was, that on swearing that they would commit no injury in the countries through which they travelled, they were permitted to proceed, as soon as Tissaphernes was prepared with his troops to return with them to his government. This occasioned a delay of several weeks. The three parties marched together for a few weeks, notwithstanding occasional quarrels about provisions and wood. After passing the Tigris, and the great city of Cænæ they arrived at the river Zabates. The Greeks had often reason to suspect that the Persians planned their destruction. But, while they rested here, Tissaphernes succeeded in allaying their suspicions; and prevailed on Clearchus and the chief leaders to meet him in his tent. They had not been long there when they were murdered, and some troops of horse were ordered to scour the country and destroy every Greek whom they could find. The Greek army, on discovering the treachery and cruelty of their pretended friends, and the loss of their officers, were overwhelmed, and could

neither eat nor sleep. In the middle of the night, Xenophon, a young Athenian, and afterwards the illustrious author of the work which has perpetuated his fame and that of his companions in arms, went to some of the surviving officers, and urged them to call immediately a council to decide how they were to act; for there was obviously not a moment to delay. He details his own speech, and adverts to the speeches of other members of the council, which was held in the presence of the soldiers. Leaders were chosen in place of those who had been seized and killed; and the whole army resolved to set fire to their tents and carriages, and retaining only what was absolutely necessary, to march the following morning, whatever might be the conduct of their deceitful and barbarous enemies. They were pursued, and had to repel not only the troops of Tissaphernes, but also those who withstood them in some of the countries through which they marched. After many days' trials, and inexpressible sufferings through the interior of Asia, passing the Euphrates, the sources of the Tigris and the Araxes or Phasis; they traversed the region of the Chalybes, and at length were compelled to ascend a very lofty mountain named Tecqua, whence they first beheld the ocean. The first who observed it shouted loud for joy for a considerable time. His cry alarmed Xenophon, for he dreaded that the vanguard was attacked, and hurried to support it. The further he proceeded the cry became more distinct, *the sea! the sea!* and joy and delight succeeded the alarm. But when all had reached the summit of the mountain nothing was heard but a confused noise of the whole army, crying out together, *the sea! the sea!* whilst they could not refrain from tears, nor from embracing their generals and officers. And then, without waiting for orders, they heaped up a pile of stones, and erected a trophy with broken bucklers and other arms. Thence they advanced through the mountainous country of Colchis, and rested thirty days near Trebisonde, a Greek colony on the Euxine Sea. Here they performed their vows to the gods, that they might regain their own country; and for thirty days they celebrated with great joy the games in which they delighted. Ships were procured to send by sea to Greece their women, old and sick men, and superfluous baggage, and the rest proceeded by land. Of those who had survived the battle, forty horse, and three hundred foot, who were Thracians, had surrendered to the king of Persia. Ten thousand had commenced the retreat; and of these eight thousand six hundred arrived safe in the



vicinity of Greece, after a march of more than two thousand three hundred miles, in a hundred and twenty-two days. This retreat is unparalleled in the annals of war, and indeed no enterprise could be formed with more valour and bravery, nor conducted with more prudence, nor executed with more success. Ten thousand men, five or six hundred leagues from their own country, who have lost their generals and best officers, and find themselves in the heart of the enemy's vast empire, undertake, in the sight of a victorious and numerous army, with the king at the head of them, to retire through the seat of his empire, and, in a manner, from the gates of his palace, and to traverse a vast extent of unknown countries, almost all in arms against them, without being dismayed by the prospect of the innumerable obstacles and dangers to which they were every moment exposed; passes of rivers, of mountains and defiles; open attacks; secret ambuscades, from the people upon their route; famine, almost inevitable in vast and desert regions; and above all, the treachery they had to fear from the troops who seemed to be employed in escorting them, but in reality had orders to destroy them; for Artaxerxes, who was sensible how much the return of those Greeks into their own country would cover him with disgrace, and decry the majesty of the empire in the eyes of all nations, had left nothing undone to prevent it; and he desired their destruction, says Plutarch, more passionately than to conquer Cyrus himself, or to preserve the sovereignty of his estates. Those ten thousand men, however, notwithstanding so many obstacles, carried their point, and arrived, through a thousand dangers, victorious and triumphant into their own country. Antony long after, when pursued by the Parthians almost in the same country, finding himself in like danger, cried out, in admiration of their invincible valour, *Oh the retreat of the ten thousand!*

The expedition of the Greeks under Cyrus, their triumph in the battle of Cunaxa, and their glorious retreat, had an influence on the future destinies of man perhaps incalculable. These events were doubtless more universally known, in that age, than any of the former achievements of the Greeks; and while by them that people were stimulated by the most powerful passions of revenge on the Persians, and thirst for military renown, and confident assurance of their ability to conquer the world; their name became almost sufficient to cause a panic in any army sent to contend with them in battle. The Grecians had seen the weakness of the Persian power, and

became convinced that it consisted almost wholly in pride and vanity; in wealth and sensuality; in luxury and voluptuousness; and that the Persians were almost destitute of physical and intellectual vigour. They looked on them henceforth without dread, and were fully prepared to follow any one who appeared qualified to lead them to combat for universal empire. From this time the Persian emperors trembled on their throne; and the name of Greece made the heart of their princes and chief men faint. All who felt interest in the affairs of the world were now solicitous to acquire the language of this narrow spot, and an accurate knowledge of its political state. It was a phenomenon more wonderful than mankind had ever witnessed; and every successive year paved the way for Divine Providence to accomplish the prophetic word, that Greece should be constituted the third great empire, by whose deeds he might in due time unfold his secret purposes respecting his own universal and eternal kingdom. The fierce four-headed leopard of Macedon was shaking himself in his den, and was only restrained by invisible agency from going forth at once to devour the wild bear of Media and Persia.

Tissaphernes returned to Asia Minor invested with power equal to that which had been conferred on Cyrus. This uncommon reward for his services against that prince was enough to make his presence terrible in the eyes of all ranks who had supported Cyrus, and these included nearly all the inhabitants of some provinces. These immediately applied to the Lacedemonians for protection from the rage of their governor, and for assistance to preserve their liberty. The latter fulfilled all their wishes; and this they did the more zealously from their knowledge of the superior talents, but most unprincipled, and savage conduct of Tissaphernes, who was justly regarded the most dangerous enemy of Greece. This war prevailed six years from B. C. 399, and spread to a wide extent much misery in the fine regions of Ionia and other provinces of Asia Minor. The Grecians had maintained their high character for wisdom and bravery; but their resources became exhausted, and compelled them to make a dishonourable peace,—a result to be expected when Sparta received not the support of the other states of Greece, especially of the Athenians, whose happiness she always envied almost as much as she intensely desired the ruin of Persia. By the treaty which procured this peace, the Grecian cities in Asia whose liberty Greece, when united, had

compelled the Persians to grant, were declared entirely dependent on the Persian king, and with them the Grecian isles of Cyprus and Clazomenæ. This treaty, however, Athens and all the cities of Greece, except Sparta and those subject to her, indignantly rejected; and were consequently more desirous and determined than ever to resist the mighty power of Persia. Opportunity to gratify their ardent wishes was soon afforded them by the schemes which the great king proposed to prosecute; and these we shall see had a visible tendency to extend the knowledge of the true religion, and deeply to effect the interests of the chosen people.

The beautiful island of Cyprus was assigned by the recent treaty to the king of Persia, but from the prosperous condition in which it was, he clearly perceived, that to acquire the possession called for the employment of no ordinary means. A Phœnician who had usurped the throne, and subjected the whole island to Persia, had been succeeded by Evagoras, a descendant of Teucer, of the island of Salamis, who, at his return from Troy, after its fall, had built the capital, which had named Salamis, after the name of his native land. Evagoras had been carefully educated, and early became distinguished amongst the youth by the beauty of his aspect, the vigour of his body, and more by the modesty and innocence of his manners, which were the greatest ornaments of that age. As he advanced in years, the greatest virtues, valour, wisdom, and justice, were observed to brighten in him. He afterwards carried these virtues to so conspicuous an height, as to give jealousy to those that governed; who perceived justly that so shining a merit could not continue in the obscurity of a private condition; but his modesty, probity, and integrity, reassured them, and they reposed an entire confidence in him, to which he always answered by an inviolable fidelity, without ever meditating their expulsion from the throne by violence or treachery. A more justifiable means conducted him to it; Divine Providence, as Isocrates says, preparing the way for him. One of the principal citizens murdered the person upon the throne, and had contrived to seize Evagoras and to rid himself of him, in order to secure the crown to himself; but that prince escaping his pursuit, retired to Solos, a city of Cilicia. His banishment was so far from abating his courage, that it gave him new vigour. Attended only with fifty followers, determined like himself to conquer or die, he returned to Salamis, and expelled the usurper, though supported by the credit and protection of the

king of Persia. Having reestablished himself in Salamis, he soon rendered his little kingdom most flourishing, by his application to the relief of his subjects, and by protecting them in all things, governing them with justice and benevolence, making them active and laborious, and by inspiring them with a taste for the cultivation of land, the breeding of cattle, commerce and navigation; he formed them also for war, and led them conquerors from city to city. But many of the Cypriots had no inclination to submit to his government. These sought the aid of Artaxerxes to oppose him, and he hastened to meet their wishes.

During his war with the Lacedemonians, Artaxerxes had made extraordinary efforts to raise a fleet; and for this purpose had many people employed in the ports of Phenicia in building ships, and procuring sailors accustomed to naval war. The war with Sparta being over, orders were sent to the servants of the king of Persia in Phenicia to renew and augment these works; and a fleet was prepared, consisting of three hundred galleys. Tiribasis, a Persian of the highest rank and the greatest reputation, was appointed admiral, to be assisted by Gaos his son-in-law. The invading army, amounting to three hundred thousand men, was commanded by Orontes, who was a son-in-law of the king. Evagoras, notwithstanding the aid afforded him from Athens, Egypt, and other dominions disaffected to Persia, had no means of preventing such a mighty army from landing on his island. His fleet scarcely exceeded one hundred galleys, and his army, twenty thousand. But he made a noble resistance: and when forced to yield and resign Cyprus, was acknowledged king of Salamis, its metropolis, on condition of an annual tribute. He survived this event about twelve years, and was succeeded, B. C. 373, by his son Nicocles, who proved worthy of his noble descent.

The two preceding wars, especially the latter, we may believe occasioned the religion of the Jews being more fully known than hitherto, to many thousand subjects of Persia collected almost in the vicinity of Jerusalem. It is most probable that they procured, by money or by force, the principal part of their provisions from Judea. That country was the usual granary to supply Tyre and its dependencies; and nowhere else could the Persians, engaged in building the ships, or assembled to sail for the Grecian seas or for Cyprus, so conveniently find the provisions indispensable to the execution of their plans. Some of them may have known the

Jews who sojourned in their respective countries, and **must** have felt desirous to behold the temple and its service, of which they, doubtless, had often heard them speak with rapture; and many more would be led to view these scenes in the course of their journeys to procure supplies to the navy and army. While, however, they might thus obtain an accurate conception of the form and ceremonies of the religion of the Jews, there is a strong probability that they beheld not in the most favourable light its moral influence; for an anecdote, related by Josephus, (adverted to in page 78,) indicates that the priesthood was greatly degenerated since the days of Nehemiah; and we have reason to suspect that the people would resemble them, in accordance with the proverb, "Like people, like priests."

In all the national declensions of Israel, they were visited by adversity; and the circumstances in which they were now placed may have inflicted on them much sufferings. If the then Persian governor was Bagoas, who, twelve years later, appears to have disposed as he pleased of the high-priest's office, he would not hesitate to turn to his personal advantage the orders from his court, to procure from Judea materials and provisions for the fleet and army. Under despotic governments the power of the governors and inferior officers, especially in the provinces remote from the throne, to do good or evil, is perhaps, to us inconceivable. The governor is responsible to none but his sovereign; and the subordinate officers to none else except to the governor. If the latter mutually agree to prey on the people, who can save them? The difficulty to reach the throne of despots is generally almost insurmountable; and the more overwhelming the oppression which the subjects endure, they are rendered the less able to command means by which they may lay their grievances before the sovereign. On the supposition, therefore, that Artaxerxes had still governed, as in the early part of his reign, with sacred respect for benevolence, justice, and truth, the provinces of Phenicia, Judea, and others adjoining, could scarcely escape extreme distress, while the preparations for war were chiefly going on among them. Many of the community, would be forced to serve the king, and much of the property of the countries would be forcibly taken rather than purchased. These and similar evils would be chiefly and peculiarly felt by the Jews, who were little disposed to fight in the armies of foreigners, and who had no resources to look to beyond their own productions, for they were not a com

mercial people. But before this period the administration of Artaxerxes had become exceedingly corrupted,—policy and expediency, not truth and justice, directed all his measures. He had overcome Greece more by money than by arms: her chief men had been bribed, and the people betrayed. He deceived and put to death some of the most able and most steadfast of his servants, merely from suspicion that they meditated evil against him. Hence it may be concluded, that if he attained the object of his instructions to his servants in Phenicia and Judea, he would not inquire particularly whether the inhabitants were protected or enslaved, recompensed for their goods or robbed. That all the provinces of the empire in Arabia and Syria were, at this time, tyrannised over, may be inferred from the fact, that, not long afterwards, they rebelled; and the sufferings of the Jews must have been extremely severe before they joined the rebellion; for they had always cherished fervent gratitude and love towards the Persians. The Tyrians were already prepared to cast off the yoke, for they afforded secret, if not open, assistance to Evagoras in his honourable defence of Cyprus.

From B. C. 384, event succeeded event whose prominent features strongly indicated that the Persian empire was more likely to be broken up than established or exalted by Artaxerxes Mnemon. He was always more eminent for courage to encounter dangers and difficulties, than for wisdom to foresee and prepare against them. This defect in his character exposed the feebleness of his government, and threatened the loss of his honour and his life, in his attempt to subdue the Cardusians, who had renounced his authority. Their unproductive country lay between the Euxine and Caspian seas; they were a poor and rude people, but fierce and accustomed to predatory war. The king placed himself at the head of an army of twenty thousand horse and three hundred thousand foot, and proceeded to their country. Every kind of provision soon failed, insomuch that an ass's head sold for a large sum. The entire dispersion of the army seemed inevitable; and was only averted by the policy of Tiribazus, who succeeded in persuading the barbarians to accept of peace on the most favourable terms. In this foolish expedition a vast number of the best troops of Artaxerxes and all the horses of his army perished.

This disaster prevented not the king from resolving to reduce the Egyptians, who had for at least thirty years renounced the Persian power. To this he was the more

strongly impelled, from the fact that they were not content to enjoy their own liberty, but were ever ready liberally to support every nation that laboured for emancipation from the yoke of Persia ; and they had caused their power to be more dreaded by constantly retaining in their service a great body of Grecians, under the command of Chabrias, a celebrated Athenian.

Two years were spent in preparations for the invasion of Egypt. In order to augment his army with tried troops, Artaxerxes used every means to conciliate the states of Greece, that he might, with safety, withdraw the soldiers who were garrisoned in the principal cities to overawe them. Greece exulted in the unrestrained liberty granted them to live according to their own laws. The Thebans alone refused to be dictated to by the great king, for they ardently aspired to the sovereignty of Greece ; and this object seemed at this time attainable from the great celebrity of their generals, Pelopidas and Epaminondas, particularly the latter, one of the greatest generals that ever appeared in Greece. Ptolemais or Acre was the place appointed for the assembling of the invading army, which was found to consist of two hundred thousand Persians, under the command of Pharnabasis, and twenty thousand Greeks under Iphicrates. Their forces at sea were in proportion to those at land ; their fleet consisting of three hundred galleys, besides two hundred vessels of thirty oars, and a prodigious number of barks to transport the necessary provisions for the fleet and army. Both commanders were eminently fitted to conduct the troops to victory ; but the Persians declined to follow the advice of the Greeks lest the success, of which they had no doubt, should be wholly ascribed to the Greeks. This occasioned at first a delay in the prosecuting of the war, which left time for the Egyptians to recover from the panic which had seized them on the appearance of such a formidable enemy ; and it appears to have ultimately proved the chief cause of the utter failure of the enterprise. The Nile at that time fell into the sea by seven streams, and each was defended at its entrance by a fortress. The Mendesian, which was the weakest, was carried sword in hand, and the garrison put to death. Iphicrates proposed to advance instantly to Memphis, the metropolis ; but Pharnabasis insisted that it was necessary to wait till the largest division of the army should arrive. In the meantime the Egyptian army had assembled under their able king Nectanebus, in such numbers as to harass the enemy

and arrest their progress, till the time of the inundation of the river arrived, they spread over the country, and compelled the enemy to retire to Phenicia. The subjugation of Egypt occupied the attention of Artaxerxes' remaining years; but he ventured no more to invade it. On the contrary, he had to defend Phenicia from an attack by Tachos, who succeeded Nectanebus, to the throne of Egypt. In his absence from his kingdom, a relation also named Nectanebus, seized his throne, in which he was some time maintained by the able direction of Agesilaus, one of the kings of Sparta, who with a number of his subjects had gone to Egypt to strengthen Tachos against the Persians. The latter soon afterwards went to the Persian court, where he found favour, and was appointed to command troops to reduce his rebellious subjects to obedience. Thus the Jews continued many years, if not overrun by an enemy, surrounded by troops, from whose depredations they most probably suffered much, and doubtless longed to be rescued from the tyrannical rule of Persia. It is not therefore surprising if they joined the great revolt, as it is supposed they did, which happened towards the end of the life of Artaxerxes. This memorable event may be traced to the degeneracy of that monarch in his old age. He indulged in sloth and luxury, and left his people to the government of persons who betrayed their trust, and cruelly oppressed the provinces, so that the Persian yoke became insupportable. Universal discontent prevailed; Asia Minor, Syria, Phenicia, and indeed the greatest part of the provinces, nearly at the same time, resorted to arms, to liberate themselves from their oppressors. From want of union, this general insurrection, which brought the empire to the brink of ruin, was speedily suppressed, or dissolved of itself; but it was ominous of the final overthrow of the third great power which upheld the dominion of moral darkness on the earth.

A Persian king had only one wife, but his concubines were numerous, and his children not uncommonly brought his grey hairs with sorrow to the grave. The sanguinary ambition of the sons of Artaxerxes, drenched his court with the blood of his own race, and in grief unspeakable he closed his eyes for ever. He had declared his eldest son Darius his successor, but that unprincipled man was impatient to ascend the throne. Following the counsel of Tiribaus, whom the king had offended, he conspired to assassinate his father. Of one hundred and fifty sons of Artaxerxes by his concubines, not less than fifty consented to be the accomplices of their bro-



her in this dreadful crime. Their scheme was revealed to the king, and he permitted all the conspirators to enter the royal chamber, when they were instantly seized and slain. Arispus and Ochus, the brothers of Darius by the queen, and Arsanes, a son of a concubine, now struggled for the throne. Ochus, by the craft of his emissaries, wrought on the timid nature of his maternal brother, so to terrify him by imaginary or apparent evils that he poisoned himself; and he prevailed on the son of Tiribasus to assassinate the other rival. These things are believed to have hastened the death of the king, and permitted Ochus silently to exercise the sovereign power.

## CHAPTER VII.

### THE REIGN OF ARTAXERXES OCHUS.

THE unnatural, treacherous, and cruel actions of this prince rendered him universally hated and hateful; and, conscious of this, to secure the throne he concealed the death of his father ten months, during which period he governed in his name. By a decree in his father's name, he caused himself to be proclaimed king throughout the whole empire. On publicly ascending the throne, he assumed the name of Artaxerxes, and quickly removed by death all the members of his family and court whom he suspected to be his enemies. Eighty of his brothers were murdered by him in one day; he caused his sister Ocha, whose daughter he had married, to be buried alive; and one of his uncles, with a hundred of his sons and grandsons, he put to death by arrows. These rarely paralleled crimes were not calculated to establish his throne; wherever he was known he was hated and feared, and the announcement of the death of the aged and generally esteemed king, B. C. 356, was the signal of revolt in several of the provinces.

In Asia Minor, Artabasus, one of its governors, raised the standard of independence; and, assisted first by the Athenians and next by the Thebans, he thrice defeated the large army sent against him; but these allies having deserted him, he was soon overcome, and fled for refuge to Philip, king of Macedon. The Phenicians avowed their determination to be free; Nectabanus, king of Egypt, gladly supported them, for he hoped by this to arrest the progress of the armies of Persia, destined to reduce his kingdom. He had many Greeks in his service, and of these he sent four thousand under the command of Mentor, a Rhodian, justly deemed one of the ablest warriors and statesmen of the age. Led on by him, the Phenicians overthrew the armies which the governors of Syria and Cilicia brought against them, and expelled the Per-

sians from Phenicia. Their example was eagerly followed by all the chiefs or kings of Cyprus; they formed an alliance with Egypt, but they quickly discovered how hopeless it was to contend with the Persian troops. The Persian king appointed Idrieus king of Caria, to command the land army, and Phocian the Athenian accompanied by Evagoras, to be admiral of the fleet, with eight thousand Greeks. Evagoras had perfect knowledge of the island, for it is believed that he was the son of Nicocles, and succeeded him to the throne of Salamis, which, on account of his tyrannical rule, he had been obliged to abdicate. The nine kings of Cyprus submitted on favourable terms, which were the more willingly granted them by Artaxerxes from his extreme solicitude to recover Egypt and Phenicia. He ascribed the failure of his plans to accomplish these most important and desirable objects to the misconduct of his generals, and he therefore purposed to place himself at the head of his army. This idea he had entertained for some time, and had made immense preparations for the campaign, and in particular had strenuously endeavoured to prevail on the States of Greece to unite in the bond of peace, and permit him to raise a large band of Grecians; for he relied more on a small body of Greeks than on a large army of Persians. He conducted to Phenicia three hundred thousand foot and thirty thousand horse, and was afterwards joined by ten thousand Greeks. Mentor, who had defended Egypt and delivered Phenicia, was in Sidon with his Grecian troops when the king reached that city. The Rhodian, on viewing the army, concluded that resistance would be in vain. He secretly corresponded with Artaxerxes, and, apparently with the consent of Tennes, the Sidonian prince, offered to surrender Sidon, and serve him in Egypt. The citizens, thus betrayed by their natural defenders, were worthy of a happier destiny; for on the approach of the enemy they had set fire to their ships, that, hope of escape being cut off, all might resolutely defend their ancient and noble city; and when they found themselves sacrificed—the invaders without the walls—and that there was no possibility of escaping either by sea or land in the despair of their condition, they shut themselves up in their houses, and set them on fire. Forty thousand men without reckoning women and children, perished in this manner. The fate of Tennes their king was no better. Ochus, seeing himself master of Sidon, and having to further occasion for him, caused him to be put to death,—a just reward of his treason, and an evident proof that Ochus did not yield to him in perfidy.

At the time this misfortune happened, Sidon was immensely rich; the fire having melted the gold and silver, Ochus sold the cinders for a considerable sum of money. The total ruin of Sidon and the tremendous sufferings of its citizens struck the Phenicians and all the inhabitants of the adjacent provinces with extreme terror, and they were forward to conciliate the favour of the great monarch. He willingly accepted the submission of the Phenicians, and engaged to remove their grievances. But very different was his conduct to the Jews. It is uncertain whether the high-priest and the other native rulers of the nation had, on this or indeed any occasion, actually cast off the Persian yoke; the probability is that they had not; for at a later period we find them admired and praised for their fidelity to Persia, and they seem to have ever cherished grateful recollection of the singular and numerous favours which they had received from Cyrus and several of his successors. But many of the Jews of all ranks, grieved or indignant on account of the oppressions to which their nation, as well as others, were often subjected by the Persian governors, must have deeply sympathised with their neighbours, when they rose against their tyrants, and nothing was more natural than that they should secretly or openly assist them. This was enough to rouse the spirit of revenge in such a man as Artaxerxes III. and he would feel no remorse in punishing the whole nation for what he knew to be the practice of a few, especially when he reflected that their rulers were in reality more disposed to approve than punish them. That the Jews, however, had exceedingly offended him, is scarcely to be doubted, for, with his impatience to advance on Egypt, it is not otherwise probable that he would have remained in Judea, merely to entertain himself by desolating their country. That he did so is certain; for one of the credible historians of these times records, that he had no sooner destroyed Sidon than he proceeded to Judea, and laid siege to Jericho, which he captured. He also seized multitudes of the Jews, carrying a great number of them into Egypt, and sending many more into Hyrcania, appointing them to reside on the shores of the Caspian sea. This slight notice of the Jews suggests that they must have enjoyed a considerable degree of prosperity during the past fifty or sixty years, from the time of Nehemiah, in the reign of Darius Nothus, to that of Artaxerxes III. At the former period, it was with difficulty that a number of Jews could be found sufficient to occupy Jerusalem, so as to protect it from the Samaritans;

but now Jericho had risen, and become a fortified city, and very many Jews were made captives and exiles, leaving, as we shall soon see, a populous country. Thus Jehovah fulfilled the promises made by the prophets to the race who were carried to Babylon, and restored their descendants to the land of their fathers.

Nectanebus, who then reigned in Egypt, long aware of the designs and proceedings of the Persians, had assiduously laboured to fortify the kingdom, and augment his army. But unhappily he attributed to his own bravery his past success, which he evidently owed to Agesilaus, the Spartan king, and other Greek generals. And as he had not only supplanted his kinsman Tachos in the throne, in defiance of his adherents, but also overcome another rival, supported by an army of a hundred thousand, he conceived himself sufficient to defend his kingdom, without the aid of Grecian generals. These he had therefore dismissed, that he might secure to himself all the glory of the successful resistance of the whole power of the Persian empire. Twenty thousand Greeks were still in his service; and he had been able to raise a body of as many Lybians, a warlike race, and about sixty thousand Egyptians. Part of these he disposed in the strong places on the frontiers, and posted himself with the rest in the passes to dispute the enemy's entrance into Egypt. This was indeed a small force compared to that which was being brought against him. But had his Greeks been led by their native generals whom they idolised, considering the capabilities which the position of the kingdom afforded for defence, the army of Nectanebus might have rendered all the arts and strength of the invaders useless. His self-sufficiency, however proved his ruin.

Upon the arrival of Artaxerxes, "he encamped before Pelusium, from whence he detached three bodies of his troops, each of them commanded by a Greek and a Persian, with equal authority. The first was under Dachares the Theban, and Rosaces, governor of Lydia and Ionia. The second was given to Nicostratus the Argive, and Aristazanes, one of the great officers of the crown. The third had Mentor the Rhodian, and Bagoas, one of Ochus's eunuchs, at the head of it. Each detachment had its particular orders. The king remained with the main body of the army in the camp he had made choice of at first, to wait events, and to be ready to support those troops in case of ill success, or to improve the advantages they might have. Nectanebus had long expected this

invasion, the preparations for which had made so much noise. Pelusium was defended by a garrison of five thousand Greeks. Lachares besieged the place. That under Nicostratus, on board of four-and-twenty ships of the Persian fleet, entered one of the mouths of the Nile at the same time, and sailed into the heart of Egypt, where they landed, and fortified themselves well in a camp, of which the situation was very advantageous. All the Egyptian troops in these parts were immediately drawn together under Clinias, a Greek of the Isle of Cos, and prepared to repel the enemy. A very warm action ensued, in which Clinias with five thousand of his troops were killed, and the rest entirely broken and dispersed. This action decided the success of the war. Nectanebus, apprehending that Nicostratus, after this victory, would embark again upon the Nile, and take Memphis, the capital of the kingdom, made all the haste he could to defend it, and abandoned the passes, which it was of the last importance to secure, to prevent the entrance of the enemy. When the Greeks that defended Pelusium were apprised of this precipitate retreat, they believed all lost, and capitulated to Lachares, upon condition of being sent back into Greece, with all that belonged to them, and without suffering any injury in their persons or effects. Mentor, who commanded the third detachment, finding the passes clear and unguarded, entered the country, and made himself master of it without any opposition. For, after having caused a report to be spread throughout his camp, that Ochus had ordered all those who would submit to be treated with favour, and that such as made resistance should be destroyed, as the Sidonians had been, he let all his prisoners escape, that they might carry the news into the country round about. Those poor people reported in their towns and villages what they had heard in the enemy's camp. The brutality of Ochus seemed to confirm it; and the terror was so great, that the garrisons, as well Greeks as Egyptians, strove which should be the foremost in making their submission. Nectanebus, having lost all hope of being able to defend himself, escaped with his treasures and best effects into Ethiopia, from which country he never returned." The vengeance of the depraved conqueror was equal to his power. He exerted himself to the utmost to ruin the kingdom; its fortifications were overthrown, its temples and houses pillaged, and the religious worship of the nation treated with contempt. The public records deposited in the temples as places sacred in the eyes of all men, were seized; and with

all the precious treasures of gold, silver, and jewels, possessed by the court or by individuals, were carried to Babylon. Being not less indolent and sensual than cruel in his habits, the ordinary appellation applied to him by the Egyptians was *the ass*. On learning this he was enraged, and exclaimed, "I am not an ass, but a lion, and shall devour their bull." He immediately ordered Apis, the sacred bull, the principal god of Egypt, to be dragged from his temple, and killed in sacrifice to an ass, and his flesh to be cooked and consumed by the officers of his household. Having satiated his revenge by every possible device of malignity or folly, he committed the government of Egypt to Pherendates, one of the most distinguished nobles of Persia, B. C. 350; and from this time no native has acquired or occupied the throne of this kingdom; in which sense it has for ages merited the title given it by the prophetic spirit more than two centuries before *a base kingdom*. "It shall be the basest of the kingdoms: neither shall it exalt itself any more above the nations: for I will diminish them, that they shall no more rule over the nations. And it shall be no more the confidence of the house of Israel." Egypt has been repeatedly illustrious in succeeding generations, but she has been indebted for her glory to foreign races; the natives have been unknown or unknown among the nations. After redeeming Egypt, the conqueror returned to Babylon, and it is said, abandoned himself to sensual indulgences and luxurious ease, leaving the public administration wholly to his principal favourites Mentor, the Rhodian, and Bagoas, who agreed to divide between them the power of the empire; the former presided over all the lower provinces of Asia, and the latter of the upper. Mentor continued faithful to the trust reposed in him. His provinces had been for some years in an unsettled state, chiefly through the influence of his own brother Memnon, and Artabasis, who had married his sister. These he soon reconciled to the king's government, and they became most efficient servants to him and his successors.

Bagoas was an eunuch and an Egyptian by birth, and one of the most zealous votaries of its debasing system of superstition. If, as has been already remarked, he was the person of this name who was governor of Syria and Judea thirty-five years earlier, he must have been now about at least fifty years of age. His ambition had been greater than his patriotism; but, though an eunuch, yet he ceased not to love his country;

and probably his devotedness to its religion increased as he advanced in life—a not rare phenomenon in the history of human nature. And he may have been the chief instrument of the recent sufferings of the Jews, whom, on account of their religion, he could never sincerely esteem or love. To testify his respect for his own country, he purchased or procured from his sovereign its much valued archives, and restored them to be again deposited in the sacred temples. The insults offered to his religion by the king had produced in his heart implacable resentment; but, for nearly ten years, the honours conferred on him secured his fidelity, or he may not have considered himself powerful enough to contend with his king, without exposing himself to certain destruction. Whatever be in this, zeal for religion is the only motive assigned by history for the abhorrent crime of poisoning his sovereign, whom he had long served, and by whom he had been highly exalted; and his barbarous treatment of the dead body accords with the opinion of historians; for he caused another body to be interred instead of the king's, and, to avenge his having made the officers of the house eat the god Apis, he made cats eat his dead body, which he gave them cut in small pieces; and as for his bones, these he turned into handles for knives and swords, the natural symbols of his cruelty. Bagoas appears to have exercised, without control, the supreme power at the time he murdered the king. Mentor was perhaps either dead or absent from court. The murderer, in the hope of retaining his power, proclaimed Arses, the youngest prince, the successor of his father. Having discovered, before the expiry of two years, that the young king was devising means to punish him for the murder of his father, he assassinated him, and destroyed all his near kindred; and, in 336, B. C. raised Codomanus, a descendant of Darius Nothus, to the throne. This prince was distinguished by his bravery, for which he had been rewarded with the government of Armenia. He assumed the name of Darius III.; and is the last sovereign of the Medo-Persian empire, although much more worthy of it than the majority of his predecessors. But the general aspect of events which we have recorded in this chapter, strongly indicated that Persia had almost ceased to reign by its own power, and that the sovereignty of the world would most probably pass from her to Greece; for every wise statesman of the empire despaired of retaining in peace, or recovering from revolt, the chief provinces, unless he could pre-



vent the interference, or purchase the support, of the states of Greece. Thus Providence visibly proceeded in its course of consummate wisdom and power to astonish mankind, by the appearance of *the rough goat of Grecia*, destined to drive from the haunts of man *the ram of Media and Persia*, according to Daniel's vision in the palace of Shushan, B. C. 558.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### THE REIGNS OF DARIUS CODOMANUS AND ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

BAGOAS, having been long virtually sovereign of the empire, would doubtless have ascended the throne had he had the least confidence that the nobles of Media and Persia would have submitted to an Egyptian eunuch. While, however, he felt it absolutely necessary to conciliate them, he was fixed in purpose to maintain his position. Pride of power to command rendered him incapable of reverence for authority so as to obey. He probably chose Codomanus, not merely because he was of the royal race, but because he had been distinguished by vanity rather than pride, and by love of splendour more than desire of power. He may therefore have calculated that he would be able to direct all his public actions by gratifying his predominant passions to an extent which his previous circumstances could never have led him to imagine or anticipate. Darius Codomanus appears to have passed his youth in comparative obscurity; and his first employment was one of the least respectable among the servants of government. He was first known as one of the couriers who carried dispatches from the court to the governors of the provinces. He owed his appointment to the government of Armenia to a remarkable instance of courage in the Cadusian war. A champion of the enemy had offered to fight in single combat any one of the Persian army; Darius was the only one who accepted the challenge; he slew his opponent, but had he not been viewed unambitious of any other distinction than that of a brave soldier, the fact of his belonging to the royal family would have certainly prevented his sovereign, the murderer of his kindred, from exalting him to the office of a governor. He had not, however, been long king when he manifested his purpose to perform the duties of his office;

and to prove that he was the first in power as well as in dignity. This roused the indignation of Bagoas ; and he conspired to remove him by poison. His treachery was discovered, and Darius made him drink the prepared poison. His throne was apparently established ; and his court speedily appeared in all the grandeur of the East. He was admired for his noble aspect, being the most beautiful man of his empire ; respected for his heroism, and loved for his mild and generous dispositions and polite manners. But he knew the danger of his station, and he heard in the distance the sound of the tempest which suddenly laid his honour in the dust, and swept from the earth the dominion of Persia.

The same year beheld the commencement of the reign of Darius Codomanus, and that of his conqueror, Alexander the Great. The success of the latter in the vast enterprise to which Providence ordained him, chiefly arose out of the state and relations of his kingdom at the time of his father's death. Mankind no longer, indeed, trembled at the name or voice of the kings of Persia, the nominal arbiters of the world ; but their wealth still commanded armies tremendous in power. This was visible in the inexpressible miseries endured, in almost every part of the empire, during the sanguinary deeds of the recent beast of prey who had swayed the sceptre almost twenty-one years ; and several of the able captains of his triumphant armies survived, seemed fully qualified to preserve in subjection the empire which he had restored to comparative tranquillity. The Grecians continued to vindicate their claims to unparalleled wisdom and unconquerable courage. Nevertheless, the nations had repeatedly witnessed that a Grecian army was not invulnerable. The Grecian states, never cordially united, had exceedingly wasted their strength by internal factions, or defensive and aggressive war. Though they retained their jealousy and hatred of the Persians, and ambition of supremacy over all nations, nevertheless, past experience and observation would have countenanced the opinion that there was more reason to apprehend their progressive decay, loss of liberty, or destruction, than their attainment of universal empire. No intelligent and impartial reader of Grecian history will assert that Alexander the Great surpassed, as a statesman or military captain, all who had previously governed the Grecian states. Personally contemplated, he certainly deserves not more celebrity than several other Grecians whose individual or successive services had scarcely been effectual to preserve their country from en

ture prostration before the throne of Persia. Alexander was, therefore, doubtless principally indebted, in subserviency to Divine Providence, for his more exalted destiny, to the peculiar state and relations of Macedon at the period of the death of his father Philip. This prince was accounted the seventeenth king of a family who regarded themselves Greeks; but the more cultivated inhabitants of Greece Proper disclaimed all relationship to the Macedonians, and denominated them barbarians. Philip, however, early became identified with the Greeks, and was justly acknowledged one of the most accomplished statesmen and captains of his age, completely eclipsing the glory of his ancestors. At the age of ten years he was sent to Thebas, and entrusted to the care of its famous general Pelopidas, who placed him in the house of his friend Epaminondas, still more illustrious as a philosopher, politician, and warrior. He carefully educated him with his own son; their common tutor was one of the most eminent of the Pythagorean philosophers, and most probably Epaminondas carried Philip with him in some, if not in all his campaigns, that he might acquire full knowledge of the art of war. Philip was always proud of having been the pupil of Epaminondas, and resolved to imitate his example; but the moral principles which he had been taught never governed his life. He returned to his own country in his twentieth year. Four years later he succeeded to the throne, and sometime afterwards married Olympias, a grand-daughter of Aletes, king of Epirus, who gave birth to Alexander on the very day that the great temple of Diana at Ephesus was set on fire and consumed by the fool Erostratus, who desired, like many counted wise, to perpetuate his fame by some means, however mischievous.

From the opportunity Philip had enjoyed of thoroughly knowing the relations and affairs of the states of Greece, it is possible, as historians intimate, that the sovereignty of them was the chief object of his ambition from, if not before, his first entrance into public life; and this at least is plain, that the schemes which he devised and pursued for many years were viewed by the best judges as tending to the entire subjugation of Greece. Macedon, which he owed to his ancestors, consisted of no more than a small and comparatively poor portion of Thrace; he was not slow to extend his dominions in that country and Illyria. He enlarged his territories and influence much more by policy and dissimulation than by arms, and this he was enabled to do more efficiently after he obtained possession of Crenides, which he named Philippi; for

there he opened gold mines, which every year produced upwards of a thousand talents, that is, about an hundred and forty-four thousand pounds sterling,—a prodigious sum of money in that age. By this means money became much more current in Macedon than before, and Philip first caused the golden specie to be coined there, which outlived his monarchy. Superiority of finances is of endless advantage to a state, and no prince understood them better than Philip, or neglected them less. By this fund he was enabled to maintain a powerful army of foreigners, and to bribe a number of creatures in most of the cities of Greece. Demosthenes says that when Greece was in its most flourishing condition, gold and silver were ranked in the number of prohibited arms; but Philip thought, spoke, and acted in a quite different manner. It is said, that consulting the oracle of Delphos, he received the following answer:—"Make coin thy weapons, and thou'lt conquer all." The advice of the priestess became his rule, and he applied it with great success. He owned that he had carried more places by money than arms; that he never forced a gate till after having attempted to open it with a golden key: and that he did not think any fortress impregnable into which a mule laden with silver could find entrance. It has been said that he was a merchant rather than a conqueror, that it was not Philip, but his gold, which subdued Greece, and that he bought its cities rather than took them. He had pensioners in all the commonwealths of Greece, and retained those in his pay who had the greatest share in the public affairs. And, indeed, he was less proud of the success of a battle than that of a negotiation; well knowing that neither his generals nor his soldiers could share in the honour of the latter.

The times were auspicious to his acquisition of the ascendancy in Greece. Athens, Sparta, and Thebes had successively attempted to give law to all Greece, and in their struggles had destroyed their own resources and deluged the states in blood. That, however, which they never fully could attain he easily seized by putting an end to what was called the "sacred war," which distracted and spoiled Greece ten years. It derived its name from its origin,—the supposed profanity of the Phoceans in taking possession of the district adjacent to Delphi, which was regarded as consecrated to Apollo. They afterwards still more provoked the wrath of the more devout Grecians by employing the treasures of the temple to repel the armies sent against them.

Representatives from all the States were accustomed to assemble to deliberate on affairs in which they were all interested. These were called "the Council of the Amphyctions." Philip, by his intrigues, succeeded to procure admission into this council, and consequently to cause his kingdom to be acknowledged as one of Greece; and, by similar means, he prevailed on the Council to appoint him generalissimo of all the Greeks: and finally, which was perhaps the ultimate end of his policy, to be commissioned to make preparations for the invasion and conquest of Persia; in which enterprise all the states were called on to afford him every possible means of support. But his glory suddenly vanished; domestic misery was his lot; Olympias embittered his life, and he sought relief by drowning her, and marrying Cleopatra, a beautiful daughter of Attalus, one of the chief captains of his army. Among the many splendid follies of the marriage festival was a procession from the palace to the theatre. Before him were carried thirteen statues of gods, one of which, exceeding all the rest in magnificence, represented the vain monarch. As he proceeded, one of his chief officers, to whom he declined to do justice, stabbed him with a dagger, in the presence of the vast multitude assembled, which caused his instant death, in the forty-seventh year of his age.

No one ever more completely disregarded the maxims of wisdom for which he has been celebrated: of this, one instance suggested by the last scene of his life is sufficient proof. He exulted in being adored as a god, while he treated such conduct in any other person with utter contempt. Thus, when Menecrates, supposing himself Jupiter, addressed him in these words, "Menecrates Jupiter to Philip greeting," he answered, "Philip to Menecrates, health and reason;" and to correct the delusion of the physician, he invited him to a grand entertainment, and placed before him incense and perfumes, which at first transported him with joy on finding himself publicly acknowledged as a god. But hunger recalled him to his senses, and receiving nothing to eat, he quickly left the company. Philip knew well the importance of knowledge; and hence he was most solicitous that his son Alexander should receive the most complete education which could be procured in Greece, justly regarded the most enlightened country in the world. This induced him to place him early under the care and tuition of Aristotle, the most eminent and admired pupil of Plato. Josephus relates a remarkable anecdote of Aristotle, extracted from Clearchus, one

of his scholars. An intelligent Jew came from Syria to Asia Minor, and associated with the philosopher and his friends, who remarked that he "made a trial of our skill in philosophy; and as he had lived with many learned men, he communicated to us more information than he received from us." This incident, in the judgment of the Christian fathers, accounts for the evident agreement of many sentiments promulgated by Aristotle with those taught by Moses and the prophets.

The illustrious teacher discharged with fidelity the duties of his high office, and was equally beloved and honoured by the father and son. Philip rebuilt his native city Stagira, which had been ruined in war. It was seated on the coast of Macedon. Its inhabitants, who had deserted it, or were enslaved, were restored, and received from the king a large field in the vicinity, which he improved and beautified for the place of their assemblies and studies. Alexander believed himself bound to love his tutor as if he were his father; for he said, "I am indebted to the one for life, and to the other for living well." Alexander rapidly acquired all kinds of knowledge, and was as ambitious of applause for his attainments in philosophy as in military science. Were it possible, he would have monopolised the glory of both. This is obvious from the displeasure he expressed when his illustrious instructor published, without his knowledge, his work on rhetoric and certain metaphysical articles, which he wished exclusively to possess. In reference to these, at the very time that he was pursuing Darius, he thus wrote Aristotle: "I had much rather surpass the rest of men in the knowledge of sublime and excellent things, than in the greatness and the extent of power." His ruling passion, from his tender years, was ambition of human applause, on account of superiority of intellect, external power, and splendour. He would not, he avowed, "contend in the Olympic, unless kings were his antagonists. Homer, whom he deemed the best companion of a soldier, and whose poems he laid with his sword every night under his pillow, pleased him most when he described "Agamemnon as a good king and a brave warrior."

He was worthy of his father; who early discovered his talents, and raised him to posts of distinction and honour. He made him, it is probable, before he was fifteen years old, his companion in battle, and about this period he would have been slain, had not his noble son covered him with his shield,

and put to flight those who were ready to rush on him, as he lay wounded in the thigh, with his horse lying dead by his side.

Alexander was thus manifestly animated by a spirit which could have no rest till he executed the scheme of universal conquest, deeply loved by Philip. The opposition which he met with to this was great, both from many of his own subjects, and from the Athenians. Many of the former, recently conquered, hoped to cast off his yoke, because he was only a young man, for he ascended the throne in his twentieth year, 336 B. C. and the latter, for the same reason, hoped to liberate Greece. But he speedily surmounted all difficulties; and in an assembly of the Amphyctions, at Corinth, was chosen to succeed his father as generalissimo of the Greeks, and ordered to advance against Persia. Of the countries which he traversed from his departure from Macedon, till his return from India, Rollin thus briefly notices: "He crosseth the Hellespont, or the straits of the Dardanelles, from Europe to Asia Minor, where he fights two battles; the first at the pass of the river Granicus, and the second near the city of Issus. After the second battle, he enters Syria and Palestine; goes into Egypt, where he builds Alexandria, on one of the arms of the Nile; advances as far as Lybia to the temple of Jupiter Ammon; whence he returns back, arrives at Tyre, and from thence marches towards the Euphrates. He crosses that river, then the Tigris, and gains the celebrated victory of Arbela; possesses himself of Babylon, and Ecbatana, the chief city of Media. From thence he passes into Hyrcania, to the sea which goes by that name, otherwise called the Caspian sea; and enters Parthia, Drangiana, and the country of Paropamisus. He afterwards goes into Bactriana and Sogdiana; advances as far as the river Jaxartes, called by Quintus Curtius the Tanais, the farther side of which is inhabited by the Scythians, whose country forms part of Great Tartary. Alexander, after having gone through various countries, crosses the river Indus; enters India, which lies on this side the Ganges, and forms part of the Grand Mogul's empire, and advances very near the river Ganges, which he also intended to pass had not his army refused to follow him. He therefore contents himself with marching to view the ocean, and goes down the river Indus to its mouth. From Macedonia to the Ganges, almost to which river Alexander marched, is computed at least eleven hundred leagues. Add to this the various turnings in Alexander's marches; first,



from the extremity of Cilicia, where the battle of Issus was fought, to the temple of Jupiter Ammon in Lybia; and his returning from thence to Tyre, a journey of three hundred leagues at least, and as much space at least for the windings of his route in different places; we shall find that Alexander, in less than eight years, marched his army upwards of seventeen hundred leagues, without including his return to Babylon."

## CHAPTER IX.

### THE REIGNS OF DARIUS CODOMANUS AND ALEXANDER THE GREAT, CONTINUED.

THE plans pursued by Philip, and afterwards by his son, in relation to Persia, were not unobserved by the governors of Darius in Asia Minor; and he appears to have had entire confidence in their ability to maintain his interests so effectually as to render it unnecessary for him to adopt any precautionary measures for the protection of the eastern division of his empire. This confidence would have perhaps been somewhat justifiable had the inferior governors been positively ordered and disposed to follow implicitly the counsels of the chief governor, Memnon, the Rhodian. This great man was certainly the ablest general of the empire, and had been the principal instrument in subjecting all the provinces to the dominion of Artaxerxes III., and in establishing Darius Codomanus on the throne. From the time he had entered the service of Persia at Sidon, he had been distinguished not less by his consummate talents as a statesman and commander, than by activity, fidelity, and loyalty. He found no difficulty to persuade the governors to unite with him to raise a very large army, consisting of numerous Persian cavalry, and infantry, the latter of whom were chiefly Asiatic Greeks. When, however, he proposed the wisest measure suggested by the case, that the army should not risk all in battle, but rather lay waste their own country, and even destroy their cities, the governor and officers suspected that he held secret correspondence with the enemy, and designed to betray them, or that he wished to prolong the war, with a view to render the continuation of his services indispensable to the king. The consequence was, that they all united in rejecting his counsel, and resolved to act on that given by Arsites, satrap or governor of Phrygia, who declared that he would never permit the Grecians to desolate the country which he gov-

erned ; and that it was expedient at once to meet and repel the enemy. Accordingly, an army of one hundred thousand foot and ten thousand horse, were summoned to assemble on the banks of the river Granicus, a torrent stream, now named Ousuola, not far from Troas.

Whoever traces the movements of Alexander, from the time that the Amphyctions appointed him supreme commander of the Grecians against the Persians, will perceive the divine propriety of the prophetic symbol appropriated to pourtray the power of *Grecia*, nearly two hundred years before he assumed the command of the Greeks. While Daniel reflected on the scene of the "ram which had two horns,—behold, an he-goat came from the west, on the face of the whole earth, and touched not the ground ; and the goat had a notable horn between his eyes. And he came to the ram that had two horns, which I had seen standing before the river, and ran unto him in the fury of his power. And I saw him come close unto the ram, and he was moved with choler against him, and smote the ram, and brake his two horns ; and there was no power in the ram to stand before him, but he cast him down to the ground, and stamped upon him : and there was none that could deliver the ram out of his hand."

On returning from Corinth, Alexander instantly held a council of his chief officers and grandees, to deliberate on the measures necessary to be adopted for the invasion of the Persian empire. They all approved of entering on this great enterprise without delay, except Antipater and Parmenio, who wished him first to choose a consort to secure a successor to his throne. This prudential advice accorded ill with his fiery temper ; and he expressed the purpose of observing a grand festival to propitiate the favour of the gods. This being finished, he settled his domestic affairs, and conferred special honours on his friends, giving to one an estate in land, to another a village, to a third the revenues of a town, to a fourth the toll of a harbour. And as all the revenues of his demesnes were already employed and exhausted by his donations, Perdicas said to him, "My Lord, what is it you reserve for yourself?" Alexander replying, "Hope:" Perdicas said, "The same hope ought therefore to satisfy us ;" and so refused very generously to accept of what the king had appointed him. Having appointed Antipater viceroy, with an army of about twelve thousand horse, and an equal number of foot, he proceeded with his army to the Hellespont. He carried with him scarcely more money or provisions than were necessary

to support for a month the thirty thousand foot and five thousand horse, which constituted the entire amount of his army. These were all men of true bravery, each being accounted worthy to command, and admired for zeal to obey. All the officers were sixty years of age, and they had shared with his father in his toils, victories, and triumphs. The sudden arrival of the army at the Granicus, astonished and alarmed the Persian troops, who lined its opposite banks. These fiercely attacked the invaders when they entered the river, but were soon repelled, and in the battle which followed they were completely defeated. A great number of the Persian officers lay dead on the field of battle. Arsites fled to Phrygia, where, overwhelmed with grief that he was the cause of the catastrophe, it is said he took his own life. The conqueror hasted on to Sardis, the metropolis of Asia Minor, and the bulwark of the western division of the empire. The citizens delivered him the keys of the city, and he granted them liberty, and the privilege of governing themselves according to their own laws. After a few days he entered Ephesus, restored its popular form of government, and ordered the tribute hitherto bestowed on Diana to be continued. The temple of the goddess was rising anew at the expense of all Asia. The boundless desire of fame impelled him to declare that he purposed to provide all that was required to finish the edifice, on condition that his name alone should be inscribed on it. In declining the offer, the Ephesians averted his displeasure, by declaring that it was not becoming for one god to erect monuments to another.

Meantime the Asiatic Greeks were not slow to send him messengers, with the keys of their cities. But when his army had reached Miletus, he found its gates shut against him; for Memnon, with many Greeks, had taken possession of its fortress, and the citizens were encouraged to defend themselves, from expectation of the aid of the fleet. The garrison, however, after displaying prodigious valour, believing further resistance useless, procured an honourable capitulation, and retired. Memnon proceeded to Halicarnassus, a strong city in Caria, and was followed by Alexander. After a long and noble defence, the faithful Rhodian deemed it for the interest of his master to abandon the city. Leaving a strong garrison in the citadel, with ample provisions, he escaped by sea to the adjacent island of Cos, carrying with him the surviving citizens, and all their riches.

At this time the legitimate sovereign of Caria, a princess named Ada, possessed nothing but the fortress of Alindæ.

As soon as Alexander arrived in the province, she publicly adopted him for her son. Flattered by this trifling token of esteem, he committed to her the government of Halicarnassus. "This lady, as a testimony of the deep sense she had of the favours received from Alexander, sent him every day meats dressed in the most exquisite manner, delicious pies of all sorts, and the most excellent cooks of every kind. Alexander answered the queen on this occasion, "That all this train was of no service to him, for that he was possessed of much better cooks whom Leonidas his governor had given him, one of whom prepared him for a good dinner, and that was by walking a great deal in the morning very early ; and the other prepared him an excellent supper, and that was dining very moderately." After receiving the homage of several kings, the army of the conqueror withdrew to winter quarters. On this occasion he permitted all the soldiers who had recently married to return with their wives to Macedon and spend the winter, on condition of joining the army in the spring. In this act he is, by some, supposed to show that he had been, by Aristotle or some other person, made acquainted with the laws of Moses ; for no similar custom was recommended by any legislator of Greece or Persia.

Alexander early the next year, resolved to subdue the maritime provinces of Asia Minor, that he might, with more safety advance into Upper Asia and combat Darius, who had avowed his determination to place himself at the head of his armies. On the wings of victory, Alexander passed along the coast, and, without great difficulty, accomplished the object of his campaign. His position at this time was somewhat critical ; for Darius, on learning the state of the war in Asia Minor, approved of the counsel given him by Memnon, to transfer, if possible, the great combat for empire to Macedon. The Rhodian knew that if a Persian army invaded that kingdom, it would be strengthened by Sparta and other Grecian states, who were known to be disaffected to Alexander ; and that, by consequence, the latter could not avoid returning to Europe to protect his native dominions. Providence interposed in his favour ; for Memnon, who was appointed admiral of the fleet and general of the forces which he had raised, in attempting first the reduction of the Grecian islands, lost his life before Mitylene. He was universally acknowledged to be the greatest commander under Darius, and may be denominated the last remaining pillar of the empire. Information of his death no sooner reached Alexander in Capadocia,

than he commenced his march into Upper Asia, and gave his army little rest till they took possession of Tarsus.

Arriving in one of the hottest days of the year, the king, covered with perspiration and dust, bathed in the Cydnus, the river which runs through the city. He suddenly fainted, and was carried to his tent, where he remained sometime insensible. The report that he was expiring threw the whole army into the utmost consternation. Their hopes almost extinguished, terror overwhelmed them from the apprehension of the speedy approach of the enemy. Returning sensibility was succeeded by a violent fever. Only one physician had the courage to prescribe any remedy; for all the physicians as well as the army despaired of his recovery, and they doubted not that whosoever gave him medicine would be accused of poisoning him to procure the immense sum which Darius had publicly promised to any one who should kill him. Philip, an Acarnanian, who tenderly loved him, and had attended him professionally from his youth, engaged to cure him, and succeeded. The boldness of the physician and the confidence of the king, alike astonished the spectators. Permenio, it is said, in a letter to Alexander, entreated him to beware of Philip, for Darius had bribed him. Happily he disregarded the warning, and handing the letter to Philip, he instantly drank the prepared medicine, while he was reading it.

Darius had already encamped in the plains of Mesopotamia. His march more resembled the triumphal procession of an immense multitude accompanying a conqueror, than that of an army on whose exertions were suspended the destiny of the empire of the world. The most eminent historians conceived it impossible adequately to describe the magnificence and grandeur of the scene. The army, computed by some at four and by others at six hundred thousand men, was accompanied by the royal family, court, and the nobles of the empire, carrying with them immense riches, and adorned in the highest degree of oriental splendour. Nothing in their eyes seemed more easy and certain than the entire destruction of Alexander, whom they regarded as a young maniac.

On hearing that Darius was not far distant from Cilicia, Alexander immediately proceeded with his army through the Syrian Pass, but in consequence of the severity of the weather halted at the city of Myriandrus. The cause of his delay was interpreted by the flatterers of Darius as a proof of his conscious weakness and terror, and they prevailed on the vain

monarch to pursue him, and not regard the advice of his Greek officers, who strongly urged the propriety of waiting in the plains for his approach, because such a position alone would permit the immense army of the Persians to be brought against the enemy.

The armies met near the small city of Issus, in Cilicia. The field of battle was comparatively a narrow plain, bounded on the one side by mountains, and on the other by the sea, and divided almost into two equal parts by the river Pinarius, now called Deli-sou. A sanguinary combat terminated in the total defeat of the Persians. Darius was one of the first who fled in his chariot; but getting afterwards into craggy, rugged places, he mounted on horseback, throwing down his bow, shield, and royal mantle. After the victory was absolutely secure, Alexander pursued him some time, but judging that he could not overtake him without neglecting affairs of greater immediate interest than even the capture of Darius, he returned to his army. The Persian camp was deserted, except by the king's mother, the queen, with her daughters and an infant son, attended by a few Persian ladies; for the rest had been carried to Damascus, with part of Darius's treasure, and all such things as contributed only to the magnificence of his court. No more than three thousand talents were found in his camp, but the rest of the treasure fell afterwards into the hands of Parmenio, at his taking the city of Damascus. Alexander behaved to the royal family so nobly and generously that he was justly admired by his friends and almost beloved by his captives. The ladies were celebrated, like their king, for personal perfection. Alexander, having once visited them, would no more look on the queen, nor even suffer any one to speak in his presence of her beauty.

Exclusive of the great riches, consisting of gold, splendid equipages, golden vases and bridles, and a magnificent tent, found in the camp, Parmenio received from the governors of Damascus money or plate which required not less than thirty thousand men, and seven thousand beasts to carry.

The cities of Syria surrendered at the approach of the great conqueror, Thence he advanced on Phenicia, and received the submission of the citizens of Babylos and Sidon. The king of the latter city was deprived of his dignity on account of his partiality for Darius. Alexander commissioned his favourite Hephæstion to select a successor. He offered the crown to two young men of respectable family. They declined the gift, because it was, by the laws of their country

hereditary. Astonished and delighted with their self-denial and integrity, he requested them to name some one of the royal family, and offer him the crown. The only one allied to the royal race deemed by the young men worthy of the throne was Abdolonymus, a day-labourer in a garden. Regarding their offer as an insult, they forcibly arrayed him in the dress of royalty, and conducted him to the palace. His aspect became his noble descent; and Alexander eagerly desired him to say, how he endured labour and poverty. He replied, "Would to the gods that I may bear this crown with equal patience. These hands have procured me all I desired; and whilst I possessed nothing, I wanted nothing." This answer gave Alexander a high idea of Abdolonymus's virtue; so that he presented him not only with the rich furniture which had belonged to Strato, and part of the Persian plunder, but likewise annexed one of the neighbouring provinces to his dominions.

The Tyrians resolved to maintain their independence. They sent an embassy to the conqueror, with presents and provisions for his followers. They were willing to receive him as a friend, but declined to admit him into their city. He was indignant and prepared to conquer it. This was not an easy enterprise; for the city at that time occupied a much stronger position than ancient Tyre, which Nebuchadnezzar was not capable of capturing till after a siege of thirteen years. That city stood on the continent; the new one had been raised by the citizens on an island about a quarter of a league from the coast. It was surrounded by a strong wall one hundred feet high; and this wall the Tyrians strongly fortified, and confidently looked for assistance to repel the enemy from Carthage, which had been founded and peopled by their ancestors. Though the Carthaginians could not, in consequence of their war with Sicily, help them, they, by the mightiest exertions, long withstood the no less strenuous, great, and persevering efforts of Alexander. After his attempts to overcome them had been repeatedly foiled by sea, storms, or the heroic deeds of the besieged, he at length completed a mound which connected the city with the continent, and soon after took the city by a desperate assault. It was during this siege that the Tyrians, the wonder of the world for their wisdom and skill in commercial pursuits, showed their extreme ignorance in religion, and their excessive superstitions, by fastening, by a gold chain, the statue of Apollo to the altar of Hercules, lest the deity should, as some had



dreamed, desert them, and pass over to the enemy. The conqueror gave up the city to plunder and indiscriminate slaughter, and many thousands were put to death. The Sidonians in the Persian army saved about fifteen thousand, and thirty thousand were sold into slavery. From this overthrow Tyre never recovered; and it has been for many generations one of the most signal monuments of the truth of the prophetic word.

The earliest state of the commerce of the world is to be learned most correctly from the description of Tyre in the xxvi. xxvii. and xxviii. chapters of the book of Ezekiel. The intelligent reader is filled with wonder at the magnitude of the wealth and the extent of the power and commerce by sea and land of Tyre. She was the nursery of trade, of science, and arts; and her citizens were perhaps never surpassed in activity and industry by any people. Tyre had numerous colonies, besides Carthage, which was long the powerful and dreaded rival of Rome. While Tyre on the continent, was the first city in the world, in opulence and power, Isaiah, more than a century before Nebuchadnezzar appeared on the theatre of the world, predicted its fall. That monarch destroyed it, and two hundred years later its ruins were employed by Alexander in the construction of the mound which extended from the shore to the island, the site of new Tyre. It is therefore probable that the language of the prophet respected old Tyre, and it was fulfilled to the very letter: "Thou shalt be sought for, yet thou shalt never be found again." Tyre on the island recovered considerably its commerce after its overthrow by Alexander. Its inhabitants received the gospel in the first age of Christianity. They experienced many vicissitudes in successive ages. The Crusaders found Tyre possessed of an extensive commerce, when, in the twelfth century, they captured it from the Saracens. But it has rapidly decayed since it fell into the hands of the Turks; and no remarkable ruins are seen to attest its former greatness. Instead of the lofty houses, for which it was famed, the traveller beholds only a few wretched huts; and on the ground, long covered with the products of all lands, his eyes look on a few nets of poor fishers.

Having humbled the Tyrians, the conqueror marched to Jerusalem to revenge himself on its inhabitants, whose leaders had steadily refused to serve him, and supply his army with provisions. This was enough to stir up the fierceness of his wrath; for Judea was the principal country from which food could be procured to sustain his troops, while they besieged Tyre. He must, however, have admired, if he did not ap-

prove, the argument by which they apologised for their extraordinary conduct: They expressed no desire to oppose Alexander, but they had sworn allegiance to Darius, and, while he lived, they must adhere to their oath, and not voluntarily acknowledge any other sovereign. The government of the city was in the hands of Jaddua the high-priest; and his conduct, with its happy results, Josephus relates in great simplicity. On learning that Alexander was about to attack Jerusalem, he was in agony, for "he knew not how he should meet the Macedonians, since the king was displeased at his foregoing disobedience. He therefore ordained that the people should make supplications, and should join with him in offering sacrifice to God, whom he besought to protect that nation, and to deliver them from the perils that were coming upon them; whereupon God warned him in a dream, which came upon him after he had offered sacrifice, that he should take courage, and adorn the city, and open the gates; that the rest should appear in white garments, but that he and the priests should meet the king in the habits proper to their order, without the dread of any ill consequences, which the providence of God would prevent. Upon which, when he rose from his sleep, he greatly rejoiced; and declared to all the warning he had received from God. According to which dream he acted entirely, and so waited for the coming of the king. And when he understood that he was not far from the city, he went out in procession, with the priests and the multitude of the citizens. The procession was venerable, and the manner of it different from that of other nations. It reached to a place called Sapha, which name translated into Greek signifies *a prospect*, for you have thence a prospect both of Jerusalem and of the temple; and when the Phenicians and the Chaldeans that followed him, thought they should have liberty to plunder the city, and torment the high-priest to death, which the king's displeasure fairly promised them, the very reverse of it happened; for Alexander, when he saw the multitude at a distance, in white garments, while the priests stood clothed with fine linen, and the high-priest in purple and scarlet clothing, with his mitre on his head, having the golden plate whereon the name of God was engraved, he approached by himself and adored that name, and first saluted the high-priest. The Jews also did altogether, with one voice, salute Alexander, and encompass him about; whereupon the kings of Syria and the rest were surprised at what Alexander had done, and supposed him dis-

ordered in his mind. However, Parmenio alone went up to him, and asked him how it came to pass that, when all others adored him, he should adore the high-priest of the Jews? To whom he replied, 'I did not adore him, but that God who hath honoured him with his high priesthood; for I saw this very person in a dream, in this very habit, when I was at Dios in Macedonia, who, when I was considering with myself how I might obtain the dominion of Asia exhorted me to make no delay, but boldly to pass over the sea thither, for that he would conduct my army, and would give me the dominion over the Persians; whence it is, that having seen no other in that habit, and now seeing this person in it, and remembering that vision, and the exhortation which I had in my dream, I believe that I bring this army under the divine conduct, and shall therewith conquer Darius and destroy the power of the Persians, and that all things will succeed according to what is in my own mind;' and when he had said this to Parmenio, and had given the high-priest his right hand, the priests ran along by him, and he came into the city; and when he went up into the temple, he offered sacrifice to God, according to the high priest's direction, and magnificently treated both the high-priest, and the priests; and when the book of Daniel was showed him wherein Daniel declared that one of the Greeks should destroy the empire of the Persians, he supposed that himself was the person intended; and as he was then glad, he dismissed the multitude for the present, but the next day he called them to him, and bade them ask what favours they pleased of him; whereupon the high-priest desired that they might enjoy the laws of their forefathers, and might pay no tribute on the seventh year. He granted all they desired; and when they entreated him that he would permit the Jews in Babylon and Media to enjoy their own laws also, he willingly promised to do hereafter what they desired; and when he said to the multitude that if any of them would list themselves in his army on this condition, that they should continue under the laws of their forefathers, and live according to them, he was willing to take them with him, many were ready to accompany him in his wars."

From this time the Jews so freely and numerously mixed with the Greeks that the Grecian language was adopted by multitudes of them everywhere, and thus Divine providence was preparing the way for the accomplishment of the many predictions of the religious union of Jews and Gentiles in one

great community. Though the Jews were thus Grecianised in language, and doubtless partly in manners, generally, they tenaciously held fast their religion, and most zealously disseminated it among the nations. Of the truth of these facts, and of their influence on the interests of the true religion, we shall have occasion to adduce many proofs in subsequent pages. Alexander unhappily appears to have profited little by his intercourse with the Jews. The knowledge which he may have acquired of the True God had no salutary effect on his mind. Hitherto in his conquests he had associated in some degree justice and mercy with the tremendous display of his power. Thus he either acted from the generous affections of his nature, or from desire to be esteemed by the intelligent for his personal excellence. In like manner he had carefully worshipped the imaginary gods, that he might prevail on the superstitious to reverence his authority. But self-sufficiency and vanity were predominant feelings in his heart; and these were strengthened by success and flattery; so that he soon conducted himself without much regard to the approbation of the wise, or the fear of the superstitious. He became the slave of every evil impulse, passion, and appetite, and quickly indicated that his mind cherished not one correct moral principle. His savage nature was discovered by his treatment of the Tyrians, who had nobly dared to arrest his progress in conquest; his treatment of them was after the usual manner of conquerors. His barbarity to the governor of Gaza convinced all that he would no more be admired for self-government, or loved for clemency; it was no longer doubtful that he deserved to be ranked among "the beasts" of prey, whose work is to inflict misery on sinful man. Presuming that he was a god, he pursued the course of a malignant demon. Gaza was the frontier defence of Egypt from Syrian intrusion; it lay about sixty miles from Jerusalem on the road to Egypt, and being strongly fortified, the possession of it was indispensable to one who proposed to make himself master of the Egyptians. The glory of Gaza had survived that of the other cities of the Philistines; but its ruin, like theirs, had been predicted by Him whose word never fails. The sentence had gone forth, "Baldness shall come upon Gaza. I will set a fire upon the wall of Gaza, which shall devour the palaces thereof. The king shall perish from Gaza." Successfully subjugated by Egypt, Babylon, and Persia, it was still a noble city when Alexander besieged it, and after repeated attempts to take it, it fell before him; he was twice wounded

during the siege. The fidelity and bravery of its governor Betis, which ought to have secured the respect of the victor, inflamed his fierce passions, and he selected the most degrading and cruel mode of extinguishing the life of his victim. Pretending to have descended from the Achilles of Homer, who had dragged the dead body of Hector around the walls of Troy, he determined to exceed the barbarity of his ancestor. Accordingly he ordered a cord to be passed through the heels of Betis, and, binding it to his chariot, dragged him round the city till he expired. His revenge on the citizens of Gaza was equally violent and brutish; he cut ten thousand of the men in pieces, and sold all the rest, with the women and children, for slaves.

Leaving a garrison in Gaza, he hurried on to Pelusium, B. C. 331. Here he met a multitude of the Egyptians, who hailed him as a deliverer; for as they had, from the days of Xerxes, abhorred the Persians, they were ready to worship the mighty king who had destroyed their dominion. The Persian governor, Mazæus, knowing that he was not able to protect the capital Memphis, and that Darius, his sovereign, was not in a condition to succour him, he therefore set open the gates of the city to the conqueror, and gave up eight hundred talents, (about one hundred and forty thousand pounds,) and all the king's furniture. Thus Alexander possessed himself of all Egypt, without meeting with the least opposition.

The native power of the Egyptians had been a considerable time broken, but its decay was most probably much hastened by their entire subjugation to the enterprising Greeks. Thus the decree of Heaven to debase Egypt was progressively unveiled, and the prophetic word confirmed. But that country ceased not to be one of the mediums by which the Sovereign of the universe dispensed his favours to man. Though the natives decreased till they almost, if not altogether, disappeared, yet the comparatively civilized Greeks improved their new position, and widely spread by commerce their fame, beautiful language, attractive literature, improved science, and the elegant arts; and in due time bowed to the one living and true God, and boasted in the Son of David as the only Lord and Saviour of the human race.

Pride of uninterrupted victory inflated Alexander's vain and haughty mind, so that it readily admitted the wildest and most ridiculous phantasies of fanaticism; and the reveries of the poetical mythology of his Homer, which had previously perverted his heart, acquired over his strong imagination all

the force of realities. The greater number, if not every one of the poet's heroes, belonged to the race of the gods; and certainly he who equalled any of these heroes, and was, he said, a descendant of one of the most renowned among them, ought to be universally acknowledged a son of one of the chief gods. To attain this high dignity, he resolved to procure the favourable repose of the far-famed oracle of Jupiter-Ammon. The temple of this idol was seated in a small oasis in the desert of Lybia, twelve days' journey from Memphis. The way thither presented little else than a solitary region of burning sands, in which Cambyzes was reported to have lost fifty thousand soldiers, when he rashly traversed them. A similar disaster threatened Alexander and his army; and if we may believe historians, they were only saved from entire destruction by a miraculous fall of rain. The chief priest of the temple had more policy than to refuse the conqueror all his desire, and accordingly he publicly declared him to be the son of Jupiter. Alexander expressed his gratitude for this favour, and honoured the god by sacrifice and magnificent presents, and gave an ample reward to the priests. He marched back to Egypt in triumph, and assumed from this time, in all his private letters, and public decrees and orders, the lofty sounding title, "Alexander, King, Son of Jupiter-Ammon." And though derided by all in secret, few declined to reverence him in public as a god.

Notwithstanding this debasement of his imagination and affections, the splendour of his great intellectual talents and acquirements was not obscured; of this Alexandria, in Egypt, was a striking evidence to future generations. Not far from the Nile, he observed opposite Pharos, an island, which is now a peninsula, a position on the coast peculiarly adapted for the site of a great commercial city. He drew the plan, and entrusted the execution to Democrates, deemed the most skilful architect of the age, and famous as the rebuilder of the temple of Diana of Ephesus. Alexander saw its rise, and encouraged many of the most reputable people of different nations to become its citizens. Among these were not a few Jews, to whom he granted equal privileges with his own Macedonians, and complete liberty to live, in regard to religion, according to the laws and customs of their own nation. This city, to which he gave his own name, possessed two excellent harbours, accessible to the Mediterranean, the Nile, and the Red Sea. By these advantages, it drew to it, in a brief period, all the commerce of the East and West; and

became the capital of Egypt, the resort of all nations, and one of the most flourishing cities on the globe. Near its site is the modern city of the same name, with its harbour and roadstead, the latter of which ships of Christian nations only are permitted to enter. A confused mass of the ruins of the ancient city is still visible.

The building and future prosperity of this city doubtless contributed much to extend the knowledge and influence of the Greeks; and from it was also extensively disseminated the principles of the true religion. It was, indeed, as we shall see, in after ages, for a long period, one of the principal seats of science, and of the Jewish religion first, and next of Christianity.

Alexander divided the kingdom into districts, over each of which he appointed a governor, subordinate to a chief governor, an Egyptian, named Doloaspes, who was commanded to govern the natives according to their own laws and customs. Macedonian officers were alone intrusted with the command of all the garrisons and troops.

## CHAPTER X.

### THE REIGNS OF DARIUS CODOMANUS AND ALEXANDER THE GREAT, CONTINUED.

WHILE Alexander was employed in the subjugation of Syria, Phenicia, and Egypt, he twice received proposals of a treaty of peace from Darius, which he indignantly rejected; the humblest one conceded to him only the sovereignty of the regions of which he was already in possession. Darius therefore resolved to make another great effort to recover his power; and his rival afforded him ample time to raise an immense army. Alexander's army was also augmented by many soldiers from Greece, and he ordered all his forces to assemble at Tyre. He was prevented from reaching them as soon as he expected, by an unexpected incident in Samaria. The inhabitants, regardless of their oath to Darius, had at once submitted to Alexander, and supplied him with troops and provisions during his siege of Tyre. On this account, they hoped to have received more favour from him than the Jews. Being disappointed, their chief men, on his departing from Jerusalem for Egypt, had presented to him a petition to remit the tribute of the seventh year, because they were Jews by descent. He doubtless suspected the truth of their claims; but he pledged himself to examine them, and visit their temple, on his return from Egypt. This conduct appeared to them unjust, and they not only refused the tribute demanded by the Grecian governor, but set fire to his palace, and consumed him and his servants. He was beloved by his master, and his death was fearfully revenged; for Alexander put many of them to death, sent a number to Upper Egypt, destroyed their capital, and gave part of the land to the Jews, and the remainder to a colony of Macedonians. The few Samaritans who escaped, afterwards built Shechem, or Sychar, which is still occupied by their descendants.



With an army of little more than forty or fifty thousand, Alexander marched from Tyre to Thapsacus, the modern El-Der, on the Euphrates, which he easily passed on a bridge. Thence he proceeded to the Tigris, which, flowing deep and rapid, was only by extraordinary exertions forded. And here, probably, his progress would have been arrested, had Darius executed in season his purpose to guard the river, and lay waste the country. He had no apology for this neglect, except want of reflection on the celerity of the conqueror's movements. The Persian army covered the neighbouring plains of Assyria: the army of Macedon rested near the river. After a third vain attempt to procure peace, by resigning to Alexander all the countries west of the Euphrates, he led his vast army against him. The armies met at Gaugamela, a village near the city Arbela; now called Arbil, one of the three principal towns in the northern division of Koordistan. The seat of battle presented every advantage to the immense army of Darius; but he had enervated them, by keeping them all under arms the whole night preceding the battle. The contest was dreadful; for history reports that three hundred thousand Persians were slain or wounded. Darius escaped before the combat was over, and, with a few attendants, rode to the river Lycus. After crossing it, several advised him to break down bridges, because the enemy pursued him. But he made this generous, answer, "That life was not so dear to him as to make him desire to preserve it by the destruction of so many thousands of his subjects and faithful allies, who, by that means, would be delivered up to the mercy of the enemy; that they had as much right to pass over this bridge as their sovereign, and consequently that it ought to be as open to them." After riding a great number of leagues at full speed, he arrived at midnight at Arbela. From thence he fled towards Media, over the Armenian mountains, followed by a great number of the nobility, and a few of his guards. The battle of Arbela, fought in October, B. C. 330, two years after the battle of Issus, decided the destiny of the empire, which may be considered from this date transferred from Persia to Grecia, and constituting the third empire of prophecy.

Having spoiled Arbela, which contained the riches of the defeated army, Alexander marched to Babylon, where he readily received all the honours usually conferred on the most admired kings of Persia; and here he most liberally bestowed rewards and honours on his triumphant followers, who were multiplied by several thousands, whom Antipater, viceroy of

Macedon, had sent him. The wealth of Babylon became his ; but he found much more in Susa, the most delightful of all the royal residences of the empire, where he left Sysigambis, Darius's mother, with the queen and children. Having received from Macedonia a great quantity of purple stuffs and rich habits, made after the fashion of the country, he presented them to Sysigambis, together with the artificers who had wrought them ; for he paid her every kind of honour, and loved her as tenderly as if she had been his mother. He likewise commanded the messengers to tell her, that in case she fancied those stuffs, she might make her grandchildren learn the art of weaving them, by way of amusement, and to give them as presents to whomsoever they should think proper. At these words, the tears, which fell from her eyes showed but too evidently how greatly she was displeased at these gifts ; the working in wool being considered by the Persian women as the highest ignominy. Those who carried these presents having told the king that Sysigambis was very much dissatisfied, he thought himself obliged to make an apology for what he had done, and administer some consolation to her. Accordingly, he paid her a visit, when he spoke thus : "Mother, the stuff in which you see me clothed, was not only a gift of my sisters, but wrought by their fingers. Hence I beg you to believe, that the custom of my country misled me ; and do not consider that as an insult, which was owing entirely to ignorance. I believe I have not, as yet, done any thing which I knew interfered with your manners and customs. I was told that among the Persians it is a sort of crime for a son to seat himself in his mother's presence, without first obtaining her leave. You are sensible how cautious I have always been in this particular."

After conquering the country of the Uxii, which extended from the province of Susa to the frontiers of Persia, and was boldly defended by the governor Madetes, Alexander hastened on to Persepolis, the metropolis of the Persian empire, in which were deposited immense riches, and the most valued spoils of the conquests of the mightiest sovereigns. This city was at this time the most splendid in the East, and, we may certainly add, in the earth. Its ruins, named Shehel-Setoon, which signifies "the forty pillars," remain to attest its vast extent and grandeur. These travellers describe with admiration, about thirty miles north-west of Shiraz. About the same distance from these astonishing relics of Persian magnificence are seen the vestiges of one of the fire-temples, and of other

buildings, particularly of the tomb of Cyrus, which indicate the site of the sacred city Pasargada, where Alexander found about six thousand talents, estimated at nine hundred thousand pounds sterling.

From Persepolis had proceeded those numerous armies which had laid waste Greece and other countries occupied by the Grecians ; and its very name they detested. In this Alexander apparently or really deeply sympathized with them ; and hence, on entering it, he called on his soldiers to cut to pieces the inhabitants, who had not fled at his approach, and to plunder the houses. In a future season of riotous mirth and drunkenness, the soldiers' hatred of the city was inflamed to madness, by the courtesan Thais, a fascinating and impure native of Attica. She called on the conqueror and all his guests to consume the palace of Xerxes who had burned Athens. All obeyed ; and, singing and dancing, they ran and set fire to every part of the vast edifice.

Darius had sought an asylum in Ecbatana, the modern Hamadan, the summer royal residence. Here were collected around him about thirty thousand foot, four thousand of whom were Grecians, who remained faithful, with three thousand horse, and as many slingers, Bactrians under the command of their governor Bessus. Alexander marched from Persepolis to attack that city. On arriving he secured its treasures, and set out in pursuit of the king's army, that had left four days before, with the avowed purpose of contending once more for victory. But before the approach of Alexander, Darius was barbarously and fatally wounded by Bessus and Nabarzanes, a Persian noble. Their conduct being reprobated by the majority of their followers, they fled with as many as adhered to them. The one proceeded to Hyrcania, and the other to Bactria. Alexander caused the body of Darius to be embalmed and sent to his mother at Susa, to be laid in the tomb of his ancestors. With him the Persian empire disappeared, after having subsisted about two centuries.

Alexander next conquered Parthia, received the submission of Nabarzanes, governor of Hyrcania, whom he pardoned, and went on to Bactriana, in pursuit of Bessus, who had assumed the title of king of that country. On reaching it the traitor escaped and passed over the river Oxus, with a few troops, who afterwards put him to death. Bactriana and all the surrounding nations submitted to the conqueror, except Scythia, whose inhabitants boasted that they had never been subdued by Persia. They soon however, acknowledged that

"the world ought to submit to the Macedonians." In Zenippa, the capital of a region bordering on Scythia, Alexander married Roxana, a daughter of Oxyartes, one of its princes, and here he prepared to advance into India, to conquer it, that he might in no respect appear inferior to his brother gods, Hercules and Bacchus, whom tradition represented as conquerors of that country. Doubtless his purpose was confirmed by the universal belief that India surpassed the whole world in the abundance of its gold, jewels, and precious stones. To augment his forces, and at the same time establish his power, he demanded the governors of the recently subdued regions to send him thirty thousand men, completely armed, selected from the principal families of the provinces, who were most likely to prove able soldiers, and hostages for the obedience of their respective countrymen. The army destined for India amounted to one hundred and twenty thousand, magnificently equipped.

The subjugation of the countries through which he marched to the Indus, the great river of northern India, occupied, it is said, about a year. In B. C. 326, he conquered every part of the region called the Punja, or Five Rivers, which extended from the Indus to the Hyphasis, now called Beyah. The five rivers which gave name to this country are all branches of the Indus. The conqueror's troops refused to advance farther, and after using every possible means of overcoming their opposition, he was compelled to acquiesce in their united resolution to return to Persia.

Having constructed a large fleet, the army descended the rivers, subduing all the nations on the banks of the Indus. The sight of the ocean highly excited Alexander; "gazing with the utmost eagerness upon that vast expanse of waters, he imagined that this sight, worthy so great a conqueror as himself, greatly overpaid all the toils he had undergone, and the many thousand men he had lost, to arrive at it. He then offered sacrifices to the gods, and particularly to Neptune; threw into the sea the bulls he had slaughtered, and a great number of golden cups; and besought the gods not to suffer any mortal after him to exceed the bounds of his expedition. Finding that he had extended his conquests to the extremities of the earth on that side, he imagined he had completed his mighty design. A fleet consisting of eighty vessels of the larger size, and above one thousand nine hundred of the lesser, to be navigated by the Phenicians, Cyprians, Carians, and Egyptians of his army, who were familiar to

the sea, were placed under Nearchus, the only officer who had sufficient courage to undertake the hazardous enterprise of navigating an unknown ocean. And his safe arrival at Harmusia, the modern Osmus, an island in the Persian Gulf, attested how completely qualified he was for the office which he had accepted.

Alexander left India several months before the fleet ; in the march the army endured inexpressible sufferings, which destroyed multitudes. This, however, neither occasioned much sorrow to the proud and selfish chief, nor repressed his passion for pomp and pleasure. Accordingly he entered Carmania, now Kerman, on the northern coast of the Persian gulf, not with the air and equipage of a warrior and a conqueror, but in a kind of masquerade and bacchanalian festivity, committing the most riotous and extravagant actions. He was drawn by eight horses, himself being seated on a magnificent chariot, above which a scaffold was raised, in the form of a square stage, where he passed the days and nights in feasts and carousing. This chariot was preceded and followed by an infinite number of others, some of which, in the shape of tents, were covered with rich carpets and purple coverlets, and others, shaped like cradles, were overshadowed with branches of trees. On the sides of the roads and at the doors of houses a great number of casks ready broached were placed, whence the soldiers drew wine in large flaggons, cups and goblets, prepared for that purpose. The whole country echoed with the sound of instruments and the howling of the bacchanals, who with their hair dishevelled, and like so many frantic creatures, ran up and down, abandoning themselves to every kind of licentiousness. All this he did in imitation of the triumph of Bacchus, who, as we are told, crossed all Asia in this equipage, after he had conquered India. This riotous dissolute march lasted seven days, during all which time the army was never sober. Ambitious to be admired and praised as the first in wisdom as well as valour, Alexander was extremely provoked to find that the governors had exceedingly oppressed the provinces. Nevertheless, he ought to have expected nothing else ; for he had generally either continued those in office who, without appearance of regret in the first hour of personal danger, had deserted their generous and amiable sovereign, or he had selected others from among the natives, persons distinguished by mere rank, to supply the places of those whom he deemed unworthy of the office. Many of these men, most probably

believing that he would never return from India, had tyrannised over the people, and reduced them to the lowest condition of slavery. These, and a number of the soldiers who had willingly executed their oppressors' orders, were punished with death. Alexander laboured most assiduously to establish a just government, and was not less careful to provide what he conceived the most appropriate means to consolidate his power. Every important city and garrison was protected by Grecian troops, and by example and precept he endeavoured to form the closest union, by marriage, between the officers of his army and the chief families of Persia; and his own example showed how intensely he desired such a union, for on arriving at Susa he married Statira, the daughter of Darius, and assumed all the magnificence and splendour of oriental monarchs. This, in his judgment, was consummate policy, but the results were disastrous, and speedily terminated his triumphs and his life; for, not satisfied with imitating oriental greatness, he gave himself up to oriental voluptuousness. He had never discovered a correct perception or undissembled love of moral excellence; but from the time he captured Gaza all the destructive passions and debasing appetites suppressed whatever disposition he had previously manifested to excite pleasure in the mind of the wise and good. This was seen in his general conduct even before his expedition into India; he required those who approached him to fall prostrate at his feet, formed a seraglio of almost six hundred concubines, and a band of eunuchs. And, not satisfied with wearing a Persian robe himself, he also obliged his generals, his friends, and all the grandees of his court, to put on the same dress, which gave them the greatest mortification, not one of them, however, daring to speak against this innovation, or contradict the prince. Under the mere shadow of justice, he condemned, on little more than suspicion, individuals to whose military services or counsels and wise suggestions he was chiefly indebted for his successes, and his hands shed the blood of one of his most faithful servants who dared to tell him the truth. Nothing at last would satisfy him less than to be treated by all as a god, and nothing seems to have aroused his anger and resentment more than to find all his schemes ineffectual to persuade the most intelligent and independent of the Macedonians and Greeks to do him homage and duty, by falling prostrate at his feet.

Among his last acts was his vain attempt to restore Babylon and its province to their ancient glory. He employed

ten thousand men to restore the temple of Belus. "When it came to the turn of the Jewish soldiers who were in his army, to work as the rest had done, they could not be prevailed upon to give their assistance; but excused themselves with saying, that as idolatry was forbid by the tenets of their religion, they therefore were not allowed to assist in building of a temple designed for idolatrous worship; and accordingly not one lent a hand on this occasion. They were punished for disobedience, but to no purpose; so that, at last, Alexander admiring their perseverance, discharged and sent them home. This delicate resolution of the Jews is a lesson to many Christians, as it teaches them, that they are not allowed to join or assist in the commission of an action that is contrary to the law of God. One cannot forbear admiring the conduct of providence on this occasion. God had broke to pieces, by the hand of his servant Cyrus, the idol Belus, the god who rivalled the Lord of Israel: he afterwards caused Xerxes to demolish his temple. These first blows which the Lord struck at Babylon, were so many omens of its total ruin: and it was as impossible for Alexander to complete the re-building of this temple, as for Julian, some centuries after, to restore that of Jerusalem.

Alexander consumed his time in Babylon principally in licentious festivals and banquets. Drinking more than usual one evening, he fell on the floor, and was carried perfectly insensible to the palace. A violent fever supervened, which baffled every remedy. Feeling that death had seized him, he drew a ring from his finger, and gave it to Perdiccas, with orders to convey his dead body to the temple of Jupiter-Ammon. Perdiccas inquired when they should pay him divine honours? He replied, "When you are happy." These were his last words. At his death he was thirty-two years old, of which he had reigned twelve.

Could we trace the development of the designs of Heaven by the instrumentality of Alexander, we should doubtless perceive innumerable indications of infinite wisdom, justice, and benevolence. This great agent of Divine Providence astonished and confounded the minds of the wise and unwise, not less by what he actually performed, than by what he attempted. The schemes and proceedings, however, which were considered by not a few equivocal signs of boundless vanity or enthusiastic delusion, terminated in the making known to the western world numerous and mighty nations. Some of the most intelligent of the human race had beheld

with wonder and delight, the lands of which they had heard in the fabulous mythology of their gods, without being able to conceive much more distinctly of them than of their gods, the mere phantoms of their disordered imaginations. Now this discovery of, as it were, a new world, may be viewed as having the same relation to the propagation of the true religion, as the later discovery of the vast regions of America, Australasia, and the islands of the Southern ocean. Alexander, Columbus, and Cook, were impelled, by various and powerful motives, to exploits which will command the admiration of all future ages; but all their wanderings tended to complete the process of preparation for the dissemination in all lands of the seed of immortal life, ordained to bring forth abundantly the fruits of righteousness in all the nations, peoples, tribes and families on the face of the globe. Christians in the first ages could never, unless instructed and enjoined by Divine inspiration, have thought of carrying the gospel to Scythia or India, had not these countries been traversed by their ancestors. But a more immediate good may have accompanied the armies of Alexander in foreign lands. We have seen that the most influential by rank, and possibly by intelligence, in all the conquered regions, joined him in his progress to conquest; and these daily mixing with their fellow-soldiers would naturally obtain some knowledge of their language and sentiments. Among these were many Jews, for they loved to serve Alexander after he had proved the able and willing friend of their nation. Now whatever were their defects, it is known to all, that, from the time of their captivity, their zeal for the One, True, and Living God, was always fervent. Through them therefore the God of Israel was doubtless made known to multitudes, who had perhaps never been taught that he had revealed himself and his laws and promises to mankind.

The time of Alexander's unexpected death, we conceive, tended much to fulfil the Divine prediction concerning his empire. Had he lived to the ordinary age of man, and educated a son or sons, after his own likeness, judging according to the usual phenomena presented in the past empires, the probability is strong that the unity of his empire might have subsisted for centuries; or that a series of events more terrible than those which actually transpired, would have been required to break up the empire, divide, and constitute it into precisely four mighty powers. This revolution in the empire



was indispensable to the existence and full growth of the four-borned he-goat of Grecia.

During the fatal illness of the conqueror of Darius, he discovered his perfect conviction of the vanity, although not of the wickedness of his ambition.

To the important inquiry, "To whom do you desire to leave the empire?" he replied, "To the most worthy; but I foresee that the decision of this will give occasion to strange funeral games after my decease." His words were awfully verified. He left many friends, for scarcely could any prince excel him in the generosity and liberality which procure willing followers. His death was universally lamented; and wherever it was reported, the most expressive signs of grief were visible. Loud cries and groans re-echoed over the earth. "The vanquished bewailed him as much as the victors:" his good qualities were remembered, his faults were forgotten. The Persians pronounced him to have been the most just and kind sovereign that had ever reigned over them; the Grecians reproached themselves for having refused him divine honours. In these circumstances, all persons of rank or power adopted, as with one heart, the plan which they deemed the only one calculated to perpetuate his fame. Not a few of his courtiers, governors, and officers, almost equalled him in the talents of a statesman and warrior, and some of these were not less ambitious than he had been of universal empire; but every one for the moment supposed or believed that he could only advance his own interest or honour by appearing chiefly solicitous to preserve the empire entire to the family of him whose departure all deplored. After great contentions among the Macedonians, who claimed the exclusive right of judging on the state of affairs, it was determined that Aridæus, an illegitimate brother of Alexander, should in the meantime succeed him on the throne; but that he should share the dignity and power with the child, if a son, whom they expected in a few weeks to be born of Roxana, the first wife of Alexander. The guardianship of Aridæus, who was an imbecile, and, by consequence, the administration of the supreme government, were entrusted to Perdiccas. The various governments of the great empire were distributed among the other distinguished commanders in the army.

By these all authority continued to be held and exercised, although they nominally vested it in Aridæus and Roxana's infant son, who was named Alexander. The council of the generals thus disposed of Europe. Lysimachus was assigned

Thrace and the adjacent regions ; and Macedon, Epirus, and Greece were given to Antipater and Craterus. Egypt, considered a part of Africa, Lybia, and Cyrenaica, with that division of Arabia which borders on Egypt, were placed under Ptolemy. Asia Minor was thus divided. Lycia, Pamphylia, and the Greater Phrygia were given to Antigonos ; Caria, to Cassander ; Lydia, to Menander ; the Lesser Phrygia, to Leonatus ; Armenia, to Neoptolemus ; Cappadocia and Paphlagonia, to Eumenes. These two provinces had never been subjected by the Macedonians ; and Ariarathes, King of Cappadocia, continued to govern them as formerly,—Alexander having advanced with so much rapidity to his other conquests, as left him no inclination to amuse himself with the entire reduction of that province, and contented himself with a slight submission. Syria and Phenicia fell to Laomedon ; one of the two Medias to Atropates, and the other, to Perdiccas. Persia was assigned to Peucestes ; Babylonia, to Archon ; Mesopotamia, to Arcesilas ; Parthia and Hyrcania, to Phrathernes ; Bactria and Sogdiana, to Philip : the other regions were divided among generals whose names are now but little known. Seleucus, the son of Antiochus, was placed at the head of the cavalry of the allies, which was a post of great importance ; and Cassander, the son of Antipater, commanded the companies of guards. The Upper Asia, which extends almost to India, and even India also, were left in the possession of those who had been appointed governors of those countries by Alexander.

Thus the whole empire was placed under the Grecians, and this noble race generally maintained their power till deprived of it by the iron rod of Rome. This fact sufficiently accounts for the very wide diffusion of the Grecian language, and for its hold over the nations being so powerful that it was not supplanted by the Romans, notwithstanding of the might and absoluteness of their dominions. And this grand result of the established power of Grecia was adapted to produce incalculable good or evil to the nations ; but that the good preponderated, no wise observer of human society doubts, if he has carefully perceived and compared the civil, moral, and religious state of the western world in the successive centuries, with its state in preceding ages.

The lives and actions of some of the captains appointed over the provinces occupy few or no pages of history, because they were tranquil or uninteresting in their features. The sanguinary contests of a few others, in their struggles for ex-

istence, independence, or empire, we shall pass over or advert to slightly, when they appear to have had little or no immediate influence on the interests of the Jews or of the true religion. Indeed, of the successors of Alexander in the third empire, we will have chiefly to fix our attention on those who governed Syria and Egypt.

## CHAPTER XI.

### THE CONTEST FOR THE UNITY OF THE GRECIAN EMPIRE.

THE supremacy of Heaven and the impotency of man have been seldom more conspicuously demonstrated than they were by the result of the numerous schemes and deeds of a few of the officers and captains of Alexander to confirm and perpetuate the unity or integrity of the empire which he had founded. Its division into four kingdoms or sovereign powers, ordained by the King of kings and Lord of lords had been described by Daniel under the symbol of a ram with four horns, three centuries before the conqueror had appeared; and the prevention of the growth and maturity of these horns was far beyond the wisdom and power of mankind. Many and deep were the thoughts and purposes, and mighty and marvellous the efforts of man; but the objects accomplished by them are frequently the most remote, and sometimes almost altogether different from those which he desired and expected. They are, however, completely regulated or controlled to fulfil His design whose "counsel shall stand, and who will do all his pleasure."

The Grecian States, with the exception of Thebes, were scarcely certain of the death of Alexander, when, stimulated by their orators, especially by Demosthenes, they unanimously resolved to attempt their emancipation from the Macedonian yoke. Though successful in their first combats with the army of Antipater, the viceroy of Macedon, yet their dissensions soon enabled that able general to accept of peace on the most humiliating terms. The weight of his displeasure fell on the orators, and Demosthenes, to escape an ignominious death, destroyed himself by poison.

Perdiccas, animated as much, if not more, by ambition than loyalty, determined to reduce to obedience all the governors who seemed inclined to act independent of the authority which he exercised in name of the two kings, Aridæus and Roxana's

child, called Alexander. The opponents whose power most alarmed him were Antipater and Ptolemy. The former assumed that the right to protect the kings belonged exclusively to him, because the deceased king had appointed him viceroy of Macedon ; and the latter had conducted the government of Egypt, which had been committed to him, more like an independent prince than a governor.

Eumenes, who had been the secretary of Alexander the Great, was celebrated at once for wisdom in the cabinet and for skill and valour on the field of battle, and perhaps of all the servants of the conqueror he was his most, if not the only, disinterested and unalterable friend. Perdikkas wisely sought and readily obtained his assistance to support the royal cause. In the partition of the empire, Cappadocia and Pamphilia had been assigned to Eumenes ; but these countries had not been conquered by Alexander. This Perdikkas, however, speedily effected, and, adding to them Caria, Lycia, and Phrygia, left Eumenes to defend Asia Minor against the army of Antipater, and proceeded with great force through Syria to Egypt.

Fabulous report makes Ptolemy a son of Philip, the father of Alexander ; but the fact is, that his father, Lagus, a Macedonian, appears to have been a favourite servant of his sovereign. His son was one of the eminent men of an age distinguished by the number of persons of extraordinary endowments. He was one of Alexander's chief favourites, and not less esteemed by the soldiers. If we may believe Arian, he wrote an interesting life of his master. From the time that he became governor of Egypt, the wisdom and justice of his administration secured him the hearts of the natives, and the admiration and confidence of all who witnessed it, and multitudes of Greeks and other people gladly entered his service and settled in his dominions. The efficiency of his army was much promoted by the respect which he showed for the memory of his late sovereign. Almost two years elapsed before the governors agreed as to the place where the remains of Alexander should be interred. Preference was at length given to the temple of Jupiter Ammon. On learning that the company appointed to convey the corpse from the East were on their journey, Ptolemy, who felt his recent and great obligations to the king, purposed to testify his gratitude. He accordingly set out with a numerous guard of his best troops, in order to meet the procession, and advanced as far as Syria. When he had joined the attendants on the funeral, he prevented them from interring the corpse in the temple of Jupiter.

Ammon, as they had proposed. It was therefore deposited, first in the city of Memphis, and from thence was conveyed to Alexandria. Ptolemy raised a magnificent temple to the memory of this monarch, and rendered him all the honours which were usually paid to demi-gods and heroes by Pagan antiquity. This generous conduct of the governor of Egypt induced many of the veterans of the army of Alexander, and not a few of his friends, to resort to Egypt. He therefore found it no difficulty to fortify this kingdom, and fully prepare to repel the threatened attack of Perdiccas.

Indeed many who accompanied that leader, no sooner arrived in Egypt, than they deserted and joined the troops opposed to him. All these things proved fatal to his views and his life. For having rashly resolved to make his army pass an arm of the Nile, which formed an island near Memphis, in passing he lost two thousand men, half of whom were drowned, and the remainder devoured by crocodiles. The Macedonians were exasperated to such a degree of fury, when they saw themselves exposed to such unnecessary dangers, that they mutinied against him; in consequence of which he was abandoned by a hundred of his principal officers, of whom Pithon was the most considerable, and was assassinated in his tent, with most of his intimate friends.

The government of Ptolemy extended over Lybia and Cyrenaica on the one extremity of Egypt, and on the other, over parts of Arabia. Through the latter country, he was exposed to invasion, and considered himself insecure without the possession of Syria, Judea, and Phenicia. He was particularly solicitous to command the latter region, because it would afford him opportunity and means to conquer the fine island of Cyprus. Laomedon, one of Alexander's captains, had received Syria, and the adjacent regions for his share of the empire; and for a few years was permitted to govern them in peace. Having declined to accept from Ptolemy an immense sum of money for his right to the government, he was soon deprived of it by force. An Egyptian army, under Nicanor, invaded Syria, defeated the troops of Laomedon, and took him prisoner; and the coast was subdued by a fleet, commanded by Ptolemy, in person. All the inhabitants submitted to him except the Jews, who, as on former occasions, pleaded that they dared not violate their oath to their governor while he was alive. Jerusalem was one of the strongest cities from its position, and it was well fortified. Josephus gives a most improbable account of its capture by the hypocrisy of

Ptolemy. Pretending great zeal for the God of Israel, he persuaded them to permit him to enter the city on a sabbath, that he might offer sacrifice. The Jews were accustomed to spend the sacred day in rest from all secular works ; and therefore the few attendants of the rulers of Egypt, easily seized the city. But, according to Agatharchidas, a Grecian historian, it was taken by assault, on a sabbath, because the Jews would not perform any work on that day, not even to save their lives. This erroneous view of the Divine institution of the sabbath, we find prevailed among them till the time of Matthias, and is a striking indication of the rise of that mode of interpreting Scripture, which characterised the sect of the Pharisees, who regarded the letter rather than the spirit of the Divine law.

Ptolemy carried many of the people of Samaria and Judea captives into Egypt. But Josephus is scarcely consistent with himself, when he says that he ruled over the Jews in a cruel manner ; and that, nevertheless, many of them voluntarily emigrated to Egypt. It is, however, possible that he may have treated them at first with great severity ; but it is certain that his general conduct towards them was just and generous. Josephus indeed says, that, reflecting on the fidelity of the Jews to Darius and Alexander, he granted the captives settled in Alexandria equal privileges with the Greeks, and distributed many others into garrisons. The number of the Jewish captives was, it is said, one hundred thousand, the majority of whom were sent to Alexandria, some to Lybia and Cyrenaica, and thirty thousand placed in the army. If we add these to those carried by Alexander into Egypt, the Jews must have been already numerous in that kingdom. These carried with them their aversion to idols, and zeal for the True God ; and, at no distant period, we shall see them in possession of a copy of the sacred writings, in the language of their conquerors, which became the prevailing language of the civilized world. And though not a few of them were seduced from the purity of the faith in Divine Revelation, yet very many persevered in the public profession of it all the period that Alexandria remained the rival of Rome in wealth and literature, and the chief commercial city on the globe. [See the brief description of Alexandria in the Pocket Biblical Dictionary.] Have we not, therefore, a remarkable manifestation of the wisdom and benevolence of Deity, in the time selected by him for the removal of such numbers of the Jews to Egypt, and especially to its metropolis ? Tyre had ceased

to be the centre of the intercourse of mankind ; and Judea was, for a long time, the scene of the strife, contention, and wars of the rival powers of Egypt and Syria. Consequently, it was not now the most favourable spot for men of all nations to contemplate the heavenly light, however much they might desire to behold it ; and it was rendered more accessible to all races and all ranks, by being placed in Alexandria, than it would have been in any other spot in the whole world ; for this city was much more generally known and resorted to, for at least two centuries, than even Rome itself.

Eumenes, indignant on learning the proceedings of Ptolemy, would have marched into Syria, and would, perhaps, have spoiled him of all his recent acquisitions, had he not been compelled to defend himself against a more powerful rival. Antiochus, originally appointed governor of several provinces of Asia Minor, had acquired absolute authority over all that country, and aspired to universal empire. His army, consisting of seventy thousand men and thirty elephants, was more powerful than any that could be brought against them. But Eumenes was superior to him in wisdom and every virtue which ennobles a chief, and perhaps to all the generals of his age. The struggle between these captains was fierce, and the issue for some time doubtful ; and Antiochus owed his triumph over his rival to success in overcoming the fidelity of the army of his opponent, rather than to the power of his arms. Having conquered the chief supporter of the royal family, he assumed the sovereignty of the empire, and disposed of the eastern provinces according to his pleasure. He removed some governors, to exalt in their places persons in whom he had confidence. Pithon, governor of Media, and Antigonus, general of the Argyraspides or Silvershields, the reputedly invincible band of Alexander, he put to death. Seleucus, governor of Babylon, was likewise minuted down in his list of proscriptions ; but he found means to escape the danger, and threw himself under the protection of Ptolemy, king of Egypt. As for the Argyraspides, who had betrayed Eumenes, he sent them into Arachosia, the remotest province in the empire, and ordered Syburtius, who governed there, to take such measures as might destroy them all, and that not one of them might ever return to Greece. The just horror he conceived at the infamous manner in which they betrayed their general, contributed not a little to this resolution, though he enjoyed the fruit of their treason without the least scruple or remorse ; but a motive, still more prevalent, determined



him chiefly to this proceeding. These soldiers were mutinous, untractable, licentious, and averse to all obedience; their example, therefore, was capable of corrupting the other troops, and even of destroying him, by a new instance of treachery; he therefore was resolved to exterminate them without hesitation.

The formidable power and ambitious schemes of Antiochus alarmed the other most powerful governors of the empire; and Ptolemy, Lysimachus of Thrace, and Cassander, son of Antipater of Macedon, united to oppose him. The treasures which he procured in Babylon and Susa, enabled him to raise a powerful army, which he led into Syria and Phenicia, with the intention of seizing the fleet of Ptolemy, and making himself master of the sea. In this he, however, failed; and it was with difficulty that he captured the seaports. That he might contend against the fleets of his rivals, he formed alliances with Cyprus, Rhodes, and other maritime places, and employed several thousand men to build vessels in various ports of Syria. The defence of that country, and the preservation of a fleet, he entrusted to his son Demetrius, who early discovered himself superior to his father in the qualities which command public esteem, and not less skilful and bold in war.

From Syria, Antigonus advanced to Asia Minor, which had been invaded by Cassander, who was supported by his allies. While engaged with them, Ptolemy had conquered the largest portion of Cyprus, and recovered Phenicia, Judea, and Cælo-Syria, after a most sanguinary combat with Demetrius at Gaza. But the victor enjoyed his triumph only a short time, for his army, sent under Cilles to reduce Syria, was defeated by Demetrius; and immediately on his father receiving information of the victory, he marched into Syria to support him.

Ptolemy, convinced that he was not prepared to repel their united forces, demolished the fortifications of Acre, Joppa, Samaria, and Gaza, and returned with much of the riches and many of the inhabitants, particularly Jews, into Egypt. These followed the ruler of Egypt, not as captives, but from choice, for the advantages which he promised them more than compensated for absence from a country taken possession of by one whom they had more reason to fear than love. Of the Jewish captives or emigrants who joined the army of Ptolemy, at this or at a former period, in their return to Egypt, Josephus relates, on the authority of Hecateus, two anecdotes. This person, he says, was a native of Abdara, and a philosopher

who first enjoyed the friendship of Alexander, and, after his death, that of Ptolemy, whom he accompanied into Judea. He carefully investigated and wrote a full account of the laws and affairs of the Jews. Among the most distinguished of those of them who entered the service of Egypt, was Hezekiah. He was a person of great dignity, remarkable for his wisdom, eloquence, and knowledge of the history and laws of his country. His influence with the king was considerable, and hence to him the Jews partly ascribed the favours which were conferred on them by Ptolemy and his successor.

Another of these Jews, named Mosallam, was one of the horsemen appointed to guide the army, in their journey to the Red Sea. "He was a person of great courage, of a strong body, and by all allowed to be the most skilful archer that was either among the Greeks or barbarians. Now this man, as people were in great numbers passing along the road, and a certain augur was observing an augury by a bird, and requiring them all to stand still, inquired what they staid for. Hereupon the augur showed them the bird from whence he took his augury, and told him that if the bird staid where he was, they ought all to stand still; but that if he got up, and flew onward, they must go forward; but that if he flew backward, they must retire again. Mosollam made no reply, but drew his bow, and shot at the bird, and hit him, and killed him; and as the augur and some others were very angry, and wished imprecations upon him, he answered them thus:—Why are you so mad as to take this most unhappy bird into your hands? for how can this bird give us any true information concerning our march, who could not foresee how to save himself? for had he been able to foreknow what was future he would not have come to this place, but would have been afraid lest Mosollam the Jew would shoot at him, and kill him."

While Antigonus was in Syria, Seleucus, by the assistance of less than two thousand men, whom he received from Ptolemy, and the Macedonians who occupied the fortress of Carrhæ, or Haran, in Mesopotamia, whom he persuaded to join him on his march to the East, recovered Babylon. His appearance before that city was hailed by the citizens. They gratefully remembered the mildness, justice, equity, and humanity of his conduct, and gladly received him. His army was quickly augmented, and enabled him to defeat the force led against him by Nicanor, who governed Media for Antigonus, and to conquer Media, Susiana, and the adjacent pro-

vinces. Having thus acquired great power he returned to Babylon, B. C. 311, a memorable event in the history of the East; for this commences the era of the Seleucides, received by all the people of the East, as well Pagans as Jews, Christians, and Mahomedans. The Jews called it the *Era of Contracts*, because when they were subjected to the government of the Syro-Macedonian kings, they were obliged to insert it into the dates of their contracts and other civil writings. The Arabians style it the *Era of Bicornus*, intimating Seleucus thereby, according to some authors, who declare that the sculptors represented him with two horns of an ox on his head, because this prince was so strong, that he could seize that animal by the horns and stop him short in his full career.

The two books of the Maccabees call it the *Era of the Greeks*, and use it in their dates, with this difference however, that the first of these books represents it as beginning in the spring, the other, in the autumn of the same year. The thirty-one years of the reign ascribed to Seleucus, begin at this period. Antigonus in vain attempted to conquer the Nabathæan Arabs. Their capital was strongly situated, as we have noticed in the Pocket Biblical Dictionary. It defied his power, and he was pleased to prevail on them to agree to a treaty of peace, favourable to their interests.

News from Nicanor disclosed the critical state of his affairs; and he instantly sent Demetrius to the East, with one part of his army and proceeded with the other to Asia Minor. Seleucus being in Media when Demetrius arrived at Babylon, he easily captured the city. But he was soon obliged to desert it to join his father's army, before he had obtained possession of one of the fortresses on the Euphrates. He plundered the city, and increased the hatred which the people cherished against his father's oppressive government.

His presence in Asia Minor occasioned a treaty of peace, which confirmed Ptolemy in the government of the countries originally given him, and assigned to Lysimachus Thrace, to Cassander Macedon, till Alexander, son of Roxana, was of age to reign, and to Antigonus, all Asia. Greece was declared free, and Polysperchon acknowledged successor to Antipater, who, at his death, had appointed him guardian of the royal family. He called to his aid Olympias, the mother of Alexander the Great, who was not less ambitious than revengeful. Polysperchon, to secure himself the sovereignty of Greece, took the life of Barsina, one of the wives of Alexander, and her only son Hercules. Olympias put to death

king Aridæus, called Philip, and his queen Eurydice. Cassander murdered Roxana and her son; and Cleopatra, the sister of Alexander, and the last heir of the crown of Macedon, was cut off by Antigonus. Thus the principal persons of the race of the great conqueror were extirpated, and his captains were at liberty to contend among themselves for the empire. Nor were they slow, notwithstanding their treaty of peace, to lay waste the empire in the hope of personal or family aggrandisement.

Rational government was neither understood nor valued by the Greeks, while they boasted that they alone sought freedom, as if it were the chief good. The most eminent rulers, who imposed salutary restraints on their passions forfeited their favour; and those who flattered their vanity and promoted their licentiousness were secure of their confidence and applause. These characteristics of the Greeks were never more conspicuous than in their reception of Demetrius, son of Antigonus. Athens had been governed ten years by Demetrius Phalerius, in the name of Cassander. Under his administration, they had enjoyed uninterrupted peace, prosperity, and happiness: and their gratitude apparently overflowed. They had raised statues to his honour, equal in number to the days of the year. Secretly, however, they longed to be free; nothing pleased them but a lawless democracy. Hence when Demetrius arrived with a fleet, and proclaimed that his father had sent him to restore the Greeks to liberty, and expel from their garrisons the Macedonians, that they might resume their ancient form of government and laws, in ecstasy of joy they proclaimed him their protector and benefactor. Having expelled the troops of the garrison, and re-established democracy, the Athenians were enthusiastic in his praise; and conferred on him and his father the title of king, and honoured them as tutelar deities, and offered sacrifices to him as a god. Their conduct was not more contemptible than his was infamous. Inflated by success, he gave himself up to the greatest excess of sensual indulgence. His violent and impetuous passions carried him beyond the habits of the beasts of the earth. Though the vilest sensualist, his intellectual talents were great, and his skill in war was surpassed by few. These were completely exhibited by the most splendid and dazzling exploits at Cyprus and Rhodes. His father's joy was boundless on receiving the news of his victory over the fleet of Ptolemy. He instantly proclaimed himself a king, and conferred on his son the same title, and sent him a

rich crown. Speedily their rivals, Ptolemy, Lysimachus, and Seleucus were known by the same appellation.

To improve this victory, Antigonus attempted the conquest of Egypt, and failed, with the loss of a considerable part of his army, and many of his ships. This was the last time that Ptolemy was in danger of losing his crown. The wise and prudent manner in which he had defended it, fixed it on his head. This induced Ptolemy the astronomer to regard this period as the commencement of his chronological canon. "He begins the Epocha on the seventh of November, nineteen years after the death of Alexander the Great."

The ambitious schemes which Antigonus and his son unceasingly pursued roused the fears of the other kings, and convinced them of the necessity of uniting to arrest them in their bold career. They accordingly agreed, B. C. 302, to combine all their energies against them. Cassander and Lysimachus invaded Asia-Minor, and reduced a number of the provinces; Ptolemy recovered Cælo-Syria, Judea, and all Phenicia, except Tyre and Sidon; and Seleucus joined Lysimachus to oppose Antigonus and Demetrius, who had marched into Phrygia. Near Ipsus, a city of that province, was fought the dreadful and sanguinary battle in which Antigonus lost his life; this was followed by the final division of the empire among the four confederated kings. Ptolemy was announced king of Egypt, Lybia, Arabia, Cælo-Syria, Judea, and Phenicia; Cassander, king of Macedon and Greece; Lysimachus, king of Thrace, Bithynia, and other provinces beyond the Hellespont; and Seleucus, king of Syria, and all the countries extending eastward from the Euphrates to the Indus.

Thus were fully accomplished the predictions of Dan. vii. 6; viii. 5—8, 20—22. Rollin justly remarks that "other divisions were made before this period, but they were only of provinces, which were consigned to governors, under the brother and son of Alexander, and none but the last was the regal partition. Those prophecies, therefore, are to be understood of this alone; for they evidently represent these four successors of Alexander in the quality of four kings; *four stood up for it*. But not one of Alexander's successors obtained the regal dignity till about three years before the last division of the empire. And even this dignity was at first precarious, as being assumed by each of the several parties, merely by his own authority, and not acknowledged by any of the rest. Whereas, after the battle of Ipsus, the treaty made

between the four confederates, when they had defeated their adversary, and divested him of his dominions, assigned each of them their dominions under the appellation of so many kingdoms, and authorised and acknowledged them as kings and sovereigns, independent of any superior power."

The accuracy and distinctness of the prophetic word truly proclaim the perfect knowledge, wisdom, and boundless power of its Divine Author. "With how much certainty and exactness, even amidst the variety of these revolutions, and a chaos of singular events, does he determine each particular circumstance, and fix the number of the several successors! How expressly has he pointed out that their nation was to be the Grecian; described the countries they were to possess; measured the duration of their empires, and the extent of their power, inferior to that of Alexander! in a word, with what lively colours has he drawn the characters of those princes, and specified their alliances, treaties, treachery, marriages, and success! Can any one possibly ascribe to chance, or human foresight, so many circumstantial predictions, which at the time of their being announced, were so remote from probability? and may we not evidently discover in them the character and traces of the Divinity, to whom all ages are present in one view, and who alone determines at his will the fate of all the kingdoms and empires of the world?"

Whoever takes a retrospective view of the history of the many kingdoms or provinces of the Grecian empire, during the preceding twenty years, will observe that all the chief actors in the great events, almost unparalleled in number, were intelligent, and some of them highly cultivated Grecians. From this fact we may justly conclude that during this period the language, knowledge, and manners of Greece must have been more extensively spread than in any former or later period of the same duration. Thus was Divine providence sedulously employed in preparing the human race for the reception of the great truths which were to be communicated to them, chiefly through the medium of the Greek language, as the only and effectual instrument of emancipating mankind from the debasing thralldom of idolatry, spurious philosophy, worldly ambition, and sensual pleasures, that they might live and act worthy of the native dignity of their nature, and enjoy the hopes which elevate them to victors over all the immorality and wretchedness under which they had groaned for thousands of years.

## CHAPTER XII.

### THE REIGN OF PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS

PTOLEMY, son of Lagus, governed Egypt nearly forty years, one half of which he was acknowledged its king. His reign was prosperous ; he not only restored the kingdom from the ruinous state to which it had been reduced by many years of anarchy, intestine and foreign wars, but he perhaps also rendered it more truly illustrious than it had ever been. Its ancient monarchs had sought fame by the erection of structures of unparalleled magnitude, but of little utility, at the sacrifice of the comfort and lives of multitudes of their subjects, but he studied to perpetuate his name by works calculated to promote the present felicity of the community, and to secure the future greatness of the nation. Though he felt himself impelled, by the agitated and troubled state of the Grecian empire, to engage often in war, yet he almost uninterruptedly pursued the arts of peace and improvement. While he built not a few cities in which were combined the beauty of Greek, with the solidity of Egyptian architecture, he rebuilt many, repaired the canals and made them navigable, and encouraged agriculture. He improved ancient harbours, and formed new ones, and renovated the entire surface of the kingdom, especially that important division of it called the Delta. Through his energies, Alexandria was exalted above probably the highest expectations of its far-seeing founder ; and on account of its vast population, commerce, wealth, and noble edifices, it was called "the greatest city, the queen of the East." And his subjects hesitated not to call him *Soter*, a preserver ; a title first given him by the Rhodians to express their grateful sense of the generous assistance which they received from him in their astonishing exertions in the successful defence of their island against what all deemed the irresistible power of Demetrius, applied with consummate skill to conquer them.

Not one of the acts of Ptolemy Soter probably contributed more to advance his honour than his liberal patronage of science and literature. The celebrated library of Alexandria owed its existence to him; he valued knowledge, and, if we may credit authentic history, he excelled all who had lived before him in his efforts to diffuse it in society. The formation of the library was, it is said, first suggested by the learned and admired Demetrius Phalerius, who, when obliged to resign his office of chief ruler in Athens, found a happy asylum in the court of Egypt.

Besides the countries of which Ptolemy was acknowledged sovereign after the death of Antigonus, he acquired, before he died, Ethiopia, all the maritime provinces of Asia Minor, Cyprus, and some of the Grecian Islands. This perhaps resulted from his alliances with Seleucus, the Athenians, and others, which were chiefly occasioned by the ambitious projects of Demetrius, the son of Antigonus. Fertile in expedients, and unwearied in his efforts to regain the dominions of his father, he was unexpectedly fortunate enough to reduce Greece and Macedon; and, assuming the title of king, prepared an army and a larger fleet than any which had been since the time of Alexander, in order to invade and conquer Asia. The alliance of Ptolemy, Seleucus, Lysimachus, and the celebrated Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, frustrated his schemes; and he spent his last days in a state of captivity, sedulously watched, and courteously treated by Seleucus. Few or no princes of ancient times were blessed with children as distinguished as his were, by their respect and attachment to their parents, and to each other; and this pleasing feature of their character seemed hereditary in the race. It was strong in Antigonus Gonatus, son of Demetrius, who reigned several years in Greece after his father's death. On receiving intelligence of his captivity, he was overwhelmed in sorrow, and wrote to all the kings to obtain his release, offering himself as a hostage for him, and avowing himself ready to part with all his remaining dominions as the price of his liberty; and when Demetrius died, his ashes were transmitted in an urn to his affectionate son, who celebrated his funeral with great magnificence.

When one reflects on the vast extent and the position of the dominions of Ptolemy Soter, it is manifest that they were more adapted than those of any other contemporary power to the dissemination of the Greek language, and whatever knowledge or religion prevailed in Egypt; and from his well



known and constant partiality to the Jews, it is most probable that they would increase in all regions under his government, and in those whose inhabitants were disposed to friendly and commercial intercourse with his subjects. While these things were favourable to the interests of the true religion, its stability, permanence, and progress were unspeakably more secured by the Greek version of the Sacred Oracles (a work apparently commenced in the latter days of this prince,) than by all the works of the whole of the learned and mighty among the nations from the creation. This translation appears to have been gradually and slowly completed. The style of the different books indicates that they were not translated by one, but many persons, and who belonged to successive generations; and some terms used show that the authors were at least educated in Egypt, or were learned in the philosophy of the Alexandrian school. The Book of Esther was, according to the subscription, finished more than a hundred years after Ptolemy Soter. All ancient records, however, concerning the Greek version, go to prove that it had been undertaken in his day; for they say that it originated with his friend and counsellor, Demetrius Phalerius, who, it is certain, was deprived of his liberty immediately on the demise of his sovereign. Ptolemy Philadelphus was not the eldest son of Ptolemy Soter, but his mother was his favourite wife; and, through her influence, his father resigned to him the throne two years before his death, contrary to the advice of Demetrius Phalerius. It was probably during this period that the philosopher had prevailed on Ptolemy Philadelphus to select persons to translate the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek. Among the first acts of this prince, after he had honoured his father by a funeral procession, the most magnificent ever witnessed, was the infliction of vengeance on Demetrius, on account of his presuming to recommend the exaltation of his eldest brother to the throne. He confined him in a fortress, and would have probably taken his life, had he not been killed by the sudden bite of an aspic.

Though Ptolemy Philadelphus cherished little respect for his father's friends, or genuine affection for his children, yet he had sufficient wisdom to imitate his royal excellences, and prosecute the schemes and works which he had deemed necessary to augment the glory and resources of the kingdom, and perpetuate the fame of his name and dynasty. Thus, in the first year of his reign, the "famous watch-tower in the isle of Pharos was completed. It was usually called 'the tower

of Pharos,' and has been reputed one of the seven wonders of antiquity. It was a large square structure, built of white marble; on the top of which a fire was constantly kept burning, in order to guide ships in their course. It cost eight hundred talents, which, estimated by the Athenian money, are equal to two hundred thousand pounds, but amount to almost double that sum, if computed by the coin of Alexandria." Pharos, originally an island, situated a little distance from the city, was afterwards joined to the continent by a causeway like that of Tyre.

Ptolemy Philadelphus persevered in enlarging the Alexandrian library, so that it consisted of one hundred thousand volumes at his death, and increased to seven hundred thousand during the reigns of his successors. Two noble edifices were constructed for the convenience of the learned who resorted to the city, and to contain the library. The former, called the Musæum or Bruchoin, standing near the palace, had attached to it gardens and pleasure grounds, in which many philosophers assembled to study or to impart instruction, after the manner of the learned in Greece. The latter was named Serapion, because it was the temple consecrated to Serapis. In the Bruchoin were deposited four hundred thousand volumes; and in the Serapion, three hundred thousand. The first collection is said to have been, with the building, consumed by fire, during Cesar's war against Alexandria; and the last was burnt by the order of the chief of the Saracens, when they captured the city. The city was undoubtedly indebted to its library "for the advantages she long enjoyed, of being the greatest school in all that part of the world, and of having trained up a vast number of excellent men in literature. It is from thence, in particular, that the church has received some of its most illustrious doctors; as Clemens Alexandrinus, Ammonius, Origen, Anatolius, Athanasius, and many others; for all these studied in that seminary.

Since it is evident that Ptolemy Philadelphus, like his father, cultivated the sciences, the Jewish account of the origin of the Greek version of the Scriptures, known under the name of the Septuagint, or the Seventy, is certainly not improbable. A distinct and brief summary of the long narrative respecting it, by Josephus, is thus given by Rollin. Demetrius Phalerius having informed the prince that the Jews possessed "a work which contained the laws of Moses, and the history of that people, was desirous of having it translated out of the Hebrew language into the Greek, in order to enrich his

library with that performance. To accomplish this design, it became necessary for him to address himself to the high-priest of the Jewish nation ; but the affair happened to be attended with great difficulty. A very considerable number of Jews had been actually reduced to a state of slavery in Egypt, by Ptolemy Soter, during the invasions of Judea in his time ; and it was represented to the king, that there would be no probability of obtaining from that people either a copy, or a faithful translation of their law, while he suffered such a number of their countrymen to continue in their present servitude. Ptolemy, who always acted with the utmost generosity, and was extremely solicitous to enlarge his library, did not hesitate a moment, but issued a decree for restoring all the Jewish slaves in his dominions to their full liberty ; with orders to his treasurer to pay twenty drachmas a head to their masters for their ransom. The sum expended on this occasion amounted to four hundred talents, which make it evident that an hundred and twenty thousand Jews recovered their freedom by this bounteous proceeding. The king then gave orders for discharging the children born in slavery, with their mothers ; and the sum employed for this purpose amounted to above half the former. These advantageous preliminaries gave Ptolemy hopes that he should easily obtain his request from the high-priest, whose name was Eleazar. He had sent ambassadors to that pontiff, with a very obliging letter on his part, accompanied with magnificent presents. The ambassadors were received at Jerusalem, with all imaginable honours, and the king's request was granted with the greatest joy. Upon which they returned to Alexandria with an authentic copy of the Mosaic law, written in letters of gold, and given them by the high-priest himself, with six elders of each tribe, that is to say, seventy-two in the whole ; and they were authorised to translate that copy into the Greek language. The king was desirous of seeing these deputies, and proposed to each of them a different question, in order to make a trial of their capacity. He was satisfied with their answers, in which great wisdom appeared, and loaded them with presents, and other marks of his friendship. The elders were then conducted to the isle of Pharos, and lodged in a house prepared for their reception, where they were plentifully supplied with all necessary accommodations. They applied themselves to their work without losing time, and in seventy-two days completed the volume which is commonly called 'the Septuagint Version.' The whole was afterwards

read, and approved in the presence of the king, who admired, in a peculiar manner, the wisdom of the laws of Moses, and dismissed the seventy-two deputies with extremely magnificent presents; part of which were for themselves, others for the high-priest, and the remainder for the temple."

The Jewish opinion of the origin of the Septuagint, long credited by Christians, many moderns regard as fabulous, and suppose that it was made by the Jews, who had lost their native language, and only understood and spoke Greek. The number of such was very great throughout the Grecian empire, especially in Egypt. Nothing was more natural than for the pious among them to desire the enjoyment of the Scriptures, in the language which they spoke, both for their personal use, and for the service of their synagogues. But, whatever truth may be in this conjecture, all Jews and Christians agree that a translation of the sacred books from the Hebrew into the Greek, was made in Egypt, in the time of the Ptolemies; that we have this translation still extant, and that it is the same which was used in the time of our blessed Saviour, as most of the passages, cited by the sacred writers of the New Testament, from the original Greek of the Old, are to be found *verbatim* in this version. It still exists, and continues to be used in the oriental churches, as it also was by those in the primitive ages, among whom it passed for a canonical translation. This version, therefore, which renders the scriptures of the Old Testament intelligible to a vast number of people, became one of the most considerable fruits of the Grecian conquests: and was evidently comprehended in the design God had in view, when he delivered up all the East to the Greeks, and supported them in those regions, notwithstanding their divisions and jealousies, their wars, and the frequent revolutions that happened among them. In this manner did God prepare the way for the preaching of the gospel, which was then approaching, and facilitate the union of so many nations, of different languages and manners, into one society, and the same worship and doctrines, by the instrumentality of the finest, most copious, and correct language that was ever spoken in the world, and which became common to almost all the countries that were conquered by Alexander. For an account of the excellencies and defects of the Septuagint, we must refer our readers to those who have written on this important subject. Much information will be found in Horne's Introduction to the Critical Study of the

Holy Scriptures, vol. ii. page 39—47. Sixth Edition ; and S. Davidson's Biblical Criticism.

The long reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, was, considering the times, comparatively tranquil, and allowed him to prosecute the great plans of his father. He probably, indeed, excelled him in his enthusiasm for science and the fine arts ; and certainly equalled him in his diligence to advance the commerce of his kingdom. War was not his element ; he sincerely loved science and the arts of peace ; and was the generous patron of their votaries. He collected around him persons distinguished by genius and learning. Several illustrious poets were the ornament of his courts.

Solicitous to enrich his kingdom, he laboured, at great expense to draw into it all the maritime commerce of the East, which till then had been in the possession of the Tyrians, who transacted it by sea, as far as Elath ; and from thence by land, to Rhinocorura, and from this last place, by sea again, to the city of Tyre. Elath and Rhinocorura were two sea-ports ; the first on the eastern shore of the Red Sea, and the second on the extremity of the Mediterranean, between Egypt and Palestine, and near the outlet of the river of Egypt. Ptolemy, in order to draw this commerce into his own kingdom, thought it necessary to found a city on the western shore of the Red Sea, whence the ships were to set out. He accordingly built it, almost on the frontiers of Ethiopia, and gave it the name of his mother Bernice ; but the port not being very commodious, that of Myos-Hormos was preferred, as being very near, and much better ; and all the commodities of Arabia, India, Persia, and Ethiopia were conveyed thither. From thence they were transported on camels to Coptus, where they were again shipped, and brought down the Nile to Alexandria, which transmitted them to all the West, in exchange for its merchandise, which was afterward exported to the East. But as the passage from Coptus to the Red Sea lay across the deserts, where no water could be procured, and which had neither cities nor houses to lodge the caravans, Ptolemy, in order to remedy this inconvenience, caused a canal to be opened along the great road, and to communicate with the Nile, that supplied it with water. On the edge of this canal houses were erected, at proper distances, for the reception of passengers, and to supply them and their beasts of burden with all necessary accommodations. As useful as all these labours were, Ptolemy did not think them sufficient, for as he intended to ingross all the traffic between the East

and West into his dominions, he thought his plan would be imperfect, unless he could protect what he had facilitated in other respects. With this view, he caused two fleets to be fitted out, one for the Red Sea, and the other for the Mediterranean. This last was extremely fine, and some of the vessels which composed it, much exceeded the common size. Two of them, in particular, had thirty benches of oars; one, twenty; four rowed with fourteen; two, with twelve; fourteen, with eleven; thirty, with nine; thirty-seven, with seven; five, with six; and seventeen, with five. The number of the whole amounted to a hundred and twelve vessels. He had as many more, with four and three benches of oars, beside a prodigious number of small vessels. With this formidable fleet he not only protected his commerce from all insults, but kept in subjection, as long as he lived, most of the maritime provinces of Asia Minor; as Cilicia, for instance, with Pamphylia, Lycia, and Caria, as far as the Cyclades.

The first report of the fierce aspect of the fourth beast, which was unlike any other beast on the earth, and was destined to supplant and slay the four-horned ram of Grecia, perhaps reached the East in the early part of the reign of Ptolemy. The Italian coast, on the Adriatic sea, had been, for ages, occupied by Grecian colonies, distinguished by their emulation of the science, philosophy, arts, and manners of the mother country. This district was named, from its inhabitants, Magna Græcia. They retained their native pride and love of independence; but they were enervated by the delightful country in which they resided, and still more by their luxurious and sensual habits, and were therefore ill fitted to resist the power of the temperate, bold, and aspiring citizens of Rome. These having reduced the neighbouring tribes, called on the Grecian colonies to acknowledge their sovereignty. The possession of Tarentum, the modern Tarento, founded by the Lacedæmonians, was most desirable, particularly on account of its fine and spacious harbours. The citizens had no confidence in their power, although assisted by the other colonies, to repel the Romans. They especially felt the want of an able general; and they looked to Greece to supply them with one, in whom all their allies might confide. Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, was the most celebrated warrior of the age. He gladly accepted their invitation to command their forces; and many of his subjects willingly accompanied him to Italy. After a dreadful war of six years with the Romans, he was compelled to leave the Grecian colonies in their

power, and retire to his own kingdom. The events of this war revealed the unconquerable energy of the Romans; and they were henceforth looked on with deep interest by the Greeks and Asiatics, who had, for a number of years, seen and dreaded the military skill, power, enterprise, and ambition of Pyrrhus.

The greatness of the Egyptian monarch was known to the Romans, and they hailed, with strong expressions of satisfaction, the arrival of ambassadors from him to their senate, B. C. 274, to desire their friendship. He had probably been induced to send an embassy to the Romans, rather to proclaim his magnificence than from any solicitude to propitiate their favour. Though he admired their heroic deeds, yet, considering the remoteness of their position in relation to the principal part of his dominions, it is not likely that he entertained any uneasy apprehension of danger from their growing power. In the following year he enjoyed the gratification of an embassy from Rome, composed of four of its most eminent citizens. While he conferred on them the most distinguished favours and honours, they manifested the greatest disinterestedness of conduct, and the highest respect for him, which produced an apparently sincere and cordial union of esteem and confidence between the court of Egypt and the Roman senate.

Ptolemy's peace and glory were at once endangered by an unexpected revolt in Lybia and Cyrenaica. He had committed the government of these important provinces to Megas, one of his brothers by the same mother. This brother possessed the talents, and was animated by the ambition of his family. By his wisdom, courage, and prudence, he secured the affections of the inhabitants; and confirmed and strengthened his power, by obtaining in marriage Apamea, a daughter of Antiochus Soter, king of Syria. Prosperity inflated his mind; and he not only proclaimed himself Independent sovereign of the region which he governed, but prepared, B. C. 265, to dethrone his generous brother. On his march towards Egypt, with a great army, tidings reached him of a revolt in Lybia, which compelled him to retreat. The king of Egypt was prevented from pursuing him, by a detection of a conspiracy formed against him by several thousand Gauls, whom he had admitted into his army, and who had rashly resolved to seize the kingdom. These he caused to be sent to an island in the Nile, and shut up till they all perished by famine. Megas no sooner restored his provinces to peace, than he

formed an alliance with his father-in-law, by which they proposed to invade Egypt at both its extremities. Ptolemy anticipated their plans, and frustrated their purpose; and, a few years later, he agreed to a treaty of peace with his brother, in which the latter gave his eldest daughter in marriage to the eldest son of Ptolemy, with Lybia and Cyrenaica for her dowry. Before the marriage was consummated Megas died, and his wife sought an asylum with her brother, Antiochus Theos, who had succeeded to the throne of Syria. She had been disappointed in her schemes to secure to herself the dominions of her husband, by the murder of the Grecian whom she purposed to marry. Bernice, her daughter, who had been guilty of this deed, having been actually married to the heir of Egypt, she, to be revenged on her, stirred up her brother to attempt the conquest of that kingdom.

The war which followed between Egypt and Syria, lasted several years; but was at last terminated by a peace, the terms of which were that Antiochus should divorce his wife and marry Bernice, a daughter of Ptolemy,—disinherit the children by the former, and settle the crown on the children of the latter. This plan of Ptolemy to aggrandize his dynasty, appeared, probably to him, consummately adapted to re-establish, almost to its entire extent, the unity of the Grecian empire, which was completely opposed to the revealed purposes of God. That it was contemplated with no common satisfaction by those with whom it originated, their conduct showed. The monarchs met in Seleucia, the noble city recently built near the mouth of the Syrian river Orontes. The marriage was solemnized with great magnificence. Ptolemy, intensely solicitous for the health of his daughter, exalted to be queen of Syria, resolved that she should drink no water except that of the Nile, which he deemed essential to prevent disease; and he therefore decreed to transmit to her regular supplies.

The exultation of these princes was transitory. Their policy was confounded; Heaven frowned; and their counsels were given to the winds, and brought great calamity on both their kingdoms. This act of theirs, foreseen by the Omniscient, formed a prominent part of Daniel's prophetic vision of the Grecian empire. The history of each of the four kingdoms into which it was divided, on the death of the first generation, was not beheld or portrayed by the prophet; that of Egypt and Syria alone was interesting to the worshippers of the True God, for they were not to be particularly



favoured or persecuted by the rulers of the other two. Egypt lay south of Judea, and Syria north; and hence the former is denominated by Daniel *the king of the South*, and the latter *the king of the North*. King is put for kingdom; and the treaty of peace and marriage, with the results, are strikingly described. After presenting to view the conquest of Alexander, and the transference of his empire to those who belonged not to his race, the prophet proceeds:—"And the king of the south shall be strong, and one of his (the conqueror's) princes; and, or even, he shall be strong above him, and have dominion; his dominion shall be a great dominion. And in the end of years they shall join themselves together; for the king's daughter of the south shall come to the king of the north to make an agreement: but she shall not retain the power of the arm; neither shall he stand, nor his arm; but she shall be given up, and they that brought her, and he that begat her, and he that strengthened her in these times." Dan. xi. 5, 6. That the Egyptian power was strong, the history of the dynasty of Ptolemy amply proves; but it was much exceeded by Syria under Seleucus and his race, whether we consider the extent of their dominions, or the warlike character of several of its kings, the principal actions of whom will have to pass under our review. Seleucus, before his death, ruled over the East from Mount Taurus to the river Indus, several provinces of Asia Minor, Thrace, and Macedonia. The alliance by marriage of the royal families of Egypt and Syria, was speedily dissolved. Ptolemy survived it only about two years. This event was no sooner known to Antiochus than he deserted Bernice, and restored Laodice his first wife to her place: and she, aware of the changeableness of his disposition, secretly poisoned him, and put Bernice and her infant son to death, to secure the throne to her own eldest son, known in history by the name of Seleucus Callinicus. This barbarous treatment of the princess of Egypt was deeply resented by her brother, Ptolemy Evergetes, who had ascended his father's throne. Thus the announcement of Daniel was minutely verified, and we may well adopt the reflection of Rollin on this fact: "I cannot but recognise in this place, with admiration, the divinity so visible in the scriptures, which have related, in so particular a manner, a variety of singular and extraordinary facts, above three hundred years before they were transacted. While an immense chain of events extends from the prophecy to the time of its accomplishment, by the breaking of any single

link the whole would be disconnected ! With respect to the marriage alone, what hand but that of the Almighty could have conducted so many different views, intrigues, and passions to the same point ? What knowledge but this could, with so much certainty, have foreseen such a number of distinct circumstances, subject not only to the freedom of will, but even to the irregular impressions of caprice ? And what man but must adore that sovereign power which God exercises in a certain secret manner, over kings and princes, whose very crimes he renders subservient to the execution of his secret will, and the accomplishment of his eternal decrees ; in which all events, both general and particular, have their appointed time and place fixed beyond the possibility of failing, even those which depend the most on the choice and liberty of mankind ?”

## CHAPTER XIII.

### THE SYRIAN KINGS CONTEMPORARY WITH PTOLEMY SOTER AND PHILADELPHUS.

ANTIOCHUS, father of Seleucus, was one of Alexander's chief captains; and the son is represented in history as superior to them all in the talents and acquirements of an accomplished warrior. He was, however, not less ambitious to excel in the arts of peace than those of war. His subjects esteemed him on account of the leniency, justice, and equity of his administration; and all admired the wisdom displayed in the numerous plans and the persevering efforts by which he studied to enrich and exalt his extensive kingdom.

Immediately after he and his three allies had finally divided among them the empire, he proceeded to take possession of the fine provinces of Syria, which constituted one of the most valuable portions of the division assigned him. He selected a fertile spot for the site of a city, which he purposed to make the capital of his dominions in the East. This city he named Antioch, to testify his respect for his father, or son. It was erected on the banks of the Orontes, the modern El-Aasi, the principal river of Syria, about twenty miles from its junction with the ocean. The river was anciently navigable, the city greater and richer than Rome, and, for many ages, not equalled by any oriental city. It has often suffered from earthquakes, and was completely ruined by the Mamelukes in 1269. Its remains form a poor town, remarkable chiefly for its numerous gardens. Five miles from the ocean, Seleucus built a city called by his own name; and higher up than Antioch, he raised the well-known city named from his wife Apamea. He gave it is said, the name of Antioch to a number of the cities which he built in Asia Minor. He settled Jews in all these cities, conferring on them the same immunities and privileges which were enjoyed by his own countrymen, the Macedonians, his most favoured

subjects. He may in this have imitated the policy of his contemporary kings of Egypt; or, as some think, he may have thus rewarded the Jews for their services, in advancing his interests in the East, when he had to contend for his existence against Antigonus and Demetrius. But whatever motive actuated him or other princes in their generous conduct to the Jews, the fact demonstrates that the dominion of idolatry was no longer absolute and exclusive in the empire; the true religion was allowed to lift up its voice in the East and the West. Moses, in innumerable synagogues, loudly called on all men, every Sabbath, to turn from dumb idols and serve the living God, that they might escape the just vengeance of Heaven.

In the first efforts to attain independence, Seleucus, with a view to destroy Eumenes and his army, when that general sought to compel him to support the royal cause, cut the sluices of the Euphrates, and laid the whole adjacent plain under water. This at once rendered the district of Babylon unfit to be inhabited, and the river which passed through the city became unnavigable. These circumstances probably induced Seleucus to construct the celebrated city Seleucia, on the western bank of the Tigris, nearly opposite the present Bagdad, about forty miles from Babylon. The inhabitants of the latter soon deserted it, and peopled the new city; and from this time may be dated the complete fulfilment of the prophetic word, which announced that Babylon should be made a desert. Its walls remained some time for the protection of the wild beasts, hunted by the Parthian kings. These have long since disappeared: and nothing is visible to travellers, except vast mounds or extensive marshes, to indicate the site of the queen of the nations; see *Babylon*, in the Pocket Biblical Dictionary. Seleucia soon rose to be one of the first cities of the East, and was the occasional residence of Seleucus and his successors.

He survived Ptolemy Soter more than four years; and though he was at that time above seventy years of age, yet his thirst for empire was not allayed, nor his military prowess weakened. And perhaps all his experience and observation had failed to convince him that he possessed neither talents nor power to reduce under him all the kingdoms conquered by Alexander.

Circumstances flattered his boundless ambition. Ptolemy Philadelphus was not a warlike prince. Of all the great captains of Alexander, besides himself, Lysimachus alone

survived, and he had lost his popularity. His celebrated son was esteemed by all ranks. He had been persuaded by his youngest wife that the prince had formed a conspiracy against him. Without proof he caused him to be imprisoned and put to death. The principal officers of his court, struck with horror, abandoned him, and, accompanied by the prince's widow, a daughter of Ptolemy Soter, his brother, and her own brother, Ptolemy Ceraunus, went to the court of Seleucus to implore his assistance to dethrone their sovereign, and place the son on his throne. He received them courteously, especially Ptolemy Ceraunus, the eldest son of Ptolemy, who had fled to Lysimachus when his father had placed his younger brother on the throne of Egypt; and he pledged himself to raise him to the throne of which he was the legitimate heir.

Having prepared for war, before he led his army against Lysimachus, Seleucus placed his son Antiochus over all his provinces lying east of the Euphrates. His march through Asia Minor was triumphant; the inhabitants every where submitted to him, and he obtained, in Sardis, all the treasures of the enemy. The contending armies met in Phrygia, and in the battle which immediately followed, Lysimachus was slain and his army defeated. The acquisition of his kingdom scarcely gave more pleasure to Seleucus than the fact that he alone survived all of the captains of Alexander, and had conquered the last of the conquerors. This induced him to assume the title *Nicator*, or conqueror, by which he is distinguished in history. Several months after the victory, instead of proceeding to Egypt, he set out for Macedon, avowing his intention to spend his last days in this, his native country. This appears to have provoked the wrath of Ptolemy Ceraunus, who saw his interests wholly neglected, or left to the will of Antiochus. Unmoved by the kindness which he experienced from Seleucus, he indulged only the spirit of revenge, assassinated his benefactor, and, by the aid of the soldiers of Lysimachus, who regarded him as the avenger of their sovereign's death, he took possession of Macedon. His sister, who had deserted Lysimachus, had two sons. Considering himself in danger of losing the kingdom while they lived, he persuaded her after the manner of the Persians, to marry him; and having thus deceived them, he speedily put them to death. But Divine vengeance suffered him not to live. He led an army against the Gauls, who had recently invaded the adjoining countries. A desperate battle termi

nated in the total defeat of his army; and, covered with wounds, he fell into the hands of the barbarians, and was ignominiously slain.

In these events, we conceive, may be recognised the benevolence as well as justice of the supreme administration of the Almighty. Thus, had Seleucus lived much longer, nothing seemed to prevent his acquiring the entire ascendancy in the Grecian empire, except the power of Egypt. The few other provinces, which acknowledged not his government, were not in a state to oppose him, with any prospect of success. And the reigning king of Egypt was far his inferior as a warrior, and must have found it difficult, if not impossible, to raise an army capable of defending his kingdom. Now, had the empire been subject to the successors of Seleucus, the result might have proved most injurious to the interests of the true religion. Some idea may be formed of this from the conduct of his descendant, Antiochus Epiphanes, who, we shall see, would have, had his power equalled his purpose and efforts, utterly destroyed every worshipper of the True God.

But supposing Seleucus had only deprived Ptolemy Philadelphus of the throne, and rendered his unprincipled brother the independent sovereign of Egypt, the consequence of such an event must have been deplorable to that kingdom and the world. The invaluable benefits which multitudes, in many kingdoms, owed to the wise and just government of the former prince, had not been enjoyed; but, instead of them, Egypt and the adjacent nations would have most probably witnessed a reign of crime, cruelty, oppression, and misery.

A calamity more dreadful to the inhabitants of the empire, if not to the human race, than any which had happened for ages, was finally averted by Antiochus, the son and heir of Seleucus. We allude to his final overthrow of the Gauls or Celts, on which account he acquired the title of *Soter*, the Deliverer or Saviour. This race of barbarians had been known and feared in Italy several years before they appeared in Greece and Asia. More than a century earlier they had laid Rome in ruins,—spread over France, to which they anciently gave the name of Gaul,—seized the western coasts and central regions of Spain, and passed over to Britain. An immense multitude navigated along the Danube, till they arrived at the outlet of the Save, where they formed themselves into three bodies. The first passed into Pannonia, the modern Hungary; the second, led by Cerethrius, entered

Thrace ; and the third, under Belgus, invaded Illyrium and Macedon. The nations exposed to their ravages hastened to pacify them with money. Their success only encouraged others of their barbarous races to follow them, particularly those who had first gone to Hungary. Their entrance into Greece was rendered memorable by their attempting to take possession of the immense riches of the famous temple of Apollo at Delphi. In this, were history to be always credited, they were disappointed by a sudden and dreadful earthquake, by which many were killed ; and the survivors, panic-struck, during the night, mistaking friends for enemies, destroyed one another, so that, on the approach of day, not more than one-half of the army were alive. The Greeks who had assembled to oppose them, encouraged by this unexpected event, which they deemed an interposition of the gods to protect their temple, charged them with great impetuosity, slew vast numbers, and compelled the rest to retreat. One division passed the Bosphorus, and the other the Hellespont, and both met in Asia, and joined the forces of Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, who assigned to them the district afterwards named from them Gallo-Grecia or Galatia. To their descendants, whom Paul converted, was one of his Epistles sent ; and Jerom, several hundred years later, states that they continued to speak their native language. Though their power was broken, they long persevered in their marauding habits. This provoked Antiochus to fall upon them, and in a fierce contest, he defeated them with great slaughter, and delivered his Asiatic dominions from a daily dreaded enemy.

From this time the Celts became the mercenary troops of any power that chose to pay them most liberally ; but so conscious were they of their strength, that they ceased not for a long period to aspire to extensive dominion. Thus, after the great battle between Seleucus Callinicus and his brother Antiochus, the later only saved his life by bestowing all his treasures on the Gauls in his army, who on the report of his brother being slain, conspired to kill him, and seize the whole of Asia Minor. At another period he found their services so important, that, to procure it, he acknowledged them independent, and treated with them as allies and not subjects. It is hence evident that the Greeks were exposed to great risk of being deprived of the sovereignty of the empire by the Celts. And had this actually happened, the Greeks and Asiatics had most probably been thrown back into that frightful state of ignorance, superstition, and bar

barity, from which they had been emerging for at least two or three centuries. Nor would their improvement alone have been arrested; for their degradation would have deeply affected the Romans, who, it is well known, owed their progress in civilization to their connexion with the Greeks. One may form some idea of the tremendous evils inflicted immediately and generally on a comparatively civilized people, by falling under the dominion of a savage race, by contemplating the melancholy state to which Europe was reduced in future ages, when overrun by numerous hordes of barbarians. A similar change would doubtless have passed on the Grecian empire, had the Celts acquired the possession of it. And how unspeakably less qualified then would its inhabitants have been than they actually were, to investigate the claims of Christianity, when these were laid before them by the holy apostles of Christ?

Antiochus Soter, on the death of his father, B. C. 280, succeeded him on the throne of Syria. His reign was neither prosperous nor happy. He lost Macedon, and failed in his attempt to conquer the kingdom of Pergamus. On returning to Antioch, after a signal defeat near Sardis, he put one of his sons to death, who had raised a commotion in his absence, and proclaimed the other king, who is called in history Antiochus Theos. On the death of his father, he ascended the throne, B. C. 260. He owed his lofty title to the contemptible and vile flattery of the citizens of Miletus, whom he had delivered from the tyranny of Timarchus, who, not satisfied to govern Caria, in the name of the king of Egypt, its sovereign, had assumed independence, and chose Miletus for his capital.

History details not the events of the war which Antiochus Theos carried on with Egypt several years, and which was concluded by a royal marriage, as we have noticed in the preceding chapter. We shall have to attend to the unhappy consequence of that marriage in the following chapter. But we must not pass over here the immediate disastrous effect of the war which had prevailed before it. For the intense desire of Antiochus to injure Egypt prevented him from guarding with sufficient care, his distant dominions in the East. Theodotus, his governor of Bactria, revolted and established himself an independent sovereign of this fine region, said to contain a thousand cities. Other nations beyond the Euphrates renounced the Syrian yoke. Perhaps, however, no event in the history of the dynasty of the Seleucidæ had a more interesting and extensive influence on the human race than the



revolt of Parthia. The governor, Agathocles or Pherecles, was one of the most depraved of men. Having utterly corrupted and degraded an amiable and fascinating young man, his brother Arsaces assassinated the impure monster, and placed himself at the head of a general insurrection, which, under his able direction, laid the solid and enduring foundation of what was denominated the Parthian empire, which proved an impenetrable barrier to the Roman power.

Parthia proper and Hyrcania correspond, it is supposed, to the modern Persian province of Khorasan, which borders on Tartary. Though not generally a rich soil, yet this region contains some of the finest districts of Persia, and is celebrated, as in ancient times, for its fine and numerous race of horses. Some think that the Parthians were part of the Scythians. It is more certain that they were a bold and warlike people, and deemed the most accomplished horsemen and archers. Their dexterity in discharging their arrows against an enemy from whom they seemed to be retreating, enabled them to gain, unexpectedly, many victories. Their food was poor, but they were intemperate in drinking, licentious in habits, and plundering and war were their principal pursuits. Their religious worship resembled that of Persia; but, like the northern nation of Europe, they persuaded themselves that all who fell in battle enjoyed eternal felicity. Parthia, from its poverty and barbarous customs, was not much valued by the Grecian conqueror. From the time, however, that Arsaces made his countrymen independent, they rapidly extended their dominion over all the neighbouring provinces, except Bactria, which the Greeks long held, although at last subdued by the combined powers of the Parthians and Scythians. Arsaces was admired by his subjects, and every one of his successors adopted his name, and assumed the dignity and grandeur of the most haughty and luxurious oriental monarchs. The Syrian kings laboured in vain to reduce Parthia; and were frequently in danger of falling wholly under its dominion, which, for a considerable time embraced all the countries which lay between the Euphrates and Indus. The Romans put forth their dreadful might to conquer the Parthians, and for the first time were compelled to bring under restraint their boundless ambition, and to permit their enemies to fix the limits of their vast empire in the East.

Can any enlightened or human mind contemplate these events, without regret and sorrow? Incalculable was the misery which they immediately inflicted on mankind; and

their triumph was scarcely less to be deplored. It is impossible to reflect on the natural influence of either the ascendancy of Greece or Rome, and not conclude that, on the whole, it was most salutary. The government of both was, indeed, despotic and oppressive, and the multitude were often subjected to many and great sufferings; but the mental condition of all ranks was ameliorated; and not a few were taught to aspire to a life far superior to that known among the nations, who remained ignorant of their knowledge, of science, philosophy, and the arts of refinement, and of common life. Man, under the atmosphere of Greece or Rome, approached, at least, a rational life; while in the regions beyond them, superstition and sensuality generally reduced him nearly to a level with the inferior animals. Happily he cannot sink into a state of wretchedness from which true religion cannot rescue and elevate him. But how much greater difficulties had it to surmount to find an entrance into those countries, where every one confessing the True God exposed himself to instant destruction, compared to those which generally existed in the Roman empire till the time when Christianity had completely undermined the terrific fabric of idolatry! In every city, village, and hamlet of the dominions of Rome, any one recognised to be a Jew, might proclaim the True God, and Jesus Christ whom he had sent, and appeal for protection to the law, which tolerated the worship of the Jews. And hence, for a considerable time the chief persecutors of the apostles and disciples of Christ were Jews; and had not they stirred up the devout idolaters to oppose the proclamation of the gospel, its advocates might have traversed the empire and fulfilled their mission in comparative safety.

## CHAPTER XIV.

### REIGN OF PTOLEMY EUERGETES.

THE third king of Egypt was worthy of the throne of his father and grandfather. He inherited their talents, and imitated their excellencies. Educated by the celebrated philosopher, Aristarchus, he had early enriched his mind with the stores of literature, and cultivated a taste for all the arts which are the ornament of a nation, and acquired fame by some historical works. During his reign, he encouraged the learned to resort to his court, highly valued their society, and honoured and rewarded them in their intellectual pursuits. He enlarged the Alexandrian library, and procured many volumes at an immense expense. He prosecuted with ardour every scheme which appeared calculated to aggrandise his kingdom, or advance and extend its commerce. In order to this, one of his principal cares was to obtain the sovereignty of the countries on the southern extremities of Egypt; and he succeeded in establishing his power over the entire coasts of the Red Sea, to the Straits of Babelmandel, by which his fleets had free communication with the Southern Ocean.

The first great object of his reign was to revenge the insult offered his sister Bernice by Laodice, who sought her life and that of her infant son. Bernice, on the death of Antiochus Theos, fled to Daphne, and sought an asylum in the temple of Apollo. The sacredness of the place was no protection from the jealousy and wrath of her rival. The mother and child were murdered before Ptolemy could, notwithstanding of the utmost diligence, lead his army to Antioch. The failure of saving his beloved sister inflamed his resentment, and he speedily inflicted dreadful punishment on her murderer. The unnatural and bloody deeds of Laodice, countenanced by her son Seleucus Callinicus, whom she raised to the throne, alienated from them the hearts of the people. They, conse

quently, were unable to command an army capable of contending with the formidable power of Ptolemy, who had collected under him an immense number of troops from Egypt and Asia Minor. He seized Laodice, and put her to death, but the young king escaped, with the loss of a great part of his dominions; for Ptolemy soon "made himself master of all Syria and Cilicia, after which he passed the Euphrates, and conquered all the country as far as Babylon and the Tigris: and if the progress of his arms had not been interrupted by a sedition which obliged him to return to Egypt, he would certainly have subdued all the provinces of the Syrian empire. He, however, left Antiochus, one of his generals, to govern the provinces he had gained on this side of mount Taurus: and Xantippus was entrusted with those that lay beyond it. Ptolemy then marched back into Egypt, loaded with the spoils he had acquired by his conquests. This prince carried off forty thousand talents of silver, with a prodigious quantity of gold and silver vessels, and two thousand five hundred statues, part of which were those Egyptian idols that Cambyeses, after his conquest of this kingdom, had sent into Persia. Ptolemy gained the hearts of his subjects by replacing those idols in their ancient temples, when he returned from this expedition; for the Egyptians, who were more devoted to their superstitious idolatry than all the rest of mankind, thought they could not sufficiently express their veneration and gratitude to a king, who had restored their gods to them in such a manner. Ptolemy derived from this action the title of *Euergetes*, which signifies a *benefactor*." Thus was clearly and exactly accomplished, as Rollin observes, one of the remarkable predictions of the Sacred Oracles. Daniel portraying the powers of Egypt and Syria, remarks in chap. xi. 7—9. "But out of a branch of her root, (intimating the king of the south, who was Ptolemy Euergetes, the son of Ptolemy Philadelphus) shall one stand up in his estate, which shall come with an army, and shall enter into a fortress of the king of the north, (Seleucus Callinicus) and shall deal against them, and shall prevail. And shall also carry captives into Egypt, their gods, with their princes, and with their precious vessels of silver and of gold, and he shall continue more years than the king of the north. So the king of the south shall come into his kingdom, and shall return into his own land;" namely, into that of Egypt. Ptolemy Euergetes survived Seleucus Callinicus several years.

The form of religious worship which recommends itself to

the judgment of all ranks, and especially of those who aspire to rule and influence the multitude, is not always that which they observe or patronise. Statesmen, not unfrequently, most zealously and publicly honour a religion which in their inmost thoughts they utterly despise. They imagine, or know, that it is a most efficient instrument to augment and secure their dominion over its votaries; and this they deem a sufficient reason to vindicate them in affording it liberal support, although they perceive it wholly derogative to the majesty and honour of the True God, and unworthy of the respect of a rational being. Thus human wisdom and policy wrought in Ptolemy Euergetes. He discovered much care and concern for the glory and interests of the religion of the Egyptians, than which mankind never invented or observed a form of superstition more mean and contemptible. We can scarcely doubt that he beheld it in its proper light, and would have willingly extirpated it from the face of the earth, had he conceived that by such a course he could have maintained the stability of his throne. That he, in heart, preferred the worship of the True God, may be inferred from his proceeding to Jerusalem, on his return from Syria to Egypt, after his victories over the Syrian king, to offer sacrifices and gifts. Josephus informs us that when Ptolemy "had gotten possession of all Syria, by force, he did not offer his thank-offerings to the Egyptian gods for his victory, but came to Jerusalem, and, according to our own laws, offered many sacrifices to the Most High, and dedicated to him such gifts as were suitable to such a victory." Ptolemy would not certainly have acted in this manner, had he not believed in the revelation of the God of Israel. He had no temptation to do any thing to conciliate the Jews; for he had nothing to dread from their power, and they were generally his most faithful subjects. Some suppose that he gratefully worshipped God in consequence of being directed to the prediction by Daniel of his triumph over Syria. That he had ample opportunity to know the True God from his earliest years, is certain. And we need not therefore seek any other reason for his conduct than his persuasion of the supremacy, and desire to propitiate the favour, of the Almighty, the Possessor of heaven and earth.

Few or no conquered nations of ancient, or, perhaps, even of modern times, have had more reason to yield a grateful subjection to their conquerors than the Jews had to the first three kings of the dynasty of Ptolemy. They followed the

generous policy of Alexander the Great, and left Judea to be ruled according to its own original constitution, and apparently required no more from the people than a moderate tribute. We have, at least, no record of the kings of Egypt interfering, during this period, with the internal affairs of the Jewish government. No foreign governor was sent to direct or control them. Their fidelity had been long tried, and they had proved themselves worthy of the confidence which their superiors reposed in them. If the Jews were oppressed, it was by their high-priests, who successively, according to their descent from Aaron, held the office of chief ruler, and were assisted in the government by the Sanhedrim, or chief council.

Jaddua, who was honoured by Alexander, after ruling the nation about twenty-one years, died, and gave place to his son, called Onias I. As nothing is recorded dishonourable to the father or son, it is probable that they adhered to the law of Moses, and assiduously endeavoured to promote the welfare of their people. Indeed, several incidents in the history of the Jews, from their return from the captivity to their last age, strongly indicate that the rulers in general enforced the observance of the letter of the laws. Thus we know that they allowed the land to rest every seventh year, and even superstitiously interpreted the injunction to rest from secular affairs on the Sabbath. Onias I. officiated about the same number of years as his father. Dying 302 B. C. his son, Simon, succeeded him in the priesthood. His excellent character, and religiously just government, procured him the honourable title of *Just*. A high-priest more than two centuries later was also called Simon the Just. Some apply the beautiful eulogium of the author of the Ecclesiasticus to the latter; but it must respect the former, if the book containing it is as ancient as the writer of it in Greek asserts; for he says that he found it in Egypt, when Ptolemy Euergetes was king. The two kings of this name reigned a considerable time before the second Simon, called the Just. Be this as it may, the son of Onias is celebrated for his learning and piety. If we believe tradition, he added certain names to the genealogies of Nehemiah, and made some slight corrections of the Scriptures, by which the sacred canon was completed. From his days, no Jewish teacher presumed to revise or add to the inspired volume; but every one devoted himself to investigate its meaning, and expound it to the people. The Rabbins consider him to have been the last of the high-priests who

claimed the exclusive right to the presidency of the Great Council. The dignity of president of the council passed from him to Antigonus Sochæus, an eminent Jewish teacher, whose very name, we think, indicates that, though a Jew, he or his relations were on friendly terms with the Greeks. The Jewish teachers had now become, perhaps, generally zealous for the traditions of the Fathers; for it appears that the chief object of the instructions of Sochæus was to subvert those doctrines which distinguished the sect of the Pharisees. They uniformly represented God as disposed to reward in this life religious services, added to those enjoined by Moses; and as certain to punish in this life those who neglected their traditional ritual. He, on the contrary, boldly taught that no services were acceptable to God, unless required by him in his written revelation, and performed, not from fear, but love. He disregarded the work done by slaves for hire, and only rewarded that done from disinterested and pure affection. This apparently exalted principle is more allied to the philosophy of Plato than to the pure wisdom of the Sacred Oracles. The human mind is not formed to exclude all regard to one's own happiness, even when serving God; nor doth he ever demand this species of self-denial. The spring of all obedience which he truly approves is, indeed, love to him; but it is love in the form of gratitude, rather than in the disinterested form of his love to his creatures, and especially to fallen man. It doubtless, includes admiration of his greatness, and esteem of his excellency; but its conspicuous feature is grateful emotion, "We love him, because he first loved us!"

Antigonus Sochæus was the chief teacher of the Jewish schools, which were probably originally formed on the model of the schools of the prophets, but evidently modified by the philosophical academy of Alexandria, which, it is well known, was resorted to by many persons from all the countries subject to Egypt. Some Jews became, at a later period, famous for the learning which they acquired in Alexandria; and it is not unlikely that Antigonus owed much of his celebrity to his attainments in Grecian philosophy. Among his disciples, the names of two occupy a place in history—Sadoc and Balthosus; and the former gave name to the Sadducees, one of the principal religious sects of the Jews. These disciples are said to have misunderstood the doctrine of their master. Because he taught them to renounce the hope of reward for their works, they inferred that he maintained that there were no future rewards or punishments. But the fact may be, that

he philosophy which his example had recommended to their study, perverted their minds, and gendered pride of intellect, which impels those who cherish it to refuse submission of spirit to the authority of God, when he calls them to admit principles opposed to those which they admire, and to adopt practices in which they have no pleasure.

Scepticism, or the doubting the reality of every thing seen, and denying the certainty of every thing reported, may be said to be the transition state of mind from the habit of unfounded veneration of antiquity, and unreserved confidence in traditionary knowledge, to sacred reverence for truth and a cordial reception of it, after perceiving the full evidence by which it is supported. That this state of mind actually prevailed among the philosophers of the age of Ptolemy Euergetes might, we apprehend, be easily proved. Though they sanctioned by example the fabulous mythology and visionary conceptions of the multitude, who devoutly adored the gods, yet they secretly laughed at these things, and were not unwilling to witness them turned into subjects of merriment. Reflect on the theatrical scenes of Greece and the productions of the poets of the age, and you will be convinced that the Greeks saw or heard much which proclaimed that their gods were mere phantoms of their imagination: what they saw or heard in their academies and theatres, was, if not designed to teach, adapted to dispose them to be amused by their gods, rather than cultivate towards them a reverential and devotional spirit. It seems therefore manifest that the gods of the nations had lost all hold of the affections of the learned among the Greeks, who, nevertheless still remained destitute of supreme love of truth and desire to discover it. Few of them surpassed Socrates, notwithstanding that Divine knowledge was much more accessible to them than to him, and the majority of them were far inferior to him in correct knowledge and pure conduct. In respect to religion, they were, in fact, generally sceptics, if not atheists. They recommended, and actively promoted the religious worship of their respective nations. This they did, however, confessedly, not from any belief that it possessed any excellence in itself, but on account of its supposed utility to impart pleasure to the people, and restrain them from acts of insubordination to the laws and civil institutions. Now it is certain that the Sadducees agreed with the Grecian philosophers in regarding and treating religion merely as an engine of state. And it is probable that their first leader had learned in Alexandria to question the



existence of a future state and all invisible beings. How he reconciled this opinion with his admission that there was only One Living and True God, and that the books of Moses and the prophets contained a revelation of his will, it may seem impossible to ascertain, for most plainly do these books announce the truths which the Sadducees disbelieved. But who does not know that many learned men, who receive the Scriptures as inspired, deny some truths which they distinctly reveal, and enforce as of eternal importance? By sophistical reasoning, those who boast of superior discernment and knowledge, find it no difficult task to misinterpret the most distinct statements of Divine truth, so as make them appear to convey a meaning altogether different and even opposite to the usual import of the language employed by their authors? The Alexandrian philosophers employed the most mystical and allegorical language to explain religion, insomuch that they represented all the facts connected with it as little else than fictitious tales, or symbolical scenes, which they explained, as their imagination suggested, to illustrate and confirm their subtle theories concerning God and his works. Sadoc, pursuing their path, may have set aside all the narratives or announcements respecting angels and transactions in the invisible world as only allegorical scenes, representing the agencies of nature, by which the Divine Being sustains the universe, and supplies mankind with means by which they procure health, riches, pleasure, and honour. But, in whatever manner he reasoned to pervert or veil Divine truth, certain it is that he and his followers asserted that no angel or spirit existed, and that man wholly perished at death, and that consequently there was no future reward to be expected, nor future punishment to be feared.

Some have accused them of having rejected all Revelation except the Pentateuch. Of this we have no proof in the Scripture; and it is improbable that they should deny the inspiration of the largest portion of the Scripture, and not only pass uncensured, but be admitted, as we shall see they were, to hold the chief offices of government. That they totally disregarded the traditions of the elders, and made no pretensions to intense devotion, seem unquestionable; and hence they were hated by the Pharisees, and unpopular with the religious.—A sketch of their character is given under the article *Sadducees*, in the "Pocket Biblical Dictionary."

Simon the Just left a son and heir to the office of high priest; but on account of his youth his uncle Eleazer was

exalted in his stead. The most memorable act ascribed to him by tradition is the selection of seventy of the most learned Jews, who were qualified to translate the Hebrew Scriptures into the Greek language. These, as we have already stated, were sent into Egypt at the request of the king.

Though his nephew, named Onias, was at his death thirty years old, he was not immediately raised to the office of high-priest. The reason of this is unknown ; perhaps he declined it, for he intimated at a future period that he had not sought the office. The dignity was conferred on his aged relation Manasses, son of Simon the Just, B. C. 233. He, however, died in the course of two years, and Onias became the second high-priest of this name. He appears to have been destitute of every quality which was necessary to the honourable discharge of the duties of his exalted office. Completely selfish and covetous, he was totally indifferent to the interests of the people. His mean spirit and unjust conduct brought his nation to the very verge of destruction.

From history we learn that the annual tribute which Judea rendered Egypt was twenty talents of silver. The sum had been regularly sent to the king of Egypt by every high-priest, the supreme ruler of the nation, till the time of Onias II. The mere love of money had made him retain this tribute. After some years, Ptolemy Euergetes determined to bear no longer such presumptuous conduct. He sent Athenion, one of his courtiers, to Jerusalem, to demand the payment of the arrears, which then amounted to a great sum, and to threaten the Jews, in case of refusal, with a body of troops who should be commissioned to expel them from their country, and divide it among themselves. The alarm was very great at Jerusalem on this occasion, and it was thought necessary to send a deputation to the king, in the person of Joseph, the nephew of Onias, who, though in the prime of his youth, was universally esteemed for his prudence, probity, and justice. Athenion, during his continuance at Jerusalem, had conceived a great regard for his character ; and as he set out for Egypt before him, he promised to render him all the good offices in his power with the king. Joseph followed him in a short time, and on his way met with several considerable persons of Cælo-Syria and Palestine, who were also going to Egypt with an intention to offer terms for farming the great revenues of those provinces. As the equipage of Joseph was far from being as magnificent as theirs, they treated him with little respect, and considered him as a person of no great capacity

Joseph concealed his dissatisfaction at their behaviour, but drew from the conversation that passed between them all the circumstances he could desire, with relation to the affair that brought them to court, and without seeming to have any particular view in the curiosity he expressed. When they arrived at Alexandria, they were informed that the king had made a progress to Memphis, and Joseph was the only person among them who set out from thence in order to wait upon that monarch, without losing a moment's time. He had the good fortune to meet him as he was returning from Memphis, with the queen and Athenion in his chariot. The king, who had received impressions in his favour from Athenion, was extremely delighted at his presence, and invited him into his chariot. Joseph, to excuse his uncle, represented the infirmities of his great age, and the natural tardiness of his disposition in such an engaging manner as satisfied Ptolemy, and created in him an extraordinary esteem for the advocate who had so effectually pleaded the cause of that pontiff. He also ordered him an apartment in the royal palace of Alexandria, and allowed him a place at his table. When the appointed day came for purchasing by auction the privilege of farming the revenues of the provinces, the companions of Joseph in his journey to Egypt offered no more than eight thousand talents for the provinces of Cælo-Syria, Phenicia, Judea, and Samaria. Upon which Joseph, who had discovered, in the conversation that passed between them in his presence, that this purchase was worth double the sum they offered, reproached them for depreciating the king's revenues in that manner, and offered twice as much as they had done. Ptolemy was well satisfied to see his revenues so considerably increased ; but being apprehensive that the person who proffered so large a sum would be in no condition to pay it, he asked Joseph what security he would give him for the performance of his agreement ? The Jewish deputy replied with a calm air, that he had such persons to offer for his security on that occasion as he was certain his majesty could have no objections to. Upon being ordered to mention them, he named the king and queen themselves, and added that they would be his securities to each other. The king could not avoid smiling at this little pleasantry, which put him into so good a humour, that he allowed him to farm the revenues without any other security than his verbal promise for payment. Joseph acted in that station for the space of ten years, to the mutual satisfaction of the court and provinces. His rich competitors, who

had farmed those revenues before, returned home in the utmost confusion, and had reason to be sensible that a magnificent equipage is a very inconsiderable indication of merit.

If we may credit the narrative of Josephus, Joseph procured great riches as the collector of taxes ; and that, although he seems to have oppressed the neighbouring countries, yet he was generous to his own people, and advanced their interests. But the historian's account of Joseph's family has a fabulous aspect, and his assertion that he held the office twenty-two years seems doubtful, for during part of that period the Egyptian court was strongly alienated from the Jewish nation, and not likely to leave the raising of the tribute in the hands of one of the natives.

Having thus adverted to the liberty granted the Jews by the three first successors of Alexander, we return to the history of Ptolemy Euergetes and his times, in which he certainly was the chief royal actor. Seleucus Callinicus, on learning that he had returned to Egypt, recovered courage, and raised a fleet and army in order to reduce the revolted province. The navy was utterly destroyed by a tempest ; only the king and a few persons escaped. The army was totally defeated, and Seleucus would have ceased to reign, had not his revolted provinces, from grateful feelings towards his family, compassionated his humbled state, and resolved to support him. The cities of Smyrna and Magnesia were his most efficient friends. They had expressed their attachment to Antiochus Theos by numbering him among their deities. The marble column on which the treaty between Seleucus and the above cities was engraved, is a relic of antiquity much prized.

The Syrian king, to strengthen himself against his powerful enemies in the south and east, applied to his brother for aid. Though only fourteen years of age, yet he was governor of Asia Minor, and named, from his rapacity, Antiochus Hierax, *the Hawk*. He promised him the independent sovereignty of Asia, but, in consequence of procuring a truce with Egypt, of ten years, he violated his word. This occasioned a sanguinary war between them, which terminated in the ruin of both. Antiochus was murdered by a banditti ; and Seleucus died a prisoner in Parthia, where he was treated as a king. These events left the king of Egypt in possession of an immense empire, and of liberty to pursue whatever plans he deemed proper to advance the glory of his reign.

His name is honourably associated with Aratus, in the noble work of rousing the energies of the Grecians from a lethargy which threatened, at a most unseasonable time, the destruction of their power and influence to improve the mental state of the Romans, who were destined to establish the fourth empire. From the time of Alexander's death, the splendour of Greece had been gradually passing away. The state of Lacedemon had never properly advanced the civilization of man. The inhabitants were always more solicitous to attain power and engage in war than to cultivate peace and cherish the milder and humane virtues. The more illustrious states of Athens and Thebes alternately endured the oppressions of rulers whom they were unable to resist, and enjoyed liberty, the real value of which they were destitute of knowledge to estimate, and of wisdom to improve, for the attainment of rational felicity. In fact, though they retained the shadow of independence, yet their political vigour was gone, and they were in such a state of weakness that whoever were prepared to conquer Greece might easily seize it for a prey. Happily for the honour of Greece and the welfare of man, a temporary restoration of its liberty was effected by the most unexpected agency of the Achæan Republic. This democratic state originally consisted of twelve small cities, situated on the southern coast of the Corinthian Gulf and the Ionian Sea. The opposite side was occupied by the Ætolians, who also rose to distinction in this age. After being long subjected by the more powerful states around them, the Achæans renewed their ancient league, and resumed their ancient customs about the time that Pyrrhus invaded Italy. The good order which reigned in this little republic, where freedom and equality, with a love of justice and the public good, were the fundamental principles of their government, drew into their community several neighbouring cities, who received their laws, and associated with them to enjoy their privileges. Sicyon was the first that acceded to the Achæan league. This city stood south-east of Corinth. Having expelled those under whom they had been long oppressed, they selected Clinias for their chief magistrate, one of their virtuous and bravest citizens. Abantidas conspired against him, and, by the aid of a mob, put him and a number of his relations to death, and expelled the remainder. His son Aratus escaped as by miracle. Wandering around the city in despair, he entered, perhaps without reflection, the house of the tyrant's sister. This lady was naturally generous; and as she also believed that this

destitute infant had taken refuge under her roof by the impulse of some deity, she carefully concealed him, and when night came caused him to be secretly conveyed to Argos. Aratus being thus preserved from so imminent a danger, conceived in his soul from thenceforth an implacable aversion to tyrants, which always increased with his age. He was educated with the utmost care by some hospitable friends of his father.

In his twentieth year he resolved to deliver his native city from the tyranny of Nicocles, who was then ruler. In the darkness of night he scaled the walls, and proclaimed liberty to the citizens. His victory was obtained without blood. No one was wounded or killed. To secure the liberty thus easily acquired, he persuaded the community to join the Achæans. He recalled five hundred exiles. Their demand to be put in possession of their property which had been confiscated and sold was resisted, and Aratus saw nothing before him but a civil war. The claims of both parties seemed equitable; for the disputed property was purchased by the one, but legally belonged to the other. He had not wealth enough to satisfy them; and without this it was impossible to reconcile them. In this emergency he determined to appeal to the universally known generosity and liberality of Ptolemy Euergetes. This feature in his character was conspicuous during his whole reign. The tone of moral feeling had certainly considerably improved throughout the Grecian empire. Princes and great men had often, in past times, discovered sympathy with their equals in distress; but the miseries of a community they little regarded, unless they felt compelled to minister relief to them, in order to avert anarchy or insurrection. An unparalleled manifestation of the power of those humane feelings was witnessed in this age, occasioned by one of the most dreadful catastrophes with which the East had been visited. A great earthquake in the island of Rhodes almost totally ruined its metropolis. Its walls, arsenals, harbour, temples, and best buildings were one mass of ruins; and its famous brazen statue, named Colossus, one of the seven wonders of the ancient world, was entirely destroyed. The loss sustained was inexpressible; and all the neighbouring princes united to answer the supplications for relief, which reached them from the Rhodians. "Hiero and Gelon in Sicily, and Ptolemy in Egypt, signalized themselves in a peculiar manner on that occasion. The two former of these princes contributed above a hundred talents, and erected two statues in the public place;

one of which represented the people of Rhodes, and the other those of Syracuse; the former was crowned by the latter, to testify, as Polybius observes, that the Syracusans thought the opportunity of relieving the Rhodians a favour and obligation to themselves. Ptolemy, beside his other expenses, which amounted to a very considerable sum, supplied that people with three hundred talents, and a million of bushels of corn, and a sufficient quantity of timber for building ten galleys of ten benches of oars, and as many more of three benches, beside an infinite quantity of wood for other buildings,—all which donations were accompanied with three thousand talents for erecting the Colossus anew. Antigonus, Seleucus, Prusias, Mithridates, and all the princes, as well as cities, signalized their liberality on this occasion. Even private persons emulated each other in sharing in the glorious act of humanity; and historians have recorded that a lady, whose name was Chryseis, (*golden*,) and who truly merited that appellation, furnished from her own substance an hundred thousand bushels of corn. ‘Let the princes of these times,’ says Polybius, ‘who imagine they have done gloriously in giving four or five thousand crowns, only consider how inferior their generosity is to that we have now described.’ Rhodes, in consequence of these liberalities, was re-established in a few years, in a more opulent and splendid state than she had ever experienced before, if we only except the Colossus.”

Ptolemy was an enthusiastic admirer of the fine arts, especially of portraits and paintings; and to supply him with good specimens of these, was one of the most appropriate means to propitiate his favour. Such means were happily within the power of Aratus, and these he successfully employed. He was an excellent judge of painting, and Sicyon was celebrated for this department of the arts. Apelles had been in this city, and presented a talent to their schools, not so much to acquire from them perfection in the art of painting, as in order to obtain a share in their great reputation. Aratus was fortunate enough to collect all the works of the greatest masters, particularly those finished by Pamphilus and Melanthus. The present of these sent to Ptolemy, procured him the esteem and grateful acknowledgment of that rich and mighty monarch. He could devise no scheme which promised to extricate him from the critical and dangerous position in which he found himself in his native city, except to proceed to Egypt, and throw himself on the generosity of its prince. He had a long audience of Ptolemy, who esteemed him the better the more

he knew of him, and presented him with an hundred and fifty talents for the benefit of his city. Aratus carried away forty talents when he set out for Peloponnesus, and the king remitted him the remainder in separate payments. Thus enriched, he speedily restored peace to his citizens; and became no less the object of their esteem and confidence than of their admiration and applause. Statues were erected to him, and public inscriptions declared him the father of the people, and the deliverer of his country. The liberty of Greece was the object of his ambition; but the consummate wisdom, prudence, and foresight which characterised him prevented him from hastily aspiring to the supreme command. He entered the army as an inferior officer of the cavalry, and procured universal approbation by his uniform submission to the laws, and alacrity in the performance of the services required of him. Nothing seemed more necessary for the attainment of Grecian liberty than to possess the Acro Corinthus, or citadel of Corinth, situated on a lofty mountain, about the centre of the Isthmus. It was called by Philip, the father of Alexander, "the Shackles of Greece," because who ever commanded it was for the time master of the country. It was at this time in the hands of Antigonus Gonatus, king of Macedon. Aratus learning that by a sum of money he might be able to capture it, he gave for a pledge all his gold, plate, and his wife's jewels, and, without great destruction of life, seized the citadel, the temple of Juno, and the port of Lechæum, with five hundred war-horses, and twenty-five ships. This success was followed by the accession of several cities to the Achæan league, of which he was chosen the chief. But Antigonus, who was already jealous of him, now became the avowed enemy of the Achæans. To expel all the soldiers and friends of the Macedonian power from the Peloponnesus was the great object of Aratus for many years, without which it was impossible to restore freedom to Greece, so that the inhabitants might obey their own laws, and observe their own customs. To effect this, he prevailed on Ptolemy to join the confederacy, and persuaded the Achæans to elect him generalissimo of their navy and army, while he himself was appointed next in command. This high office could only be legally held by the same individual every alternate year. The law, however, was violated on his account; and in the year in which he died, he had been elected commander of his countrymen the seventeenth time. By him they were elevated, in a considerable degree, to their ancient and first rank among the nations. And he, not pru



dently, perhaps from envy and jealousy of the fame of Cleomenes, king of Lacedemon, called to the assistance of the Achæans the king of Macedon, and by this act forfeited the favour of the king of Egypt. Had he, indeed, continued to enjoy the favour and aid of Ptolemy, he would have probably completely re-established the liberty, and renovated the faded splendour of Greece. Nevertheless, all who know and candidly reflect on his personal worth, and the tendency and even efficiency of his illustrious deeds to preserve the Greeks from the degradation of slavery to any of the comparatively barbarous powers which surrounded them, will at once acknowledge that he had just claims to stand high among the first and most accomplished leaders, statesmen, and warriors of his own or any country, of the civilized world, in any age. He was confessedly the chief instrument of rendering the Greeks so venerable in the eyes of the Romans, that they not only long cherished them, after they had subdued them, but also diligently learned their language, and adopted their science, literature, and arts.

And had they not pursued this course, how incalculably calamitous to the human race had been their conquests of the Persian empire! How inferior were they in all that adorns, and humanizes man previously to their intercourse with Greece! And even after they had adopted the learning and civilization of Greece, and had caused their name to be respected, and their power to be either terribly felt, or apprehended with dread by the greatest nations of Europe, Asia, and Africa, had any accident arrested their progress, "it is probable," as Ferguson justly remarks, that "their name would never have appeared on the record of polished nations, nor they themselves been otherwise known than as a barbarous horde, which had fallen a prey to more fortunate asserters of dominion or conquest." About two centuries before the Christian era, the Romans were almost altogether men of the sword or of the state, disposed to contemn letters and sedentary occupations. No historian, poet, or philosopher had arisen among them. Ennius and Cato were the first Romans whose works were destined to instruct posterity. The citizens of Rome were rude in manners, and the most abject votaries of the most contemptible and sanguinary superstition. Before their conquest of Carthage, on the report of a prophecy that the Gauls and Greeks were to possess Rome, the Senate "ordered a man and woman of each of those nations to be buried alive in the market place," probably because taught by their

priests that this sacrifice would prevent the fulfilment of the prediction.

It may seem strange that they had derived no more moral cultivation from their vicinity to Magna Grecia, and its philosophic academies. But this may be accounted for, on the probable conjecture, that they hated its inhabitants, as rivals to power in Italy, and looked on them with scorn, as animated by the meanest spirit in the prosecution of commerce to procure riches, magnificence, and pleasure. The Roman commanders and ambassadors sent to Greece were the first to acquire a taste for Grecian learning, and discernment and candour to estimate the mental superiority of the Greeks. The first Roman embassy arrived in Greece, on occasion of the success of the Romans in Illyrica, B. C. 225. They were received with distinction in the principal cities. The Corinthians, for the first time, proclaimed "that the Romans should be admitted to celebrate the Isthmian games, with the same privileges as the Greeks. The freedom of the city was also granted them at Athens, and they were permitted to be initiated into their solemn mysteries." From this time the Romans solicitously and with success cultivated the friendship of the Grecian states, and eventually rescued them from the tyranny of Philip, king of Macedon. To oppose the ambitious schemes of that monarch, a treaty was concluded between the Etolians and Romans, B. C. 211, a short time after the death of Aratus, who was believed to have been poisoned by an emissary of Philip. Several powers, alienated from him, or at war with him, were invited to accede to the treaty against him; and Attalus, king of Pergamus, accepted the invitation. The Romans, however, in general, continued averse to philosophical studies more than half a century longer. For when some of their most distinguished citizens were astonished and fascinated with the eloquence of certain Grecian philosophers, who visited Rome in the time of Cato the Censor, that intelligent and virtuous person declaimed against the study of philosophy, from the apprehension that it would induce effeminacy, and destroy the fortitude, intrepidity, and austere habits of the Roman youth, and repress in them the love of war, the cherishing of which he deemed essential to the advancement of the national glory. And still later, during the consulship of Strabo and Valerius, "a decree of the senate passed, probably in consequence of repeated visits from Grecian philosophers, requiring the prætor Pomponius to take care that no philosophers were resident in Rome. Some

years afterwards, the censors, as if resolved at once to shut the door against philosophy and eloquence, issued a similar edict against rhetoricians, in terms to this effect: 'Whereas we have been informed, that certain men, who call themselves Latin rhetoricians, have instituted a new kind of learning, and opened schools, in which young men trifle away their time day after day; we, judging this innovation to be inconsistent with the purpose for which our ancestors established schools, contrary to ancient custom, and injurious to our youth, do hereby warn both those who keep these schools, and those who frequent them, that they are herein acting contrary to our pleasure.' And this edict was afterwards revived, in the year of Rome 662, under the consulate of Pulcher and Perpenna. But at length philosophy, under the protection of those great commanders who had conquered Greece, prevailed; and Rome opened her gates to all who professed to be teachers of wisdom and eloquence." Her men resorted to Greece, and returned richly loaded with its mental treasures.

Though Ptolemy Euergetes deserted Aratus, yet he nobly defended the liberty of Greece, exposed to imminent danger by the influence of Philip over several of its states. He may have been actuated in this more by policy than disinterested regard for the Greeks; for his own provinces in Asia Minor, Cyprus, and even Egypt, he could scarcely consider safe, were Philip to subjugate all Greece. But the advantage to the Greeks was great, inasmuch as it contributed to maintain their dignity and fame, and terminated in their exaltation in the eyes of the Romans. His death, B. C. 221, was apparently an unhappy event for Greece, and still more for Egypt; for he was the last of his dynasty who deserved the approbation of mankind. Ptolemy Philopater ascended the throne of his father. His reign, as we shall see in our review of the times of Antiochus the Great, was disgraced by almost every species of injustice and profligacy, in which he was unhappily followed by the generality of his successors.

## CHAPTER XV

### THE REIGN OF ANTIOCHUS THE GREAT

SELEUCUS Callinicus left two sons, known in history by the names of Seleucus Ceraunus and Antiochus the Great. They both owed their succession to the crown of Syria to the wisdom and fidelity of their uncle Achæus, their mother's brother. He first placed Seleucus, the eldest, on the throne. This prince, feeble alike in mind and body, was despised by the army; and after reigning about three years, was assassinated by two of his chief officers. Achæus inflicted on the traitors just punishment, and, being universally beloved, was urged by the army to accept of the sceptre. He had, however, preferred to preserve the kingdom in peace till the arrival of Antiochus from Babylon, where he had resided some years, under proper tutors. At the commencement of his reign, B. C. 222, the government of Asia Minor was entrusted to Achæus, that of Media to Molo, and that of Persia to his brother Alexander. These brothers, in the following year, renounced the authority of their sovereign; but in less than two years their troops were totally defeated; and, perceiving no way of escape from the conqueror, they, after the manner of the age, first killed their wives and children, and then took their own lives.

Having re-established his dominion in the East, Antiochus prepared an army to recover Cælo-Syria, which he regarded his own by inheritance. He had formerly attempted this without success; for when he led his army to the valley lying between Libanus and Anti-Libanus, he found the passes of these mountains so strongly fortified and defended by Theodotus, an Ætolian, the governor appointed by Ptolemy Euergetes, that he deemed it prudent to retire. But circumstances were now changed. Ptolemy Philopater had succeeded his father, and had gathered around him persons, who, like him-

self, were destitute of virtuous principles, and slaves of every base passion. He was believed to have poisoned his noble father, and had publicly put to death his mother, and Megas, his only brother. His court was a scene of indescribable luxury, effeminacy, and intemperance. The king and his ministers, however, unqualified to judge of excellence, presumed to charge Theodotus with prosecuting the interests of the kingdom with less ardour than became his office. They had called him before them; and though acquitted, yet he felt insulted, and even ashamed to be governed by persons who, in many respects, were the disgrace of human nature. Accordingly, immediately on returning to Cœlo-Syria, he seized Tyre and Ptolemais, and offered to deliver up the country to Antiochus. The Syrian king hastened to support Theodotus. The Egyptian forces, under an able general, Nicolaus, a native also of Ætolia, were assembled to defend the passes of Libanus and Anti-Libanus. These Ptolemy compelled to retire; and he passed on to the Phenician cities, where he was joined by Theodotus. He here found a fleet of forty ships, and ample naval stores. After several combats of the opposing fleets and armies, Antiochus obtained possession of Damascus, the metropolis of Cœlo-Syria, Gilead, Galilee, and Samaria, and gave rest for the winter to his fleet at Tyre, and his army at Ptolemais. This eruption into Judea of Antiochus, named in prophecy, one of the sons of the kings of the *North*; and the reconquest of the country, by Ptolemy, the king of the *South*, are particularly mentioned in Dan. xi. 10—12. "But his sons shall be stirred up, and shall assemble a multitude of great forces; and one shall certainly come, and overflow and pass through; then shall he return, and be stirred up, even to his fortress. And the king of the south shall be moved with choler, and shall come forth and fight with him, even with the king of the north: and he shall set forth a great multitude; but the multitude shall be given into his hand. And when he hath taken away the multitude, his heart shall be lifted up; and he shall cast down many ten thousands: but he shall not be strengthened by it."

On the return of spring, Ptolemy, roused to a proper sense of his danger, renounced sensual indulgences, and placed himself at the head of a powerful army, which he led through the desert that separates Egypt from the Holy Land. He was met at Gaza by a more numerous army, under Antiochus. A sanguinary battle soon followed. "Arsinoë, the sister and wife of Ptolemy, not only exhorted the soldiers to be-

have manfully, before the battle, but did not leave her husband even during the heat of this engagement. The issue of it was, Antiochus, being at the head of his right wing, defeated the enemy's left. But whilst hurried on by an inconsiderate ardour, he engaged too warmly in the pursuit, and Ptolemy, who had been as successful in the other wing, charged Antiochus' centre in flank, which was then uncovered; and broke it, before it was possible for that prince to come to its relief. An old officer, who saw which way the dust flew, concluded that the centre was defeated, and accordingly made Antiochus observe it. But though he faced about that instant, he came too late to amend his fault; and found the rest of his army broke and put to flight. He himself was now obliged to provide for his retreat, and retired to Raphia, and afterwards to Gaza, with the loss of ten thousand men killed, and four thousand taken prisoners. Finding it would now be impossible for him to continue the campaign against Ptolemy, he abandoned all his conquests; and retreated to Antioch with the remains of his army;" and all Cœlo-Syria, Judea, and the neighbouring regions, gladly submitted to the conqueror, for the inhabitants were strongly attached to Egypt, whose yoke they had hitherto felt comparatively light. After the example of his predecessors, he expressed himself peculiarly favourable to the Jews, and proposed to offer sacrifices and gifts to the God of heaven, in Jerusalem. Unless we recollect and admit the peculiarity of the Jewish constitution, which implied supernatural interposition to favour the faithful or to punish the unfaithful subjects of Jehovah, the Supreme King of Israel, we will doubtless regard as fabulous the historical records of Ptolemy's visit to the holy city, and its results. Some of the incidents are noticed by Josephus and Eusebius; but the fullest account is given by the unknown author of the work called "the Third Book of Maccabees." The external beauty of the temple and the solemnity of the service excited the curiosity of the king to examine the whole of the interior divisions. He was not the man to believe that his presence could defile the holy of holies.

The report of his presumptuous purpose soon spread over the city, and occasioned a great tumult. "The high-priest informed him of the holiness of the place; and the express law of God, by which he was forbid to enter it. The priests and Levites drew together in a body to oppose his rash design, which the people also conjured him to lay aside. And now, all places echoed with the lamentations which were

made, on account of the profanation to which their temple would be exposed ; and in all places the people were lifting up their hands to implore Heaven not to suffer it. However, all this opposition, instead of prevailing with the king, only inflamed his curiosity the more. He forced in as far as the second court ; but as he was preparing to enter the temple itself, God struck him with a sudden terror, which threw him into such prodigious disorder that he was carried off half dead. After this he left the city, highly exasperated against the Jewish nation on account of the accident which had befallen him, and highly threatened it with his revenge." The violence of his resentment, and the fierceness of his anger, impelled him, on the first occasion, to pour out his wrath on all the Jews in his dominions. On returning to Alexandria, the king placed all who sincerely worshipped the True God beyond the protection of the law. He erected a pillar at the gate of his palace, and engraved on it a decree prohibiting any one to approach his throne who declined to worship the gods of the court. By consequence, if the inferior courts pronounced unjust decisions against the Jewish citizens, they could not hope for redress, unless they publicly acknowledged themselves idolaters. The citizens were divided into three classes ; the most honourable were the Macedonians and Jews ; the mercenaries in the army constituted the next rank ; and the natives of Egypt, the third. The second decree against the Jews degraded them to the third rank of citizens, and stripped them of all the rights which they had hitherto enjoyed under the Persians and the Greeks. " But this," as the writer in 'Universal History' remarks, " was not the greatest grievance ; for in the same decree it was exacted that all the Jews, at the appointed time, should appear before the proper officers, in order to be enrolled among the common people ; that at the time of their enrolment they should have the mark of an ivy leaf, the badge of Bacchus, impressed with a hot iron on their faces ; that all who wore not this mark should be made slaves ; and finally, that if any one should stand out against this decree he should be immediately put to death. But that he might not seem an enemy to the whole nation, he declared that those who sacrificed to the gods should enjoy their former privileges, and remain in the same class. Notwithstanding this tempting offer, three hundred only out of many thousands of the Jewish race who lived in Alexandria were prevailed upon to abandon their religion in compliance with the king's will. The others chose rather

to be stigmatised in the manner the king had ordered, or to redeem themselves from that ignominious mark by parting with all they had to the king's officers. Those who continued in the religion of their forefathers excluded their fallen brethren from all manner of communion with them, expressing thereby the abhorrence they had of their apostacy. This their enemies construed as done in opposition to the king's orders, which so enraged Ptolemy that he resolved to extirpate the whole nation, beginning with the Jews who lived in Alexandria and other parts of Egypt, and then proceed with the same severity against the inhabitants of Judea and Jerusalem. Pursuant to this resolution, he commanded all the Jews who lived in any part of Egypt to be brought in chains to Alexandria, and there to be shut up in the hippodrome, which was a very spacious place without the city, where the people used to assemble to see horse races and other public shows. When the news was brought him that all the Jews who lived in Egypt were, agreeable to his orders, confined within the hippodrome, he sent for Hermon, master of the elephants, and ordered him to have five hundred of them ready against the next day, to be let loose upon the prisoners in the hippodrome. But when the elephants were prepared for the execution, and the people assembled in great crowds to see it, they were all disappointed for that day, by the king's absence; for having been late up the night before with some of his drunken and debauched companions, he did not awake the next day till the time for the show was over, and the spectators returned to their respective homes. He therefore ordered one of his servants to call him the day following betimes, that the people might not meet with a second disappointment. But when the person appointed awakened him, he was not yet returned to his senses, having a little before withdrawn exceedingly drunk; and therefore, not remembering the order he had given, flew into a violent passion, threatening the person who spoke to him of it, which caused the show to be put off to the third day.

"In the meantime, the Jews who continued shut up in the hippodrome, ceased not to offer up prayers to the Almighty for their deliverance, which he accordingly granted them. For on the third day, when the king was present, and the elephants brought forth and let loose upon the prisoners, those fierce animals, instead of falling upon the Jews, turned their rage upon the spectators and soldiers who assisted at the execution, and destroyed great numbers of them; which, with



other appearances seen in the air, so terrified the king, that he commanded the Jews to be immediately set at liberty,—acknowledged the power of the God they worshipped,—and, to appease his anger, restored his people to the full enjoyment of their former privileges, bestowing upon them besides many favours, and loading them with presents at their departure; for the king not only allowed them to return to their respective homes, but would himself bear the charges of their journey. The Jews, seeing themselves thus restored to the king's favour, demanded and obtained leave of him to put all those of their own nation to death who had abandoned their religion; which permission they soon made use of, without sparing a single man."

In memory of this great deliverance, a festival, it is recorded, was kept by the Jews during several centuries; and their gratitude to the king was strongly expressed by the unconquerable courage with which they supported him in the civil war which originated in the revolt of the natives of Egypt. In the contest, sixty thousand Jews are said to have been slain.

But it is probable that the unjust conduct of Ptolemy Philopater towards the Jews completely alienated from him the inhabitants of Judea, and thus they prepared them to acknowledge in season Antiochus the Great. By this means they most probably escaped more evil than it was in the power of Egypt to inflict. For though Antiochus saw it expedient to enter into a treaty of peace with Egypt on the most humiliating terms, yet he rapidly rose to be the first sovereign in Asia.

Achæus had not only reduced under him all the provinces over which he was appointed governor, but had forced Attalus, king of Pergamus, to confine his exertions within the limits of his small kingdom. His success had kindled the jealousy and envy of his ungrateful sovereign and court, and he considered it indispensable for his own safety to declare himself an independent prince, and, it is said, to contend with his cousin for the sovereignty of Syria, which he had formerly nobly refused. These circumstances occasioned a bloody war, which, by the treachery of two officers of Achæus, natives of Crete, terminated in the loss of his dominion, his liberty, and life. Having entire confidence in them, they found it easy to seize him, and deliver him up to Antiochus, who immediately caused him to be beheaded.

Confident that Syria was safe from the power of Egypt, be-

cause its brutal sovereign had given himself up to the indulgence of every vile appetite and passion, and having settled the provinces of Asia Minor, Antiochus determined to proceed to reduce the revolted provinces in the East. In this expedition he spent several years; but after repeatedly defeating the Parthians, and combating the Bactrians, he became hopeless of overcoming them, and consented to a peace with the respective sovereigns, on condition of the king of Parthia renouncing all claims on Media, and the king of Bactria granting him one hundred and fifty elephants.

On his return to Antioch, through Persia, Babylonia, and Mesopotamia, Antiochus learned that the king of Egypt was dead, and its throne possessed by his son, Ptolemy Epiphanes, who was only five years of age. He was not slow to devise a scheme by which he hoped to dethrone the child, and acquire at least a large portion of his dominions. In order to do this he formed an alliance with Philip, king of Macedon, B. C. 203, the basis of which was to conquer and divide between them all the countries subject to the king of Egypt. This most unprovoked and unjust alliance brought utter ruin on its authors, and issued in the establishment of the supremacy of the Romans over the chief regions of the Grecian empire, and occasioned the display of the mighty energies of the Fourth Beast.

Philip was one of the most skilful warriors against the powerful, but the tyrant of the weak. Rarely did he discover any indication of a refined mind or a humane heart. His predecessor, Antigonus Dorson, had assisted the Achæans in their illustrious enterprise to restore and sustain the liberty of all the States of Greece; and they judged it necessary to request him to continue the same assistance. This they the more willingly did, on account of the gentleness and moderation, combined with wisdom, which marked his conduct in the early period of his reign. Success, however, awakened pride and ambition; and whoever bowed not to his authority, or submitted not to his will, provoked his rage, and exposed themselves to his implacable resentment. The intelligent soon perceived that he had set his heart, not on the freedom but the conquest and slavery of Greece. That country was threatened at the same time with ruin by the Lacedæmonians, who had fallen under the dominion of tyrants. In these circumstances, the friendship of the Romans was acceptable to many of the Greeks, for they pretended to desire nothing more than to protect the natural rights of all

nations, and especially of the enlightened states of Greece. Though Philip was chiefly indebted for his ascendancy in Greece to Aratus and his son, who was truly worthy of his father's name, yet he secretly effected the death of the former, and the mental derangement of the latter, when he perceived that they resolved to counteract his rapacious designs. He adopted a different method to secure himself against the opposition of Philopœmen, the last brave general of the Achæans, and who, from the excellency of his character, and heroic deeds, has been justly called, "the last of the Greeks." Philip endeavoured in vain to gain this celebrated man over to his interests. But the ambitious views of this prince were more fully developed by the alliance which he formed with Hannibal, the chief of the Carthaginians. The wars of this powerful and commercial people with the Romans astonished the Greeks, who had always regarded these nations as mere barbarians. But the king of Macedon contemplated them with the deepest interest; for the comparatively narrow Adriatic Sea alone separated his kingdom from Italy. Hence the invasion of that country by the celebrated Hannibal was gratifying to him; and on ascertaining that the Romans had been defeated by him in three successive battles, he sent ambassadors to the victor to make a treaty with him, the terms of which he cheerfully accepted; for the purport was, that Philip should cross into Italy with a fleet of two hundred sail and lay waste the sea coasts; and should assist the Carthaginians both by sea and land: That the latter at the conclusion of the war, should possess all Italy and Rome; and that Hannibal should have all the spoils: That after the conquest of Italy, they should cross into Greece, and there make war against any power the king should nominate; and that both the cities of the continent, and the islands lying towards Macedonia, should be enjoyed by Philip, and annexed to his dominions. This treaty afforded a plausible reason to justify their persevering interference in the affairs of Greece, and to make war with Philip. But till they conquered Hannibal they could not vigorously prosecute their schemes respecting Macedon. They therefore readily entered into a treaty of peace with Philip, by the terms of which they were careful to appear as the protector of Grecian liberty, while he had by his conduct during the war alienated from him all who venerated the religion, the literature, and arts, of the Greeks. He acted the barbarian in every city which he captured. He laid waste the sur

rounding district—made a prey of whatever was valuable—destroyed the temples and the most admired monument of antiquity and art.

Thus he showed himself a prince completely prepared to join Antiochus the Great in the most unjust plans, which that prince proposed as the foundation of an alliance, which they made B. C. 204, the same year in which peace was established between Philip and the Romans. The terms of this alliance were in substance, that they should attack the dominions of the infant king of Egypt, remove him from the throne, and divide them; Philip to receive Caria, Egypt, Lybia, and Cyrenaica; and Antiochus all the rest. By this agreement the latter was brought into a collision with the Romans, which ultimately ruined him, and placed all Asia within their wide grasp. They had kept up occasionally correspondence with the court of Egypt, from the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus; and on the death of Ptolemy Philopater, the senate of Rome declared themselves the guardians of the young king, and entrusted Aristomedes with the administration of the kingdom.

This representative of the Romans was, by birth, an Acarnanian, but he had been for a considerable time in Egypt, and was one of the generals of the army most distinguished by fidelity and prudence. Previously to his appointment, Antiochus had conquered all Cœlo-Syria, Judea, and Phenicia. To recover these provinces, Aristomedes sent Scopas with an army. This general, at first every where triumphant, was soon overcome, when attacked by Antiochus in person, and the Egyptians returned to Alexandria overwhelmed with disgrace; the general and those who sought refuge in Sidon fell into the hands of the conqueror, and were by him dismissed naked and destitute. Scopas seems to have treated the provinces as newly captured, and his overthrow was hailed by the inhabitants, especially by the Jews, who had always till now been celebrated for their attachment to the dynasty of Ptolemy. As soon as they knew that Antiochus was advancing to their country, they crowded very zealously to meet him, and deliver up the keys of all their cities; being come to Jerusalem, the priests and elders came out in pomp to meet him, paid him all kinds of honour, and assisted him in driving out of the castle the soldiers which Scopas had left in it. In return for these services, Antiochus granted them a great many privileges; and enacted, by a particular decree, that no stranger should be allowed access to the inner part of the temple; a prohibi-

tion which seemed evidently to have been made on account of Philopater's late attempt to force his way thither. Antiochus, in his eastern expedition, had received so many services from the Jews of Babylonia and Mesopotamia, and depended so much on their fidelity, that when a sedition broke out in Phrygia and Lydia, he sent two thousand Jewish families to quell it, and keep the country in peace, and was exceedingly liberal to them. It was from these Jews, transplanted at this time, that descended many of those who were dispersed or "*scattered abroad*," whom we shall afterwards find so numerous, especially in the gospel times. The favours bestowed on the Jews by Antiochus the Great are minutely detailed by Josephus. This second and more permanent subjugation by Antiochus was, like the first, the subject of Divine prediction: "For the king of the north shall return, and shall set forth a multitude greater than the former, and shall certainly come after certain years with a great army, and with much riches. And in those times there shall many stand up against the king of the south: also the robbers of thy people shall exalt themselves to establish the vision; but they shall fall. So the king of the north shall come, and cast up a mount, and take the most fenced cities; and the arms of the south shall not withstand, neither his chosen people, neither shall there be any strength to withstand. But he that cometh against him shall do according to his own will, and none shall stand before him; and he shall stand in the glorious land, which by his hand shall be consumed." Dan. xi. 13—16. And his last and greatest exploits, directed against the Romans, whose regions in Europe are denominated the *isles*, are foretold in ver. 17—19, of which an illustration is presented to us in the events which we proceed briefly to record.

Antiochus was resolved to raise his empire to its original greatness and grandeur in the days of its founder Seleucus Nicator. That he might direct all his resources to the conquest of Asia Minor and the regions in Europe, which had been wrested from the Syrian power, he procured peace with Egypt by betrothing his daughter to Ptolemy, with the promise, when their marriage was consummated, of all the provinces, which he had recently conquered. He had scarcely finished his preparations for the war, in the prosecution of which he must have calculated on the opposition of Rome, when he was deprived of the co-operation of Philip, king of Macedon. For though the peace which he had made with the Romans had been broken, yet he was compelled to

acquiesce in another more humiliating to him, 198 B. C. The conditions were, That all the Grecian cities not voluntarily subject to him, whether in Greece, Asia, or Europe, should be free, and be governed by their own laws: that Philip, before the celebration of the Isthmian games, should evacuate those in which he then had garrisons: that he should restore to the Romans all the prisoners and deserters, and deliver up to them all the ships that had decks, (five feluccas excepted,) and the galley having sixteen benches of rowers: That he should pay a thousand talents; one half down, and the other half in ten years, fifty every year, by way of tribute. Among the hostages required of him, was Demetrius his son, who accordingly was sent to Rome. This treaty was acceptable to all the Grecian States, except Ætolia, whose chief men declared that the Romans had bound the Greeks in chains, because they had reserved the right of placing strong garrisons in Corinth, Colchis, and Demetrius, to prevent them being seized by Antiochus. The complaints of the Ætolians occasioned much perplexity, and induced many to think that the Romans would never evacuate the numerous cities which they had taken. Flaminius eagerly embraced the opportunity afforded him by the solemnization of the Isthmian games, to tranquillize all Greece. The immense multitude, consisting of all ranks, being assembled from every state, in the stadium, he ordered a herald to proclaim that the "Senate and people of Rome, and Titus Quintius the general, having overcome Philip and the Macedonians, ease and deliver from all garrisons, and taxes, and imposts, the Corinthians, the Locrians, the Phocians, the Eubœans, the Phthiot Achæans, the Magnesians, the Thessalians, and the Perhæbians: declare them free, and ordain that they shall be governed by their respective laws and usages." When this proclamation was fully understood, the innumerable hearers abandoned themselves to the highest transports of joy, and broke into such loud and repeated acclamations, that the sea resounded them to a great distance; and some ravens, which happened to fly that instant over the assembly, fell down in the stadium; so true it is, that of all the blessings of this life, none are so dear to mankind as liberty! The games and sports were hurried over with neglect and disregard; for so great was the general joy upon this occasion, that it extinguished all other thoughts and regards. The games being ended, all the people ran in crowds to the Roman general; and every one being eager to see his deliverer, to salute him, to kiss his hand, and to throw crowns and fes-

toons of flowers over him: he would have run the hazard of being pressed to death by the crowd, had not the vigour of his years (for he was not above thirty-three years old,) and the joy which so glorious a day gave him, sustained and enabled him to undergo the fatigue of it."

These events, however adverse to the views of Antiochus, were insufficient to change his plans. Having, by a dexterous policy, secured the peace of Syria, he had ordered his sons, Arduas and Mithridates to conduct the army to Sardis, and wait his arrival there, for he proposed to lead a large fleet to the coasts of Asia Minor. On his taking possession of the principal maritime cities, and laying up his fleet at Ephesus for the winter, Smyrna, Lampsacus, and other free cities, indisposed to submit to him, applied for aid and protection to the Romans. Before ambassadors from Rome reached him, he had passed the Hellespont to Europe, and conquered the Thracian Chersonesus, which he proposed to constitute the nucleus of a kingdom to his second son, Seleucus, and to make Lysimachia its capital. He apologised for his proceeding, by asserting that he subjected to his dominion only those countries of which he was the legitimate heir, as the descendant of Seleucus Nicanor, who had ruled over them. This apology the ambassadors of Rome reported to the senate, but the only decision passed was, that Flaminius should watch the proceedings of the Syrian king, whose power they avowed must be limited to Asia.

Meanwhile Hannibal, who had lived retired in Carthage several years from the time of his total defeat, which had terminated in the temporary restoration of peace between Rome and that city, carried on correspondence with Antiochus. On discovering that this was suspected, and having some reason to apprehend that his countrymen would deliver him up to the Romans, he fled to Ephesus, and was joyfully received by the Syrian king, who, by this event, was strongly confirmed in his purpose to pursue the measures which he judged best, in defiance of Rome.

One of the Roman ambassadors to Antiochus visited Hannibal at Ephesus, with the design of persuading him that he had nothing to fear from the Romans, and that it was not his interest to join their enemies. Though he attained not this, yet Hannibal was pleased repeatedly to meet him; a circumstance which induced Antiochus to suspect the sincerity of his friendship, and from this time he was much less disposed to respect his advice than that given him by the

flatterers with whom he was surrounded. This may be regarded as one of the principal causes of his final overthrow. Hannibal always insisted that the Romans could never be successfully attacked, except in Italy. The Ætolians persuaded Antiochus that he had only to fight the Romans in Greece to secure a complete triumph, for all the Greeks would assuredly join his standard. He followed their counsels, and his troops were totally defeated; and the Ætolians, who were the only one of his allies possessed of much power, were compelled to throw themselves on the compassion of the Romans. This event transpired B. C. 191, and in the succeeding year Antiochus was forced to contend with Rome for his Asiatic possessions. The strength of both parties was exerted to the utmost; for the prize was the empire of the world.

The Roman armies, on land, were led by L. Cornelius Scipio, the new consul; his brother, Scipio Africanus, the conqueror of Hannibal, served as lieutenant. L. Æmilius Regillus commanded the fleet, which was strengthened by a large fleet from Rhodes. The latter first attacked and dispersed many ships in which Hannibal was conveying troops from Syria and Phenicia to Asia. Æmilius obtained a complete victory over the principal fleet of Antiochus, on the coast of Ionia. In consequence of these disasters, Antiochus was disabled from arresting the progress of the Roman army in their march into Asia. The report that they had passed the Hellespont struck terror into his heart, and seemed to deprive him of understanding. He ordered his troops to be withdrawn from the very fortresses, which stood in the way of the enemy, lest they should take them prisoners; and in despair he sent an embassy to propose terms of peace; and, on learning the conduct of the Roman general on reaching Asia, he entertained hopes of pacifying him. "The Romans halted some time at Troy, which they considered as the cradle of their origin, and as their primitive country, from whence they set out to settle in Italy. The consul offered up sacrifices to Minerva, who presided over the citadel. Both parties were overjoyed, and much after the same manner as fathers and children, who meet after a long separation. The inhabitants of this city, seeing their posterity conquerors of the West and of Africa, and laying claim to Asia as a kingdom that had been possessed by their ancestors, imagined they saw Troy rise out of its ashes in greater splendour than ever. On the other side, the Romans were infinitely delighted to see themselves in the ancient abode of their forefathers, who had



given birth to Rome; and to contemplate its temples and deities, which they had in common with that city." The army observed the festival named *Ancilia*, in which the sacred shields were carried in solemn procession with great pomp. Scipio Africanus, who was one of the *salii* or priests of Mars, whose office was to keep these shields, had not yet crossed the sea; for, being one of the *salii*, he could not leave the place where the festival was solemnizing, so that the army was obliged to wait for him. What a pity it was that persons of so much religion were no better illuminated, or directed their worship to such improper objects! This delay gave Antiochus some hopes; for he imagined that the Romans, immediately upon their arrival in Asia, would have attacked him on a sudden. Besides, the noble character he had heard of Scipio Africanus, and his greatness of soul, his generosity and clemency to those he had conquered, both in Spain and Africa, gave him hopes that this great man, now satiated with glory, would not be averse to an accommodation, especially as he had a present to make him which could not but be infinitely agreeable. This was his own son, a child, who had been taken at sea, as he was going in a boat from Chalcis to Oreum, according to Livy. Scipio Africanus, though grateful for the gift of his son, informed the ambassadors of Antiochus, that by allowing the Romans to enter Asia, he had put the yoke on his own neck, and that he ought now to lay down his arms and accept any articles of peace proposed to him. This announcement left him no alternative but to try the strength of his arms, and he instantly proceeded to meet the enemy. His army consisted of seventy thousand foot, twelve thousand horse, and fifty-four elephants. The Romans amounted only to thirty thousand men, and sixteen elephants. The battle, which was fought near the city of Magnesia, was dreadful, but was soon terminated in the entire overthrow of the army of Antiochus, and the voluntary submission of all the cities of Asia Minor to Rome. Antiochus retired to Sardis, from which he soon fled to Phrygia to join his son Seleucus. They both returned to Antioch; and immediately sent ambassadors to sue for peace. The conditions prescribed by Scipio Africanus were, "that Antiochus should evacuate all Asia on this side Mount Taurus: that he should pay all the expenses of the war, which were computed at fifteen thousand Eubœan talents, and the payments were settled as follows; five hundred talents down; two thousand five hundred, when the senate should have ratified the treaty, and the rest in twelve years, a thou

sand talents every year. That he should pay Eumenes the four hundred talents he owed him, and the residue of a payment on account of corn with which the king of Pergamus his father had furnished the king of Syria; and that he should deliver twenty hostages, to be chosen by the Romans;" and, finally, that Hannibal, and Thoas, the general of the Ætolians, who had been the chief agent in fomenting the war, should be delivered up to them. These terms were accepted by Antiochus, and approved by the Roman senate.

Thus the Grecian empire vanished, and Rome triumphed. The fourth beast exultingly raised his throne in the world; and the human race, astonished, beheld that it was truly "dreadful and terrible, and strong exceedingly; and it had great iron teeth: it devoured and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with the feet of it: and it was diverse from all the beasts that were before it; and it had ten horns," Dan. vii. 7. The Romans, however, still continued the avowed protectors of the freedom of all nations, especially of the Greeks, in Asia as well as Europe; and for a considerable time treated them with respect. Indeed, every Roman who aspired to intelligence, distinction, or superiority in literature, science, or the fine arts of eloquence, poetry, sculpture, and painting, was happy in having the opportunity of sojourning a longer or shorter time in the principal Grecian cities. And nothing contributed more than this to advance the civilization of the Roman people. Nevertheless, their acquisition of Asia extinguished their most dazzling qualities; for they exchanged their temperate habits, moderation, patience, and fortitude, for Asiatic wealth, luxury, effeminacy, and licentious pleasures.

Antiochus, confounded by his fall, perished in the first attempt to secure the friendship of the Romans, who, if provoked, were sufficiently powerful, and inclined, to strip him of all his dominion. On recovering somewhat from the tremendous shock which he had endured, he was perplexed how to procure the sum which he was pledged to remit to Rome. The only scheme that appeared eligible was to make a progress through his eastern provinces, and levy the tribute due him. He appointed his son Seleucus regent of the kingdom during his absence, and declared him his heir and successor. Arriving at Elymais, capital of the northern division of Susiana, he was informed that its temple of Jupiter Belus contained considerable treasure. Being a votary of pleasure, rather than of idolatry, he rashly invaded the sacred edifice, in

the darkness of night, and carried off its riches, and gifts of devotion religiously preserved for many generations. This act excited the horror and rage of the citizens; and, in the tumult, his life was the forfeit of his presumption and profanity. He was characterised, till fifty years old, by wisdom, prudence, and bravery, by which he acquired the title of *the Great*, but, from that period, pride, inconsideration, and indulgence of the meaner passions, produced self-confidence, imprudent conduct, and love of ease; and these proved fatal to his power and fame.

## CHAPTER XVI.

### REIGN OF ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES.

NOTHING important is recorded of the short reign of Seleucus Philopater, the son and successor of Antiochus the Great, except his unjust and presumptuous spoiling of the temple of Jerusalem. And to this he was excited by his circumstances rather than by any alienation from the Jews. They had enjoyed a considerable period of peace and prosperity under the government of his father, and appear to have been favoured by pious and faithful high-priests. That this was the character of Simon II. who succeeded the covetous Onias II. B. C. 249, is probable from the silence of history concerning his pontificate; for the Jewish historians usually thus treat the lives of their leaders who kept the even tenor of their way, especially when no remarkable event happened to them during their administration. His son Onias III, who was ordained high-priest, B. C. 199, was greatly beloved by all the true worshippers of God. But he was hated by the wicked, and from the wrath and honour connected with his office, they envied him, and sought his destruction. Among these was, unhappily, Simon, a Benjaminite, who had been appointed governor of the temple. When this man failed to seduce Onias from his duty, he resolved to act the traitor of his nation, and charge Onias with the crime. He knew the extreme difficulty which the king of Syria felt to raise the fine or tribute imposed on his kingdom by the Romans. Indeed this was the principal object of Seleucus Philopater's life, for the loss of his dominions, he was certain, would speedily follow the neglect to send them annually one thousand talents. Thus this prince completely vindicated the character given of him in the Divine prediction: "Then shall stand up in his estate a raiser of taxes in the glory of the kingdom: but within few days he shall be destroyed, neither in anger nor in battle."

Dan. xi. 20. The contemporaries of Seleucus might justly have denominated him "the collector of taxes."

To him Simon introduced himself, assured of procuring his favour, by intimating to him that the temple at Jerusalem, of which he was governor, contained immense treasure, of which the king might easily obtain possession. To this monarch no information could be more acceptable, and he quickly availed himself of it. This part of his conduct, so deeply interesting to the Jews, is plainly detailed, with all the accompanying circumstances, in the Second Book of Maccabees.

"Now when the holy city was inhabited with all peace, and the laws were kept very well, because of the godliness of Onias the high-priest, and his hatred of wickedness, it came to pass that even the kings themselves did honour the place, and magnify the temple with their best gifts; insomuch that Seleucus, king of Asia, of his own revenues, bare all the costs belonging to the service of the sacrifices. But one Simon, of the tribe of Benjamin, who was made governor of the temple, fell out with the high-priest about disorder in the city. And when he could not overcome Onias, he gat him to Apollonius the son of Thraseas, who then was governor of Cælo-Syria and Phenice, and told him that the treasury in Jerusalem was full of infinite sums of money, so that the multitude of their riches, which did not pertain to the account of the sacrifices, was innumerable, and that it was possible to bring all into the king's hand. Now, when Apollonius came to the king, and had showed him of the money whereof he was told, the king chose out Heliodorus his treasurer, and sent him with a commandment to bring him the foresaid money. So forthwith Heliodorus took his journey, under a colour of visiting the cities of Cælo-Syria and Phenice, but indeed to fulfil the king's purpose. And when he was come to Jerusalem, and had been courteously received of the high-priest of the city, he told him what intelligence was given of the money, and declared wherefore he came, and asked if these things were so indeed. Then the high-priest told him that there was such money laid up for the relief of widows and fatherless children, and that some of it belonged to Hircanus, son of Tobias, a man of great dignity, and not as that wicked Simon had misinformed; the sum whereof in all was four hundred talents of silver, and two hundred of gold; and that it was altogether impossible that such wrongs should be done unto them, that had committed it to the holiness of the place, and to the ma-

jesty and inviolable sanctity of the temple, honoured over all the world. But Heliodorus, because of the king's commandment given him, said, that in any wise it must be brought into the king's treasury. So at the day which he appointed he entered in to order this matter: wherefore there was no small agony throughout the whole city. But the priests, prostrating themselves before the altar in their priests' vestments, called unto heaven upon him that made a law concerning things given to be kept, that they should safely be preserved for such as had committed them to be kept. Then whoso had looked the high-priest in the face, it would have wounded his heart: for his countenance, and the changing of his colour, declared the inward agony of his mind; for the man was so compassed with fear and horror of the body, that it was manifest to them that looked upon him what sorrow he had now in his heart. Others ran flocking out of their houses to the general supplication, because the place was like to come into contempt. And the women, girt with sackcloth under their breasts, abounded in the streets; and the virgins that were kept in ran, some to the gates, and some to the walls, and others looked out of the windows. And all, holding their hands toward heaven, made supplication. Then it would have pitied a man to see the falling down of the multitude of all sorts, and the fear of the high-priest, being in such an agony. They then called upon the Almighty Lord to keep the things committed of trust safe and sure for those that had committed them. Nevertheless Heliodorus executed that which was decreed. Now, as he was there present himself with his guard about the treasury, the Lord of spirits, and the Prince of all power, caused a great apparition, so that all that presumed to come in with him were astonished at the power of God, and fainted, and were sore afraid. For there appeared unto them an horse with a terrible rider upon him, and adorned with a very fair covering, and he ran fiercely, and smote at Heliodorus with his forefeet, and it seemed that he sat upon the horse had complete harness of gold. Moreover, two other young men appeared before him, notable in strength, excellent in beauty, and comely in apparel, who stood by him on either side, and scourged him continually, and gave him many sore stripes. And Heliodorus fell suddenly unto the ground, and was compassed with great darkness: but they that were with him took him up, and put him into a litter. Thus, him that lately came with a great train, and with all his guard, into the said treasury, they carried out, being unable

to help himself with his weapons: and manifestly they acknowledged the power of God: for he by the hand of God was cast down, and lay speechless without all hope of life. But they praised the Lord, that had miraculously honoured his own place: for the temple, which a little afore was full of fear and trouble, when the Almighty Lord appeared, was filled with joy and gladness. Then straightway certain of Heliodorus' friends prayed Onias, that he would call upon the Most High to grant him his life who lay ready to give up the ghost. So the high-priest, suspecting lest the king should misconceive that some treachery had been done to Heliodorus by the Jews, offered a sacrifice for the health of the men. Now, as the high-priest was making an atonement, the same young men, in the same clothing, appeared, and stood beside Peliodorus, saying, Give Onias the high-priest great thanks, insomuch as for his sake the Lord hath granted thee life: and seeing that thou hast been scourged from heaven, declare unto all men the mighty power of God. And when they had spoken these words, they appeared no more. So Heliodorus, after he had offered sacrifice unto the Lord, and made great vows unto him that had saved his life, and saluted Onias, returned with his host to the king. Then testified he to all men the works of the great God, which he had seen with his eyes. And when the king asked Heliodorus, who might be a fit man to be set yet once again to Jerusalem, he said, if thou hast any enemy or traitor, send him thither, and thou shalt receive him well scourged, if he escape with his life: for in that place, no doubt, there is an especial power of God. For he that dwelleth in heaven hath his eye on that place, and defendeth it; and he beateth and destroyeth them that come to hurt it. And the things concerning Heliodorus, and the keeping of the treasury, fell out on this sort. This Simon now, of whom we spake afore, having been a bewrayer of the money, and of his country, slandered Onias, as if he had terrified Heliodorus, and been the worker of these evils. Thus was he bold to call him a traitor that had deserved well of the city, and tendered his own nation, and was so zealous of the laws. But when their hatred went so far, that by one of Simon's faction, murders were committed, Onias, seeing the danger of this contention, and that Apollonius, as being the governor of Celo-Syria and Phenice, did rage, and increase Simon's malice, he went to the king, not to be an accuser of his countrymen, but seeking the good of all, both public and private: for he saw

that it was impossible that the state should continue quiet, and Simon leave his folly, unless the king did look thereunto."

This section indicates, that whatever was the general religious and moral character of the Jewish nation, at this time, the number of unbelieving and profane persons was not small. And the next section discloses still more clearly this melancholy truth; for from it we learn that the highest ecclesiastical office was bought and sold, and the contentions of those who aspired to it were fierce and sanguinary, and occasioned civil anarchy. If we, therefore, believe that the Jews remained under this peculiar constitution, very properly called a Theocracy, this was a season in which, according to the usual providences of Jehovah with their fathers, the righteous might expect supernatural interposition to sustain their faith, and hope, and love; and dread the infliction of signal punishment on the ungodly, and great calamity in the whole nation. And such were the most prominent features of this age of the Jews. The trials and miracles may be related by what are called the "Apocryphal writers," in hyperbolical, or in other respects, exceptionable language; but that they actually happened, no candid man can question, unless he is sceptical respecting all facts recorded by profane historians. For those to whom we are indebted for the knowledge of the events which relate to the Jews, describe also not a few in relation to other nations; and their account of them is fully confirmed by other writers, whose testimony is universally believed. That these writers should be silent on many of the subjects which concerned the Jews is not surprising, because they regarded with indifference the interests of that peculiar race.

Seleucus very soon became the victim of that minister's ambition, whom he had employed to execute his most unjust and oppressive designs against the Jews. His brother, Antiochus, was a hostage in Rome. Being most desirous to see him, he sent his son Demetrius to occupy his place. During the absence of the heirs to the throne, Heliodorus poisoned the king, and seized the sceptre of Syria. Thus, in the eleventh year of his reign, called by Daniel "few days," as it was comparatively a short reign, Seleucus died, "neither in anger nor in battle," but by the basest treachery of his confidential minister. His son, Antiochus Epiphanes, by the aid of Eumenes, king of Pergamus, expelled Heliodorus, and ascended to the throne of his ancestors. He was not the legitimate heir while Demetrius, his brother's son, was alive. But



he succeeded in supplanting him by his influence over Eumenes, most probably by flattery and deceit, as predicted by Daniel, xi. 21. Perhaps he equalled his grandfather, Antiochus the Great, in talent ; but he was utterly destitute of his excellencies ; and indeed he owed the apparent splendour of his reign much more to the habitual practice of deceit and falsehood than to wisdom or bravery. He assumed the appellation *Epiphanes*, the Illustrious ; but no prince more justly merited the epithet "vile," by which he is characterised in the Sacred Oracles. And no prince has ever discovered more destitution of moral principle, honourable feeling, and propriety of conduct. Habituated in his youth to the customs of the Romans, he seems to have derived his happiness from imitating the lower arts of a demagogue, and the contemptible manners of a buffoon ; the very dregs of society, with whom he sometimes mixed, despised him. Perhaps nothing is more surprising in his life, than that he should have been permitted to disgrace the Syrian throne eleven years. He commenced his reign about B. C. 175 ; and exhausted all his resources, chiefly with the view of conquering Egypt, and extirpating the Jewish people ; in both of which objects he signally failed. The times were singularly favourable to his schemes in relation to Egypt. The Romans, who had assumed the office of guardians of that kingdom during the minority of its prince, Ptolemy Philometer, were fully engaged at home in opposing the machinations of some of the ablest citizens, who seemed resolved to revolutionise the republic, and to establish the lowest form of democracy ; and all the forces which the nation could command were required to maintain and extend their power over Greece and Macedon. With their approbation, the regency of Egypt had been entrusted to Cleopatra, the mother of the young king. She was the sister of Antiochus Epiphanes, and had sufficient influence over him and her own court to preserve, during her life, an apparent harmony between the two kingdoms. At her death, B. C. 173, Lanacus, a distinguished noble, was chosen regent, and Eulæus, a eunuch, was charged with the education of the king. These stimulated the court to send an Embassy to Antiochus, to demand the restoration of Cælo-Syria, Judea, Phenicia, which legitimately belonged to the dynasty of Ptolemy ; and which, though conquered by Antiochus the Great, yet had been resigned by him as the dowry of Cleopatra, the wife of Ptolemy Epiphanes.

These claims he disregarded ; and having learned that the

court of Egypt was preparing an army to enforce them, he determined to invade that kingdom. That he might secure the peace of his dominions, in his absence, he visited these provinces, whose inhabitants were favouring or suspected to be favourable to the views of Egypt. This feeling chiefly prevailed in Judea; and it was probably to prevent the revolt of the Jews that he had deposed the faithful high-priest Onias, and accepted from Jason his brother a large sum for liberty to take his place; for he was an apostate from the true religion, and willing to adopt any measures calculated to advance his temporal interest. The king's confidence in him was confirmed by the magnificent reception which he met with when he entered Jerusalem, for the multitude neglected no means which they could command to express their loyalty, and grateful sense of the honour conferred on them by his condescension to visit their city. He was not less diligent to propitiate the favour of the Romans than his own subjects. To them he sent an embassy with the usual tribute, and a present to the people of several golden vases, as a token of the strong feeling of gratitude, which he felt for the many favours conferred on him by the senate and the citizens while he sojourned at Rome. By thus assuming the character of a prince who solicitously desired the welfare of his subjects, and highly valued the friendship of his allies, he persuaded himself that he might, without apprehension of internal commotions, execute his scheme of conquest. And, indeed, for some time, his proceedings were successful. The Egyptian army met him on the frontiers of their country, but were defeated. But he made no other use of his victory at this time than to place his frontiers on the south in such a state of defence as would check the utmost efforts of Egypt to recover the provinces, to which they laid claim.

The following year he invaded that kingdom by sea and land, and completely overthrew the forces which opposed him. The dissimulation which uniformly marked his conduct was on this occasion remarkably displayed. He had it in his power to have killed or taken captive every individual of the army; but the more effectually to ruin his nephew, the young king, instead of making use of the advantage he had gained, he himself rode up and down on all sides, and obliged his soldiers to discontinue the slaughter. This clemency gained him the hearts of the Egyptians; and when he advanced into the country, all the inhabitants came in crowds to pay their submission to him; so that he soon took Mem-

phis and all the rest of Egypt, except Alexandria, which alone held out against him. Philometer was either taken, or else surrendered himself to Antiochus, who set him at full liberty. After this, they had but one table; lived, seemingly, in great friendship; and, for some time, Antiochus affected to be extremely careful of the interest of the young king his nephew, and to regulate his affairs as his guardian. But, when he had once possessed himself of the country, under that pretext, he seized whatever he thought fit, plundered all places, and enriched himself, as well as his soldiers, with the spoils of the Egyptians.

The Alexandrians no sooner learned that Philometer had consented that Antiochus should govern Egypt as he pleased, than they declared the throne vacant, and proclaimed the younger brother king, under the title of Ptolemy Euergetes II., whom history usually calls Ptolemy Physcon, or tunbellied, for he became a glutton and exceedingly corpulent. This transaction Antiochus deemed sufficient to justify his third invasion of Egypt, "under the specious pretence of restoring the dethroned monarch; but, in reality, to make himself absolute master of the kingdom." His fleet obtained a victory over that of the Alexandrian, near Pelusium; and he led his army unopposed to Alexandria, in order to besiege it. The ministers of the recently elected king, feeling their inability to preserve the city, proposed terms of peace, but these Antiochus rejected, till ambassadors from Rome arrived; and even their interference would have been fruitless, had he not found the capture of the city a more difficult task than he had imagined. But though he liberated Philometer, and resigned to him his kingdom, he retained Pelusium, its key on the north, by which means he could instantly enter Egypt, when circumstances were more auspicious.

The character of Philometer appeared transformed on his restoration to his throne. Adversity had awakened his dormant capacities. Eulæus, the eunuch entrusted with his education, had, in order that he might retain the supreme power of the nation, studiously kept him in profound ignorance of every subject of importance, and he had cherished in him his natural indolence and acquired taste of luxury and pleasure, that he might remain totally disqualified for business. In the prospect of the battle, on which the destiny of his kingdom seemed suspended, he carefully shunned every place of danger; and afterwards submitted in the

most abject manner, to the will of the victor. When, however, he was restored to liberty, he speedily displayed the wisdom and energy, which are the ornaments of royalty. He clearly perceived the ambitious design of Antiochus, indicated by his keeping possession of Pelusium, and he resolved to frustrate them. In order to this, by the mediation of his sister, he prevailed on his brother to agree to rule the kingdom conjointly; and to apply to the Greeks and Romans for assistance to defend Egypt against the power of Syria. In the meantime, Antiochus, the instant that he heard of the reconciliation of the brothers determined to employ his whole force against them. The consummate hypocrite discovered that his varied and numerous arts of deception had failed to conceal his ambition—the guise of affection for his eldest nephew, and extreme concern for the happiness of Egypt, was visible to all—he therefore cast it aside as a useless robe, and proclaimed himself the implacable enemy of the young princes and their subjects. He ordered his fleet to proceed to Cyprus, to protect that fine island, which he had wrested from Egypt; and led a mighty army into the centre of that kingdom. He subjugated all the regions on the line of his march to Memphis, and in that city he received the submission of almost all other parts of Egypt; and he had only to obtain possession of Alexandria to become absolute master of the whole country. He hastened to besiege that great city; but when his army had reached within a mile of it, his progress was arrested by ambassadors from Rome. Probably he would have been slightly moved by their presence, had he not been just informed of the triumph of the Romans in Macedon. This news utterly prostrated all his hopes; for he was fully convinced that henceforth no power remained to prevent the Romans from the attainment of the summit of their wishes—the unlimited sovereignty of the Grecian empire. That he might, if possible, avert their vengeance, he quickly followed the impulse of his nature, and assumed the form of the serpent. One of the ambassadors, Popilius, was an old friend. Apparently transported with joy at his presence, he opened his arms to embrace him. The proud Roman drew back, and inquired, “whether he approached as an enemy or a friend of Rome. He then gave him the decree of the senate; bade him read it over, and return him an immediate answer. Antiochus, after perusing it, said that he would examine the contents of it with his friends, and give his answer in a short time. Popilius, enraged at the

king for talking of delays, drew, with the wand he held in his hand, a circle round Antiochus, and then raising his voice, 'Answer,' says he, 'the senate before you stir out of that circle.' The king quite confounded at so haughty an order, after a moment's reflection, replied, that he would act according to the desire of the senate. Popilius then received his civilities; and behaved after in all respects as an old friend. How effectual was this blunt loftiness of sentiment and expression! The Roman, with a few words strikes terror into the king of Syria, and saves the king of Egypt." The baseness of mind and dissimulation of manner which characterised Antiochus Epiphanes were still more conspicuous in the message which he commissioned his ambassadors to Rome to announce to the Senate; "that the peace which the senate had been pleased to grant their sovereign appeared to him more glorious than the most splendid conquests; and that he had obeyed the commands of the Roman ambassadors as strictly as if they had been sent from the gods." The senate replied, "That Antiochus acted wisely in paying obedience to the ambassadors; and that the senate and people of Rome were *pleased* with him for it." At the stipulated time Antiochus withdrew with his forces from Egypt.

## CHAPTER XVII.

### THE REIGN OF ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES, CONTINUED

THE hungry and enraged lion, which mighty hunters have driven from his prey, pounces on the first feeble animal that meets him in his flight. Thus Antiochus, exasperated to find one of the richest and most splendid crowns of the world suddenly torn from him, on arriving in Judea, sought to satiate his thirst for blood by devouring the Jewish people. That these were under the special care of Jehovah, as their supreme King, had been often and plainly proclaimed by Moses and the prophets, and had been repeatedly demonstrated by his miraculous interpositions on their behalf. The avowed object, however, of the Divine care of Israel, it must not be forgotten, was not only their safety, but also their discipline, to form them suitable instruments through whom the supremacy and infinite perfections of Deity might be manifested to all nations. Accordingly, they were seen, in every age, signally blessed with rest, prosperity, and honour, when, as a community, they were faithful and obedient to their Divine Sovereign; and not less wonderfully punished with anarchy, degradation, and disgrace, when they contemned his authority, renounced his government, and neglected his institutes. Jehovah governed them according to justice. This principle of his administration was strikingly illustrated and established in the history of the Jews during the age of Antiochus Epiphanes. To the Grecian princes in Syria, and still more to those in Egypt, they were indebted for many and great favours; and how sensible they were of them they proved by untainted loyalty, humble submission, and meek and patient endurance of many unprovoked evils, inflicted on them by some of the governors of the adjacent provinces. The intelligence, fidelity, bravery, and temperance of those Jews who served in the armies of those conquerors, raised their nation

high in the estimation of the Greeks, especially, it would seem, of the Lacedemonians, who, notwithstanding of their excessive national pride, were, if we credit Josephus, extremely desirous of claiming kindred with them. For the historian presents us with a copy of an epistle addressed by Areus, king of Macedon, to one of the high-priests, named Onias; it runs thus: "We have met with a certain writing, whereby we have discovered that both the Jews and the Lacedemonians are of one stock, and are derived from the kindred of Abraham. It is but just, therefore, that you, who are our brethren, should send to us about any of your concerns as you please. We will also do the same thing, and esteem your concerns as our own; and will look upon our concerns as in common with yours. Demoteles, who brings you this letter, will bring your answer back to us. The letter is four-square; and the seal is an eagle, with a dragon in his claws."

Though the friendly intercourse, long cherished between the Jews and the Greeks, was doubtless in many respects advantageous to both, its results were ultimately most disastrous to the former. Perversion of heart, in relation to God and his most holy, just, and good law, prevailed among them, in every successive generation; and a greater or lesser number were always easily seduced from truth, justice and purity, by the aliens with whom they associated. This apostacy assumed the form of idolatry, which fearful plague was the chief agent employed by Satan to destroy the human race. The vitality of this loathsome body had, as we have seen, lost its vigour, and was gradually, although slowly wasting away, from about the time of the restoration of the Jews from Babylon, and the appearance of a common-sense philosophy in Greece. But Satan, fertile in devices to work wickedness, soon called into life an agency scarcely less powerful, by its subtlety, and sophistry, and fascination, to pervert the mind and deprave the heart, although destitute of the dazzling and confounding influence of idolatry. This agency consisted principally in the speculative philosophy of the Greeks, which amused the reflective part of the community, and the vast apparatus which rulers had constructed to supply pleasure to the volatile, inconsiderate, and sensual multitude of the young and old, the rich and poor, the proud citizen and abject slave. These powers captivated not a few of the Jews. Pride of intellect induced a few to admire and cultivate the wisdom of the Greeks. These fell victims to infidelity. The shows and games of Greece pleased a more numerous class; and both

treated with scorn the sacred laws, and simple and innocent habits, manners, and customs of their own people. The ardent wish of their heart was, "no God." The fear of their fathers was not before their eyes. By the vain reasoning of the wise, and the levity and madness of the foolish, moral disease and death were widely spread among the community. Had not this been the melancholy state of the Jews in the reign of the high-priest Onias III. it appears unaccountable that this upright and holy priest should have been supplanted by Jason, without producing great commotion in Jerusalem.

Jesus, who assumed the Greek name Jason, to express his predilection for the Grecian manners, or to please the party of the Jews who zealously imitated the Greeks, was a brother of Onias, but a complete apostate from the true religion, and prepared to adopt any form of worship prescribed by Antiochus—a prince who may be ranked first among the many whose lives exhibit brutal sensuality and barbarity, combined with enthusiastic zeal for idolatry and superstition. Jason aspired to the highest ecclesiastic office, doubtless because of the political power, and opportunity to acquire riches which were attached to it, in his nation. The high-priest was also the civil governor,—a privilege which, we have formerly observed, was generally granted the Jews as a token of special favour by their conquerors. This officer, it seems, was also authorised to confer on any Jew the right of a citizen of Antioch, the celebrated metropolis of the Syrian kingdom; and the granting of this right procured him many friends. The actions of Jason, during the brief period which he held the high-priest's office, were strongly marked with the highest degree of profaneness and profligacy. To convey an idea of his infidelity, no language, we conceive, would be more appropriate than that used by the author of the Second Book of the Maccabees, who thus writes: "After the death of Seleucus, when Antiochus, called Epiphanes, took the kingdom, Jason, the brother of Onias, laboured under-hand to be high-priest, promising unto the king, by intercession, three hundred and threescore talents of silver, and of another revenue eighty talents: besides this, he promised to assign an hundred and fifty more, if he might have licence to set him up a place for exercise, and for the training up of youth in the fashions of the heathen, and to write them of Jerusalem by the name of Antiochians. Which when the king had granted, and he had gotten into his hand the rule, he forthwith brought his own nation to the Greekish fashion. And the royal privileges



granted of special favour to the Jews by the means of John the rather of Eupolemus, who went ambassador to Rome for amity and aid, he took away; and putting down the governments which were according to the law, he brought up new customs against the law: for he built gladly a place of exercise under the tower itself, and brought the chief young men under his subjection, and made them wear a hat. Now such was the height of Greek fashions, and increase of heathenish manners, through the exceeding profaneness of Jason, that ungodly wretch, and no high-priest, that the priests had no courage to serve any more at the altar; but despising the temple, and neglecting the sacrifices, hastened to be partakers of the unlawful allowance in the place of exercise, after the game of discus called them forth; not setting by the honours of their fathers, but liking the glory of the Grecians best of all. By reason whereof sore calamity came upon them: for they had them to be their enemies and avengers, whose custom they followed so earnestly, and unto whom they desired to be like in all things. For it is not a light thing to do wickedly against the laws of God: but the time following shall declare these things. Now, when the game that was used every fifth year was kept at Tyrus, the king being present, this ungenerous Jason sent special messengers from Jerusalem, who were Antiochians, to carry three hundred drachms of silver to the sacrifice of Hercules, which even the bearers thereof thought fit not to bestow upon the sacrifice, because it was not convenient, but to be reserved for other charges. This money then, in regard of the sender, was appointed to Hercules' sacrifice; but because of the bearers thereof, it was employed to the making of galleys." Jason was rewarded according to his works; his own transgression was recalled by his fall. Josephus says that Menelaus, who treacherously procured his deposition, and obtained his dignity, was his own brother, whose proper name was Onias, but exchanged by him for a Greek name. But the writer of the Maccabees says that he was the son of Simon the Benjamite, the wicked governor of the temple, whom he had occasion to mention in a former page. And if so, it more than accounts for the indignation of the Jews at his instalment; for what presumptuous wickedness was his, to assume an office exclusively limited by Jehovah to the family of Aaron? The man, however, who could violate the temple, and shed the blood of the only legitimate high-priest of Jehovah, as he did, was not likely to be moved from his purpose, or frustrated in his plans, b

scruples of conscience on any Divine subject. Sent by Jason to Antioch to deliver the first annual tribute due, he thus proceeded: "Being brought into the presence of the king, when he had magnified him for the glorious appearance of his power, got the priesthood to himself, offering more than Jason by three hundred talents of silver. So he came with the king's mandate, bringing nothing worthy the high priesthood, but having the fury of a cruel tyrant, and the rage of a savage beast. Then Jason, who had undermined his own brother, being undermined by another, was compelled to flee into the country of the Ammonites. So Menelaus got the principality: but as for the money that he promised unto the king, he took no good order for it, albeit Sostratus the ruler of the castle required it: for unto him appertained the gathering of the customs. Wherefore they were both called before the king. Now Menelaus left his brother Lysimachus in his stead in the priesthood; and Sostratus left Crates, who was governor of the Cyprians. While those things were in doing, they of Tarsus and Mallos made insurrection, because they were given to the king's concubine, called Antiochis. Then came the king in all haste to appease matters, leaving Andronicus, a man in authority, for the deputy. Now Menelaus, supposing that he had gotten a convenient time, stole certain vessels of gold out of the temple, and gave some of them to Andronicus, and some he sold into Tyrus, and the cities round about. Which when Onias knew of a surety, he reproved him, and withdrew himself into a sanctuary at Daphne, that lieth by Antiochia. Wherefore Menelaus, taking Andronicus apart, prayed him to get Onias into his hands; who being persuaded thereunto, and coming to Onias in deceit, gave him his right hand with oaths; and though he was suspected by him, yet persuaded he him to come forth of the sanctuary: whom forthwith he shut up without regard of justice. For the which cause not only the Jews, but many also of other nations, took great indignation, and were much grieved for the unjust murder of the man. And when the king was come again from the places about Cilicia, the Jews that were in the city, and certain of the Greeks that abhorred the fact also, complained because Onias was slain without cause. Therefore Antiochus was heartily sorry, and moved to pity, and wept, because of the sober and modest behaviour of him that was dead. And being kindled with anger, forthwith he took away Andronicus' purple, and rent off his clothes, and leading him through the whole city unto that very

place where he had committed impiety against Onias, there slew he the cursed murderer. Thus the Lord rewarded him his punishment, as he deserved.

Now, when many sacrileges had been committed in the city by Lysimachus with the consent of Menelaus, and the bruit thereof was spread abroad, the multitude gathered themselves together against Lysimachus, many vessels of gold being already carried away. Whereupon the common people rising, and being filled with rage, Lysimachus armed about three thousand men, and began first to offer violence; one Auranus being the leader, a man far gone in years, and no less in folly. They then seeing the attempt of Lysimachus, some of them caught stones, some clubs, others taking handfuls of dust, that was next in hand, cast them altogether upon Lysimachus, and those that set upon them. Thus many of them they wounded, and some they struck to the ground, and all of them they forced to flee: but as for the church-robber himself, him they killed beside the treasury. Of these matters therefore there was an accusation laid against Menelaus. Now, when the king came to Tyrus, three men that were sent from the senate pleaded the cause before him: But Menelaus, being now convicted, promised Ptolemee, the son of Dorymenes, to give him much money, if he would pacify the king toward him. Whereupon Ptolemee, taking the king aside into a certain gallery, as it were to take the air, brought him to be of another mind: insomuch that he discharged Menelaus from the accusations, who, notwithstanding, was the cause of all the mischief: and those poor men, who, if they had told their cause, yea, before the Scythians, should have been judged innocent, them he condemned to death. Thus they that followed the matter for the city and for the people, and for the holy vessels, did soon suffer unjust punishment. Wherefore even they of Tyrus, moved with hatred of that wicked deed, caused them to be honourably buried. And so, through the covetousness of them that were of power, Menelaus remained still in authority, increasing in malice, and being a great traitor to the citizens."

This unvarnished narrative attests that many Jews, of all ranks, had fearfully declined from the true religion, and that not a few of the priests were complete apostates. Similar is the testimony of the author of the First Book of Maccabees, whose authority stands higher than that of the writer of the Second Book. Thus, speaking of the times of Antiochus Epiphanes, he remarks, that certain "wicked men of Israel

persuaded many, saying, let us go and make a covenant with the heathen that are round about us; for since we departed from them we have had much sorrow. So this device pleased them well. Then certain of the people were so forward herein, that they went to the king, who gave them licence to do after the ordinances of the heathen: whereupon they built a place of exercise at Jerusalem, according to the customs of the heathen: and made themselves uncircumcised, and forsook the holy covenant, and joined themselves to the heathen, and were sold to do mischief."

As the Israelites were uniformly prosperous in those seasons that the community believed God and his prophets, so they were brought into deep adversity every time that they allied themselves to the heathen, and conformed to their conduct, manners, and customs. Their standard of morals was always higher than that of any other nation; and we have no reason to believe that, as a nation, they ever equalled their neighbours in the degeneracy of their conduct, and the impurity of their superstitions. Nevertheless, while Jehovah endured with much long-suffering the heathen, he never failed to punish his chosen people. He had peculiarly favoured and honoured them; and, consequently, their degeneracy was, in the same proportion, criminal and inexcusable; and the claims of justice demanded that they should be signally punished. And of this they had been often solemnly warned. The principle of the Divine administration, in relation to Israel, Jehovah thus states: "You only have I known of all the earth, therefore will I punish you for your iniquities." It is therefore manifest, that when the Jews conformed either to the infidel or idolatrous Greeks, Jehovah, their Supreme Sovereign, would speedily and publicly vindicate the holiness of his laws and the rectitude of his government, by inflicting on them such punishment as would fix on them the eyes of all nations. The sufferings of the Jews were designed to correct and restore, and not to consume and utterly destroy them. In this light they are represented in the Sacred Scriptures; and one is pleased to find the dreadful persecutions of the Jews, by Antiochus, contemplated in the same light by the author of the Second Book of the Maccabees: "Now, I beseech those that read this book, that they be not discouraged for these calamities, but that they judge those punishments not to be for destruction, but for a chastening of our nation. For it is a token of his great goodness, when wicked doers are not suffered any long time, but forthwith punished. For not as with

other nations, whom the Lord patiently forbearcth to punish, till they be come to the fulness of their sins, so dealeth he with us; lest that being come to the height of sin, afterwards he should take vengeance of us. And therefore he never withdraweth his mercy from us: and though he punish with adversity, yet doth he never forsake his people. But let this we have spoken be for a warning unto us."

Though we have little evidence that God continued, after the redemption of Israel from Babylon, to rise early, and instruct, reprove, and admonish them, by inspired men, yet we have seen traces of supernatural means adapted to the same end, after that period. And if we credit the writer whose words we have just quoted, marvellous signs in the heavens exceedingly alarmed the Jews, a short period preceding the frightful calamities that fell on them. "About the same time Antiochus prepared his second voyage into Egypt: and then it happened, that through all the city, for the space almost of forty days, there were seen horsemen running in the air, in cloth of gold, and armed with lances, like a band of soldiers, and troops of horsemen in array, encountering and running one against another, with shaking of shields, and multitude of pikes, and drawing of swords, and casting of darts, and glittering of golden ornaments, and harness of all sorts. Wherefore every man prayed that that apparition might turn to good."

The history of the Jews of this age affords ample evidence that many of them remained unfeigned and faithful worshippers of the God of their fathers. These must have been intensely grieved by the conduct of Antiochus, especially by his daring impiety in disposing of the sacred office of the high-priest. And of their disaffection he could not be ignorant, and it would naturally incline him to suspect the loyalty of the whole nation; for men truly religious, however much disliked or even hated, are always dreaded by the wicked, on account of the influence which they are always known to have over all who are not completely depraved. Hence he readily believed the false report that the Jews had been transported with joy when the vague rumour reached them of his having been killed in Egypt. He had never loved them; and from this time he became their undisguised and unrelenting enemy. His determination to make them feel his vengeance was strengthened by the fact that they had declined to maintain in his office Menelaus, whom he had made high-priest.

During the king's second invasion of Egypt, Jason had suddenly assaulted Jerusalem and compelled Menelaus to retire into the citadel. The thousand who accompanied him, joined by his partizans in the city, slaughtered all who opposed them. His triumph, however, was short, for he fled as soon as he learned that Antiochus was on his way from Egypt. Concluding from the exaggerated report of this insurrection, that the Jews had cast off his yoke, the revengeful king advanced to Jerusalem ; and, after meeting some resistance, captured the city, probably by the treachery of the party of Menelaus, who, we know, continued to possess his favour. On entering it, "he commanded his soldiers not to spare such as they met, and to slay such as went up upon the houses. Thus there was killing of young and old, making away of men, women, and children, slaying of virgins and infants. And there were destroyed, within the space of three whole days, fourscore thousand, whereof forty thousand were slain in the conflict ; and no fewer sold than slain. Yet was he not content with this, but presumed to go into the most holy temple of all the world, Menelaus, that traitor to the laws, and to his own country, being his guide : and taking the holy vessels with polluted hands, and with profane hands pulling down the things that were dedicated by other kings to the augmentation, and glory, and honour of the place, he gave them away. And so haughty was Antiochus in mind, that he considered not that the Lord was angry for a while for the sins of them that dwelt in the city, and therefore his eye was not upon the place. For had they not been formerly wrapt in many sins, this man, as soon as he had come, had forthwith been scourged, and put back from his presumption, as Heliodorus was, whom Seleucus the king sent to view the treasury. Nevertheless, God did not choose the people for the place's sake, but the place for the people's sake. And therefore the place itself, that was partaker with them of the adversity that happened to the nation, did afterward communicate in the benefits sent from the Lord : and as it was forsaken in the wrath of the Almighty, so again, the great Lord being reconciled, it was set up with all glory. So when Antiochus had carried out of the temple a thousand and eight hundred talents, he departed in all haste unto Antiochia, weening in his pride to make the land navigable, and the sea passable by foot ; such was the haughtiness of his mind. And he left governors to vex the nation : at Jerusalem, Philip, for his country a Phrygian, and for manners more barbarous than he that

set him there; and at Garizim, Andronicus; and besides, Menelaus, who, worse than all the rest, bare an heavy hand over the citizens, having a malicious mind against his countrymen, the Jews. He sent also that detestable ringleader, Apollonius, with an army of two-and-twenty thousand, commanding him to slay all those that were in their best age, and to sell the women and the younger sort: who coming to Jerusalem, and pretending peace, did forbear till the holiday of the Sabbath, when, taking the Jews keeping holiday, he commanded his men to arm themselves: and so he slew all them that were gone to the celebrating of the sabbath, and running through the city with weapons, slew great multitudes. But Judas Maccabeus, with nine others, or thereabout, withdrew himself into the wilderness, and lived in the mountains after the manner of beasts, with his company, who fed on herbs continually, lest they should be partakers of the pollution." "Therefore there was great mourning in Israel, in every place where they were; so that the princes and elders mourned, the virgins and young men were made feeble, and the beauty of women was changed. Every bridegroom took up lamentation, and she that sat in the marriage-chamber was in heaviness. The land also was moved for the inhabitants thereof, and all the house of Jacob was covered with confusion." Tremendous as were these calamities, they were to the Jewish people only the beginning of sorrows.

Their reverence for the sacred institutions of their country was invigorated by sufferings; and Antiochus doubtless perceived that there was no probability of conquering their antipathy to his pagan ceremonies and licentious customs. Hence he resolved to exterminate the Jewish nation. But his unjust and ambitious schemes respecting Egypt fully occupied his care for two years. His final expulsion from that kingdom we have seen. He had obtained almost all his wishes; and scarcely anything remained but to place the Egyptian crown on his hateful head, when all his visions of glory vanished at the terrific voice of the Roman beast. From this hour he seemed to live only to accomplish the entire destruction of the chosen people. On his journeying from Egypt to Antioch, he commissioned Apollonius, a man according to his own demoniacal heart, to proceed to Jerusalem, under pretence of collecting tribute; but, in reality, to commence the work of destruction, on which his heart was fixed. The first scene of this awful tragedy of the Jewish nation will, perhaps, be best exhibited in the simple language of their historian: "After two years

fully expired, the king sent his chief collector of tribute unto the cities of Judea, who came unto Jerusalem with a great multitude, and spake peaceable words unto them, but all was deceit; for when they had given him credence, he fell suddenly upon the city, and smote it very sore, and destroyed much people of Israel. And when he had taken the spoils of the city, he set it on fire, and pulled down the houses and walls thereof on every side. But the women and children took they captive, and possessed the cattle. Then builded they the city of David with a great and strong wall, and with mighty towers, and made it a strong hold for them. And they put therein a sinful nation, wicked men, and fortified themselves therein. They stored it also with armour and victuals: and when they had gathered together the spoils of Jerusalem, they laid them up there, and so they became a sore snare. For it was a place to lie in wait against the sanctuary, and an evil adversary to Israel. Thus they shed innocent blood on every side of the sanctuary, and defiled it; insomuch that the inhabitants of Jerusalem fled because of them: whereupon the city was made an habitation of strangers, and became strange to those that were born in her; and her own children left her. Her sanctuary was laid waste like a wilderness, her feasts were turned into mourning, her sabbaths into reproach, her honour into contempt. As had been her glory, so was her dishonour increased, and her excellency was turned into mourning."

Having thus desolated the city, and erected a fortress which completely commanded it, Apollonius turned his attention to his duties as governor of the district of Samaria. And among its inhabitants he witnessed all that he or his wicked sovereign could desire; for they, with one voice, disclaimed all connexion with the Jews. This was their usual procedure, in all seasons, in which the chosen people were persecuted by idolatrous princes. But, on this occasion, they not only declared that their ancestors were idolaters, and that they had conformed to some of the religious ceremonies of the Jews merely from false apprehensions excited by temporary afflictions or superstitions and unfounded terrors; but also earnestly requested the king to order their temple to be consecrated to the worship of idols, and to be called the "Temple of Jupiter Hellenis."

This zeal to renounce the True God, doubtless encouraged Antiochus in the other persecuting measures which he pursued if it did not suggest them to his proud and malignant



spirit. His arrival in Antioch was rendered memorable by a decree, that every individual in his dominions, who refused to worship the gods adored by the king, should suffer death. That by this he sought the utter extirpation of the Jews, was manifest to all; but his ultimate object was unquestionably to endeavour, if possible, to expel for ever from the world, the semblance of the worship of the One God, the Creator and Judge of the human race. Antiochus diligently adopted appropriate means to enforce his edict. He sent commissioners into all the provinces to make known to the obedient the religious ritual of the court, and to punish the refractory. "Moreover, king Antiochus wrote to his whole kingdom, that all should be one people, and every one should leave his laws: so all the heathen agreed, according to the commandment of the king. Yea, many also of the Israelites consented to his religion, and sacrificed unto idols, and profaned the sabbath. For the king had sent letters by messengers unto Jerusalem, and the cities of Judea, that they should follow the strange laws of the land, and forbid burnt-offerings, and sacrifice, and drink-offerings, in the temple; and that they should profane the sabbaths and festival days, and pollute the sanctuary and holy people; set up altars, and groves, and chapels of idols; and sacrifice swine's flesh, and unclean beasts: that they should also leave their children uncircumcised, and make their souls abominable with all manner of uncleanness and profanation; to the end they might forget the law, and change all the ordinances. And whosoever would not do according to the commandment of the king, he said, he should die. In the self-same manner wrote he to his whole kingdom, and appointed overseers over all the people, commanding the cities of Juda to sacrifice, city by city. Then many of the people were gathered unto them, to wit, every one that forsook the law; and so they committed evils in the land; and drove the Israelites into secret places, even wheresoever they could flee for succour. Now, the fifteenth day of the month Casleu, in the hundred forty and fifth year, they set up the abomination of desolation upon the altar, and builded idol altars throughout the cities of Juda on every side; and burnt incense at the doors of their houses, and in the streets. And when they had rent in pieces the books of the law which they found, they burnt them with fire. And wheresoever was found with any the book of the testament, or if any consented to the law, the king's commandment was, that they should put him to death. Thus did they, by their authority,

unto the Israelites every month, to as many as were found in the cities. Now, the five-and-twentieth day of the month they did sacrifice upon the idol altar, which was upon the altar of God. At which time, according to the commandment, they put to death certain women that had caused their children to be circumcised. And they hanged the infants about their necks, and rifled their houses, and slew them that had circumcised them. Howbeit many in Israel were fully resolved, and confirmed in themselves not to eat any unclean thing. Wherefore they chose rather to die, that they might not be defiled with meats, and that they might not profane the holy covenant: so then they died. And there was very great wrath upon Israel."

The majority of the Jews in Judea appear to have stedfastly resisted the efforts of the first commissioners. And this led to the appointment at a later period, of an aged servant of the king, one perfectly qualified, and zealous, to teach the Grecian form of idolatry. He named the temple of Jerusalem the "temple of Jupiter Olympus," and laid it open to the Gentiles, who assembled in it and practised all the polluting and licentious rites common in Greece. "Neither was it lawful for a man to keep sabbath-days, or ancient feasts, or to profess himself at all to be a Jew. And in the day of the king's birth, every month they were brought by bitter constraint to eat of the sacrifices; and when the feast of Bacchus was kept, the Jews were compelled to go in procession to Bacchus, carrying ivy. Moreover, there went out a decree to the neighbour cities of the heathen, by the suggestion of Ptolemee, against the Jews, that they should observe the same fashions, and be partakers of their sacrifices: and whoso would not conform themselves to the manners of the Gentiles should be put to death. Then might a man have seen the present misery. For there were two women brought, who had circumcised their children; whom, when they had openly led round about the city, the babes hanging at their breasts, they cast them down headlong from the wall. And others, that had run together into caves near by, to keep the sabbath-day secretly, being discovered to Philip, were all burnt together, because they made a conscience to help themselves for the honour of the most sacred day. Eleazar, one of the principal scribes, an aged man, and of a well-favoured countenance, was constrained to open his mouth, and to eat swine's flesh. But he choosing rather to die gloriously, than to live stained with such an abomination, spit it forth, and came of his own

accord to the torment, as it behoved them to come that are resolute to stand out against such things as are not lawful for love of life to be tasted. But they that had the charge of that wicked feast, for the old acquaintance they had with the man, taking him aside, besought him to bring flesh of his own provision, such as was lawful for him to use, and make as if he did eat of the flesh taken from the sacrifice commanded by the king; that in so doing he might be delivered from death, and for the old friendship with them find favour. But he began to consider discreetly, and as became his age, and the excellency of his ancient years, and the honour of his gray head, whereunto he was come, and his most honest education from a child, or rather the holy law made and given by God; therefore he answered accordingly, and willed them straightways to send him to the grave. For it becometh not our age, said he, in any wise to dissemble, whereby many young persons might think that Eleazar, being fourscore years old and ten, were now gone to a strange religion; and so they, through mine hypocrisy, and desire to live a little time, and a moment longer, should be deceived by me, and I get a stain to mine old age, and make it abominable. For though for the present time I should be delivered from the punishment of men, yet should I not escape the hand of the Almighty, neither alive nor dead. Wherefore now, manfully changing this life, I will show myself such an one as mine age requireth, and leave a notable example to such as be young, to die willingly and courageously for the honourable and holy laws. And when he had said these words, immediately he went to the torment: they that led him, changing the good-will they bare him a little before into hatred, because the foresaid speeches proceeded, as they thought, from a desperate mind. But when he was ready to die with stripes, he groaned, and said, It is manifest unto the Lord, that hath the holy knowledge, that whereas I might have been delivered from death, I now endure sore pains in body, by being beaten; but in soul am well content to suffer these things, because I fear him. And thus this man died, leaving his death for an example of a noble courage, and a memorial of virtue, not only unto young men, but unto all his nation.

"It came to pass also, that seven brethren with their mother were taken, and compelled by the king against the law to taste swine's flesh and were tormented with scourges and whips. But one of them that spake first said thus, What wouldest thou ask or learn of us? we are ready to die, rather than to

transgress the laws of our fathers. Then the king, being in a rage, commanded pans and caldrons to be made hot. Which forthwith being heated, he commanded to cut out the tongue of him that spake first, and to cut off the utmost parts of his body, the rest of his brethren and his mother looking on. Now, when he was thus maimed in all his members, he commanded him, being yet alive, to be brought to the fire, and to be fried in the pan: and as the vapour of the pan was for a good space dispersed, they exhorted one another, with the mother, to die manfully, saying thus, the Lord God looketh upon us, and in truth hath comfort in us, as Moses in his song, which witnessed to their faces, declared saying, and he shall be comforted in his servants. So when the first was dead after this manner, they brought the second to make him a mocking-stock; and when they had pulled off the skin of his head with the hair, they asked him, Wilt thou eat, before thou be punished throughout every member of thy body? But he answered in his own language, and said, No. Wherefore he also received the next torment in order, as the former did. And when he was at the last gasp, he said, Thou, like a fury, takest us out of this present life, but the King of the world shall raise us up, who have died for his laws, unto everlasting life. After him was the third made a mocking-stock; and when he was required, he put out his tongue, and that right soon, holding forth his hands manfully, and said courageously, These I had from heaven, and for his laws I despise them; and from him I hope to receive them again. Insomuch, that the king, and they that were with him, marvelled at the young man's courage, for that he nothing regarded the pains. Now, when this man was dead also, they tormented and mangled the fourth in like manner. So, when he was ready to die, he said thus, It is good, being put to death by man, to look for hope from God, to be raised up again by him: as for thee, thou shalt have no resurrection to life. Afterward they brought the fifth also, and mangled him. Then looked he unto the king, and said, Thou hast power over men, thou art corruptible, thou doest what thou wilt; yet think not that our nation is forsaken of God; but abide a while, and behold his great power, how he will torment thee and thy seed. After him also they brought the sixth, who, being ready to die, said, Be not deceived without cause; for we suffer these things for ourselves, having sinned against our God: therefore marvellous things are done unto us. But think not thou, that takest in hand to strive against God, that thou shalt escape unpun-

ished. But the mother was marvellous above all, and worthy of honourable memory: for when she saw her seven sons slain within the space of one day, she bare it with a good courage, because of the hope that she had in the Lord. Yea, she exhorted every one of them in her own language, filled with courageous spirits: and, stirring up her womanish thoughts with a manly stomach, she said unto them, I cannot tell how ye came into my womb: for I neither gave you breath nor life, neither was it I that formed the members of every one of you; but doubtless the Creator of the world, who formed the generation of man, and found out the beginning of all things, will also, of his own mercy, give you breath and life again, as ye now regard not your own selves for his laws' sake. Now Antiochus thinking himself despised, and suspecting it to be a reproachful speech, whilst the youngest was yet alive, did not only exhort him by words, but also assured him with oaths, that he would make him both a rich and a happy man, if he would turn from the laws of his fathers; and that also he would take him for his friend, and trust him with affairs. But when the young man would in no case hearken unto him, the king called his mother, and exhorted her that she would counsel the young man to save his life. And when he had exhorted her with many words, she promised him that she would counsel her son. But she, bowing herself toward him, laughing the cruel tyrant to scorn, spake in her country language on this manner: O my son, have pity upon me that bare thee nine months in my womb, and gave thee suck three years, and nourished thee, and brought thee up unto this age, and endured the troubles of education. I beseech thee, my son, look upon the heaven and the earth, and all that is therein, and consider that God made them of things that were not; and so was mankind made likewise. Fear not this tormentor; but, being worthy of thy brethren, take thy death, that I may receive thee again in mercy with thy brethren. While she was yet speaking these words, the young man said, Whom wait ye for? I will not obey the king's commandment: but I will obey the commandment of the law that was given unto our fathers by Moses. And thou, that hast been the author of all mischief against the Hebrews, shalt not escape the hands of God: for we suffer because of our sins. And though the living Lord be angry with us a little while for our chastening and correction, yet shall he be at one again with his servants. But thou, O godless man, and of all other most wicked, be not lifted up without a cause, nor puffed up with uncertain

hopes, lifting up thy hand against the servants of God: for thou hast not yet escaped the judgment of Almighty God, who seeth all things. For our brethren, who now have suffered a short pain, are dead under God's covenant of everlasting life; but thou, through the judgment of God, shalt receive just punishment for thy pride. But I, as my brethren, offer up my body and life for the laws of our fathers, beseeching God that he would speedily be merciful unto our nation; and that thou, by torments and plagues, mayest confess that he alone is God; and that in me, and my brethren, the wrath of the Almighty, which is justly brought upon all our nation, may cease. Then the king, being in a rage, handled him worse than all the rest, and took it grievously that he was mocked. So this man died undefiled, and put his whole trust in the Lord. Last of all, after the sons, the mother died. Let this be enough now to have spoken concerning the idolatrous feasts, and the extreme tortures."

It is generally supposed that these scenes of deliberate murder, were committed under the immediate eye of the king, who had come to Jerusalem, in the confidence that his presence would strike terror into the hearts of the people, and compel them to submit to his tyrannical edicts, which had only roused their indignation, when proclaimed by his messengers; but it is more certain that, whoever personally conducted the persecution of the faithful Jews, their sufferings had roused the nation to contend, as one man, not only for religious liberty, but also for national independence. The cause was worthy of man; and no people ever engaged in it with more ardour of spirit, displayed more energy and perseverance to obtain their object, or discovered more intense pleasure in success. The heroism of some other nation, put forth in a more ignoble cause, is applauded in the pages of history; but the more the efforts of the Jews at this time are contemplated, the higher shall they be raised in the temple of fame, by all who are capable of estimating supreme preference of moral excellence, and unconquerable valour in the defence of justice and truth.

Israel had been accustomed to expect deliverances. Their God never failed to hear their cries when they humbled themselves before him. And thus it was at this time. A family apparently little known beyond their own city, which owed all its celebrity to their future pious and heroic deeds, rescued the nation from thralldom, and exalted it once more among the mightiest nations. Modin was a town in the tribe of Dan,

and probably chiefly belonged to priests. One of its principal citizens, at least, was one of the priests who constituted the first of the twenty orders or courses appointed by David to conduct the services of the temple. Our readers would not thank us to record the deeds of this holy and brave man in any other language than that of his historian. Mattathias was the son of Simeon, a priest of the sons of Joarib; "he had five sons, Joannan, called Caddis; Simon, called Thassi; Judas, who was called Maccabeus; Eleazar, called Avaran; and Jonathan, whose surname was Apphus. And when he saw the blasphemies that were committed in Juda and Jerusalem, he said, Woe is me! wherefore was I born to see this misery of my people, and of the holy city, and to dwell there, when it was delivered into the hand of the enemy, and the sanctuary into the hand of strangers? Her temple is become as a man without glory. Her glorious vessels are carried away into captivity, her infants are slain in the streets, her young men with the sword of the enemy. What nation hath not had a part in her kingdom, and gotten of her spoils? All her ornaments are taken away; of a free woman she is become a bond slave. And, behold, our sanctuary, even our beauty and our glory, is laid waste, and the Gentiles have profaned it. To what end therefore shall we live any longer? Then Mattathias and his sons rent their clothes, and put on sackcloth, and mourned very sore. In the mean while the king's officers, such as compelled the people to revolt, came into the city Modin, to make them sacrifice. And when many of Israel came unto them, Mattathias also and his sons came together. Then answered the king's officers, and said to Mattathias on this wise, thou art a ruler, and an honourable and great man in this city, and strengthened with sons and brethren: Now, therefore, come thou first, and fulfil the king's commandment, like as all the heathen have done, yea, and the men of Juda also, and such as remain at Jerusalem; so shalt thou and thy house be in the number of the king's friends, and thou and thy children shall be honoured with silver and gold, and many rewards. Then Mattathias answered, and spake with a loud voice, Though all the nations that are under the king's dominion obey him, and fall away every one from the religion of their fathers, and give consent to his commandments; yet will I, and my sons, and my brethren, walk in the covenant of our fathers. God forbid that we should forsake the law and the ordinances. We will not hearken to the king's words, to go from our religion, either on the right hand or the left.

Now, when he had left speaking these words, there came one of the Jews in the sight of all to sacrifice on the altar which was at Modin, according to the king's commandment: which thing when Mattathias saw, he was inflamed with zeal, and his reins trembled, neither could he forbear to show his anger according to judgment: wherefore he ran and slew him upon the altar. Also the king's commissioner, who compelled men to sacrifice, he killed at that time, and the altar he pulled down. Thus dealt he zealously for the law of God, like as Phinees did unto Zambri the son of Salom. And Mattathias cried throughout the city with a loud voice, saying, Whosoever is zealous of the law, and maintaineth the covenant, let him follow me. So he and his sons fled into the mountains, and left all that ever they had in the city. Then many that sought after justice and judgment, went down into the wilderness, to dwell there: both they, and their children, and their wives, and their cattle; because afflictions increased sore upon them. Now, when it was told the king's servants, and the host that was at Jerusalem, in the city of David, that certain men, who had broken the king's commandment, were gone down into the secret places in the wilderness, they pursued after them a great number, and, having overtaken them, they encamped against them, and made war against them on the sabbath-day. And they said unto them, Let that which ye have done hitherto suffice; come forth, and do according to the commandment of the king, and ye shall live. But they said, We will not come forth, neither will we do the king's commandment, to profane the sabbath-day. So then they gave them the battle with all speed. Howbeit they answered them not, neither cast they a stone at them, nor stopped the places where they lay hid; but said, Let us die all in our innocency: heaven and earth shall testify for us, that ye put us to death wrongfully. So they rose up against them in battle on the sabbath, and they slew them, with their wives and children, and their cattle, to the number of a thousand people. Now, when Mattathias and his friends understood hereof, they mourned for them right sore. And one of them said to another, if we all do as our brethren have done, and fight not for our lives and laws against the heathen, they will now quickly root us out of the earth. At that time therefore they decreed, saying, Whosoever shall come to make battle with us on the sabbath-day, we will fight against him; neither will we die all, as our brethren that were murdered in the secret places. Then came there unto



him a company of Assideans, who were mighty men of Israel, even all such as were voluntarily devoted unto the law. Also they that fled for persecution joined themselves unto them, and were a stay unto them. So they joined their forces, and smote sinful men in their anger, and wicked men in their wrath: but the rest fled to the heathen for succour. Then Mattathias and his friends went round about, and pulled down the altars: and what children soever they found within the coast of Israel uncircumcised, those they circumcised valiantly. They pursued also after the proud men, and the work prospered in their hand. So they recovered the law out of the hand of the Gentiles, and out of the hand of kings, neither suffered they the sinner to triumph. Now, when the time drew near that Mattathias should die, he said unto his sons, Now hath pride and rebuke gotten strength, and the time of destruction, and the wrath of indignation: now therefore, my sons, be ye zealous for the law, and give your lives for the covenant of your fathers. Call to remembrance what acts our fathers did in their time; so shall ye receive great honour, and an everlasting name. Was not Abraham found faithful in temptation, and it was imputed unto him for righteousness? Joseph, in the time of his distress, kept the commandment, and was made lord of Egypt. Phineas our father, in being zealous and fervent, obtained the covenant of an everlasting priesthood. Jesus, for fulfilling the word was made judge in Israel. Caleb, for bearing witness before the congregation, received the heritage of the land. David, for being merciful, possessed the throne of an everlasting kingdom. Elias, for being zealous and fervent for the law, was taken up into heaven. Ananias, Azarias, and Misael, by believing, were saved out of the flame. Daniel, for his innocency, was delivered from the mouth of lions. And thus consider ye, throughout all ages, that none that put their trust in him shall be overcome. Fear not then the words of a sinful man: for his glory shall be dung and worms. To-day he shall be lifted up and to-morrow he shall not be found, because he is returned into his dust, and his thought is come to nothing. Wherefore, ye my sons, be valiant, and show yourselves men in the behalf of the law; for by it shall ye obtain glory. And, behold, I know that your brother Simon is a man of counsel, give ear unto him alway: he shall be a father unto you. As for Judas Maccabeus, he hath been mighty and strong, even from his youth up: let him be your captain and fight the battle of the

people. Take also unto you all those that observe the law, and avenge ye the wrong of the people. Recompense fully the heathen, and take heed to the commandments of the law. So he blessed them, and was gathered to his fathers. And he died in the hundred forty and sixth year, and his sons buried him in the sepulchres of his fathers at Modin, and all Israel made great lamentation for him."

Considering the fixed purpose and great power of the enemy, the successful resistance of Mattathias and his feeble band seems wonderful, and almost incredible. Several circumstances, however, appear to have been favourable to his enterprise. He was probably regarded with contempt by Antiochus and his ministers. They doubtless believed that they had as completely crushed the power of the Jews as they had stripped them of wealth. The brutal monarch looked on the Jews only as so many wretched slaves, destined for ever to writhe under the chains by which he had bound them. His imagined victory over them may have been supposed by him sufficient reason to justify him in expressing his joy after the manner of the Roman conquerors. He accordingly appointed a time for a grand display of the Grecian games, invited an innumerable multitude to witness them, and expended immense sums to celebrate them with the highest degree of pomp. It was on this occasion that he truly discovered his utter insignificance. By the most extravagant actions and indecent behaviour, he made himself the laughing-stock of many, and excited the disgust of not a few; so that after some days, all who respected what was becoming or modest, declined the invitations to his feasts. Intoxicated by these mean pleasures, the affairs of government were neglected, and the treasures of his kingdom thoughtlessly scattered. What could have been more advantageous to the heroes of Judea? The sons of Mattathias most assiduously improved the season of rest enjoyed by their miserable country. Judas augmented his army, fortified the cities, built new fortresses, threw into them strong garrisons, and re-animated the expiring hopes of his people. His conduct perhaps for some time was viewed rather with pleasure than alarm by the officers of the king, who were appointed to observe the state of Judea; for they knew it would neither procure them honour nor reward to subdue a few scattered bands of insurgents. And similar motives may account for the fact that the governors of the neighbouring provinces united not their forces to oppose Judas, till he appeared to all a most formid-

able antagonist. Apollonius knew the eagerness of the Samaritans whom he governed to injure the Jews, and was confident that he could easily overcome Judas. He marched against him, and was defeated with great slaughter. Seron, a Syrian commander, next led an army into Judea, and his sanguine expectation of revenging the dishonour of the recent defeat perished with himself and many of his followers. "When news was brought Antiochus of this double defeat, he was exasperated to fury. Immediately he assembled all his troops, which formed a mighty army, and determined to destroy the whole Jewish nation, and to settle other people in their country. But when his troops were to be paid, he had not sufficient sums in his coffers, having exhausted them in the foolish expenses he had lately been at. For want of money he was obliged to suspend the vengeance he meditated against the Jewish nation, and all the plans he had formed for the immediate execution of that design." Other events contributed perhaps still more to the deliverance of the Jews than even the temporary deficiency of the revenue of the Syrian king. Several of his most valued provinces had cast off his tyrannical yoke, particularly Armenia and Persia. To reduce these was indispensable to the permanence of his power; and he therefore resolved to conduct thither the strength of his army. Entrusting his son and heir, who was only seven years of age, and the government of all the provinces west of the Euphrates, to Lysias, a distinguished noble, he advanced into Armenia, and defeated the army of Artaxias, its king, and took him prisoner. Thence he marched into Persia, and entered Elymais, in order to obtain the immense riches which he understood were deposited in one of the temples. The inhabitants having penetrated his design, indignantly flew to arms, and compelled him to retire to Ecbatana.

Lysias was not more prosperous in his government of the western provinces than his master was in his proceedings in the eastern. Strongly disposed to execute the orders which he had received, to put forth all his energies to conquer Judea, put to death or expel every Jew, and colonise the country with inhabitants from other nations, he sent an army of forty thousand foot, and seven thousand horse, to accomplish this enterprise. This force he placed under the command of Ptolemy Macron, governor of Cœlo-syria, and the most renowned general of the Syrian army. He appointed, at the same time, Nicator, his intimate friend, and Gorgias, a veteran officer of consummate experience, and Philip, governor

of Palestine, to assist Ptolemy Macron. Confident of victory, a proclamation was circulated throughout all the surrounding regions, announcing that all the prisoners should be sold at the rate of ninety for a talent. The price being low, about a thousand merchants assembled near the invading army, anxiously waiting the result of the battle.

The unfeeling oppressor had left the Jews scarcely any one object of the ambition and desires common to mankind. Their country was one scene of ruin : their beloved city "Jerusalem lay void as a wilderness ; there was none of her children that went in or out : the sanctuary was also trodden down, and aliens kept the strong hold ; the heathen had their habitation in that place ; and joy was taken from Jacob, and the pipe with the harp ceased." But this desolation, and the presence of a powerful and implacable foe, only invigorated the zeal and courage of Judas Maccabeus to avenge his country's wrongs, and vindicate the just government of the supreme Sovereign of Israel. He summoned his brethren to arms, and assembled the people to confess their sins, and implore the favour of the God of their fathers. And though the number of his soldiers was inferior to the enemy, in conformity to the Divine law, he commanded all to return home who were building new houses, planting new vineyards, or who had betrothed wives, or were conscious of cowardice, in the prospect of fighting. Thus with a small army, every one of whom was bold as a lion, like Gideon, he fearlessly marched to meet the enemy, encamped on the south side of Emmaus. He thus acted, on learning that Gorgias had sent five thousand foot, and a thousand horse to Mizpah, where he knew the troops of Judea had collected, with the design of destroying them by a sudden and unexpected attack. Judas delayed not to combat this division of the invading army before the larger body under Gorgias could rejoin it. He sounded the trumpets, and speedily obtained a great victory. Having prevailed on his troops not to look after the spoil, he instantly advanced against the troops led on by Gorgias, who was already within sight of the field of battle. These no sooner beheld the camp on fire, than terror seized them, and they fled into the neighbouring countries. "Then Judas returned to spoil the tents, where they got much gold and silver, and blue silk, and purple of the sea, and great riches. After this they went home, and sung a song of thanksgiving, and praised the Lord in heaven ; because it is good, because his mercy endureth for ever. Thus Israel had a great deliverance that

day. Now, all the strangers that had escaped came and told Lysias what had happened : who, when he heard thereof, was confounded and discouraged, because neither such things as he would were done unto Israel, nor such things as the king commanded him were come to pass. The next year therefore following, Lysias gathered together threescore thousand choice men of foot, and five thousand horsemen, that he might subdue them. So they came into Idumea, and pitched their tents at Bethsura ; and Judas met them with ten thousand men. And when he saw that mighty army, he prayed and said, Blessed art thou, O Saviour of Israel, who didst quell the violence of the mighty man by the hand of thy servant David, and gavest the host of strangers into the hands of Jonathan the son of Saul, and his armour-bearer ; shut up this army in the hand of thy people Israel, and let them be confounded in their power and horsemen : make them to be of no courage, and cause the boldness of their strength to fall away, and let them quake at their destruction ; cast them down with the sword of them that love thee, and let all those that know thy name praise thee with thanksgiving. So they joined battle ; and there were slain of the host of Lysias about five thousand men, even before them were they slain.

Now, when Lysias saw his army put to flight, and the manliness of Judas' soldiers, and how they were ready either to live or die valiantly, he went into Antiochia, and gathered together a company of strangers ; and having made his army greater than it was, he purposed to come again into Judea. Then said Judas and his brethren, Behold, our enemies are discomfited : let us go up to cleanse and dedicate the sanctuary. Upon this all the host assembled themselves together, and went up into mount Sion. And when they saw the sanctuary desolate, and the altar profaned, and the gates burnt up, and shrubs growing in the courts as in a forest, or in one of the mountains, yea, and the priests' chambers pulled down, they rent their clothes, and made great lamentation, and cast ashes upon their heads, and fell down flat to the ground upon their faces, and blew an alarm with the trumpets, and cried toward heaven. Then Judas appointed certain men to fight against those that were in the fortress, until he had cleansed the sanctuary. So he chose priests of blameless conversation, such as had pleasure in the law, who cleansed the sanctuary, and bare out the defiled stones into an unclean place. And when as they consulted what to do with the altar of burnt-offerings, which was profaned, they thought it best to pull it

down, lest it should be a reproach to them, because the heathen had defiled it; wherefore they pulled it down, and laid up the stones in the mountain of the temple in a convenient place, until there should come a prophet to show what should be done with them. Then they took whole stones according to the law, and built a new altar according to the former: and made up the sanctuary, and the things that were within the temple, and hallowed the courts. They made also new holy vessels; and into the temple they brought the candlestick, and the altar of burnt-offerings, and of incense, and the table. And upon the altar they burnt incense, and the lamps that were upon the candlestick they lighted, that they might give light in the temple. Furthermore, they set the loaves upon the table, and spread out the veils, and finished all the works which they had begun to make. Now, on the five and twentieth day of the ninth, month which is called the month of Casleu, in the hundred forty and eighth year, they rose up betimes in the morning, and offered sacrifice, according to the law, upon the new altar of burnt-offerings which they had made. Look, at what time, and what day, the heathen had profaned it, even in that was it dedicated with songs, and citherns, and harps, and cymbals. Then all the people fell upon their faces, worshipping and praising the God of heaven, who had given them good success. And so they kept the dedication of the altar eight days, and offered burnt-offerings with gladness, and sacrificed the sacrifice of deliverance and praise. They decked also the forefront of the temple with crowns of gold, and with shields; and the gates and the chambers they renewed, and hanged doors upon them. Thus was there very great gladness among the people, for that the reproach of the heathen was put away. Moreover, Judas and his brethren, with the whole congregation of Israel, ordained that the days of the dedication of the altar should be kept in their season from year to year, by the space of eight days, from the five and twentieth day of the month Casleu, with joy and gladness. At that time also they builded up the mount Sion with high walls and strong towers round about, lest the Gentiles should come and tread it down, as they had done before. And they set there a garrison to keep it, and fortified Bethsura to preserve it, that the people might have a defence against Idumea."

The news of these events inflamed the wrath which burned in the heart of Antiochus. When he heard of the first great defeats of his generals, he hastily left Ecbatana, breathing

complete destruction on the Jews. "Advancing in this disposition towards Babylonia, which was in his way, fresh expresses came to him, with advice of Lysias' defeat; and also, that the Jews had retaken the temple, thrown down the altars and idols which he had set up, and reestablished their ancient worship. At this news his fury increased. Immediately he commands his charioteer to drive with the utmost speed, in order that he might have an opportunity to satiate fully his vengeance; threatening to make Jerusalem the burying place of the whole Jewish nation, and not to leave one single inhabitant in it. He had scarce uttered that blasphemous expression, but he was struck by the hand of God. He was seized with incredible pains in his bowels, and the most excessive pangs of the cholic. 'Thus the murderer and blasphemer,' says the author of the Maccabees, 'having suffered most grievously, as he treated other men, so died he a miserable death, in a strange country in the mountains.' But still his pride was not abated by this first shock; so far from it, that, suffering himself to be hurried away by the wild transports of his fury, and breathing nothing but vengeance against the Jews, he gave orders for proceeding with all possible speed in the journey. But as his horses were running forwards impetuously, he fell from his chariot, and thereby bruised, in a grievous manner, every part of his body; so that his attendants were forced to put him into a litter, where he suffered inexpressible torments. Worms crawled from every part of him; his flesh fell away piecemeal, and the stench was so great, that it became intolerable to the whole army. Being himself unable to bear it, 'It is meet,' says he, 'to be subject unto God; and man who is mortal should not think of himself as if he were a god.' Acknowledging it was the hand of the Lord of Israel which struck him, because of the calamities he had brought upon Jerusalem, he promises to exert his utmost liberality towards his chosen people; to enrich, with precious gifts, the holy temple of Jerusalem, which he had plundered; to furnish, from his revenues, the sums necessary for defraying the expense of the sacrifices; to turn Jew himself; and to travel into every part of the world, in order to publish the power of the Almighty. He hoped he should calm his wrath by these mighty promises, which the violence of his present affliction, and the fear of future torments, extorted from his mouth, but not from his heart. 'But,' adds the author quoted, 'this wicked person vowed unto the Lord, who now no more would have mercy upon him.' And indeed this murderer

and blasphemers, (these are the names which the writer of the Maccabees substituted in the place of illustrious, which men had bestowed on that prince,) being struck in a dreadful manner, and treated as he treated others, finished an impious life by a miserable death. Before he expired, he sent for Philip, who had been brought up with him from his infancy, was his favourite, and had bestowed on him the regency of Syria during the minority of his son, then nine years of age. He put into his hands the diadem, the seal of the empire, and all the other ensigns of royalty; exhorting him, especially, to employ his utmost endeavours to give him such an education as would best teach him the art of reigning, and how to govern his subjects with justice and moderation. Few princes give such instructions to their children till they are near their end, and that after having set them a quite different example during their whole lives. Philip caused the king's body to be conveyed to Antioch. This prince had sat eleven years on the throne."

The actions of Antiochus, thus briefly recorded, demonstrate at once the accuracy and truth of Daniel's prediction of the vile king of the North. Let any enlightened and unprejudiced man carefully compare the former with the latter, and he will not hesitate to adopt as his own the reflections of Rollin on this subject. No prophecy could be more clearly, fully, and decidedly fulfilled. "Porphry, the professed enemy of the Christian religion, as well as of the Old and New Testament, being infinitely perplexed in finding so great a conformity between the events foretold by Daniel, and the relation given by the best historians, did not pretend to deny this conformity, for that would have been repugnant to sense, and denying the shining of the sun at noon-day. However, he took another course, in order to undermine the authority of the Scriptures. He himself laboured, by citing all the historians extant at that time, and which are since lost, to show, in a very extensive manner, that whatever is written in the eleventh chapter of Daniel, happened exactly as foretold by that prophet; and he concluded from this perfect uniformity, that so exact a detail of so great a number of events could not possibly have been written by Daniel so many years before they happened; and that this work must certainly have been wrote by some person who lived after Antiochus Epiphanes, and borrowed Daniel's name. In this contest between the Christians and the heathens, the former would indisputably carry their cause, could they be able to



demonstrate, by good proofs, that Daniel's prophecies were really written by him. Now this they proved unanswerably, by citing the testimony of the whole people, I mean the Jews, whose evidence could not be suspected or disallowed, as they were still greater enemies to the Christian religion than the heathens themselves. The reverence they had for the sacred writings, of which Providence has appointed them the depositaries and guardians, was so prodigious, that they would have thought him a criminal and sacrilegious wretch, who should have attempted only to transpose a single word, or change one letter in it; what idea, then, would they have entertained of that man who should pretend to introduce any supposititious books in them? Such are the witnesses who attested the reality of Daniel's prophecies. And were ever proofs so convincing, or cause so victorious! 'Thy testimonies are very sure, O Lord, for ever.'"

## CHAPTER XVIII.

### REIGN OF THE MACCABEAN CHIEFS.

WE have seen, in the preceding chapter, the rise and progress to supreme power in Judea, of the truly patriotic family of Mattathias. His sons and their adherents are distinguished in history by the appellation *Maccabees*, which is supposed to have been borrowed from the inscription on their ensigns or bucklers. It consisted of four Hebrew letters, each of which begins one of the four words in the eleventh verse of the fifteenth chapter of Exodus, rendered in our version, "Who is like unto thee, O Lord, among the gods?" How sincerely they believed and loved the great, infinitely important, and eternal truth which these words express may be learned from the narratives preserved of the lives of this illustrious race of patriots; and, we may observe, that Josephus and the author of the First Book of the Maccabees, to whom we are chiefly indebted for these narratives, are universally acknowledged, as deserving equal credit with the most enlightened and honourable historians of past ages. If we therefore justly conclude, from the statements of the latter concerning the religious conduct of the Persians, Greeks, and Romans, that these nations worshipped idols, we cannot doubt, from similar evidence, that Mattathias and his sons, and their followers, adored Jehovah alone, and utterly abhorred idols.

In them we have an example scarcely less remarkable of what, in our age, is denominated a "religious revival," than we have in Samuel, David, Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, Ezra, and Nehemiah, and their followers. And indeed it is manifest that they looked on these holy and faithful men as the patterns which they were resolutely determined to imitate. Nor did they on almost any occasion show themselves unworthy to be associated with them in the annals of hallowed fame. Consequently any instances indicating that they were indebted for success in their enterprise to supernatural or miraculous influence must be regarded most probable, we

will not say absolutely certain, because these historians have no claim to inspiration, and were not secure against error or delusion. But to Israel still belonged "the covenants and the promises," they had all the assurance that the word of Him who cannot lie could afford, of his immediate superintendence and interposition to deliver them, when they confidently trusted in him, faithfully served him, and fervently and perseveringly supplicated his compassion and power. They were distinguished from all the Jews who declined to join them, as well as from all the heathen,—

1. By supreme love for the God of their fathers, and regard for his favour. They willingly left their possessions and families, and hazarded their lives rather than expose themselves to the invisible, future, and eternal displeasure of their God. Previously to the period of their triumphs, doubtless all avoided them who were not prepared for death or martyrdom.

2. They cordially loved the covenant made with their forefathers, and faithfully adhered to it. They believed that great promise contained in it, that a faithful prophet, who was to be at once their deliverer and sovereign, should arise in a future age. Hence they declared their willingness to submit to the government of the chiefs of the Maccabees, till the great Teacher appeared; 1 Mac. xiv. 41. "Also that the Jews and priests were well pleased that Simon should be their governor and high-priest for ever, until there should arise a faithful prophet." Their immediate exertions, and avowedly future intentions, had for their object the observance of every institute enjoined in the covenant, and the extirpation of whatever was opposed to its nature.

3. They were regulated in their religious observances and general conduct exclusively by the law of Divine revelation. Thus in their religious assemblies they laid open the book of the law to learn the will of their God; 1 Mac. iii. 48. "And laid open the book of the law, wherein the heathen had sought to paint the likeness of their images." And they ventured to perform not the least act or ceremony of a religious character, concerning which the law gave no instruction; and preferred waiting for the promised prophet to the following of any suggestion of human wisdom; 1 Mac. iv. 46. "And laid up the stones in the mountain of the temple in a convenient place, until there should come a prophet to show what should be done with them."

4. On all occasions of much danger, and before engaging

in any great work, they united in solemn prayer and fasting, in some place which had been consecrated to the worship of God, in the best ages of their nation ; 1 Mac. iii. 46. "Wherefore the Israelites assembled themselves together, and came to Maspha, (Misphah,) over against Jerusalem : for in Maspha was the place where they prayed aforesime in Israel."

5. They discovered extensive knowledge of the law, and not less prudent than fervent zeal to observe it in all things. Thus they strictly followed the minutest directions respecting public worship, and the injunctions which indifference or selfishness were most likely to induce them to neglect. Notwithstanding the severity and number of their sufferings, we find that in their time the land had rest every seventh year ; and even when most prosperous in battle, they never made aggressions on neighbouring nations or cities, whose inhabitants were disposed to live with them in terms of amity, or who did not avowedly seek their destruction ; 1 Mac. v. And while in all circumstances they confessed that in Jehovah alone was their strength, we uniformly observe that they neglected not to employ any means which they discerned and judged proper to accomplish the work which providence called them to perform. Carefully did they study the will of God, and to discriminate between his precepts and traditional and superstitious observances. This was manifest by their resolution to fight on the Sabbath, when necessary for their preservation and the deliverance of their people. For they knew that the Sabbath was made for man, and that it was lawful to do good on the Sabbath-day.

6. Finally, they were accustomed to unite in public thanksgiving and praise, whenever it pleased God to grant them victory over their enemies, or signal expressions of his favour.

The family of Mattathias appear to have been supported at first, in their noble stand for the cause of truth and righteousness, only by their private pious friends. But they were soon joined by two other parties of their countrymen,—the Assideans, and those who had fled from the persecution. The former were bold and courageous men, who had voluntarily devoted themselves to the defence of the law of their country. They were evidently a party equally distinct from the Pharisees, who were more zealous for religious traditions than for Divine revelation, and from the Sadducees, who alike contemned the law of Moses, the writings of the prophets, and the authority and memory of the elders. The Assideans, however, were more eminent for their religious zeal and forti-

tude than for their knowledge and prudence. Accordingly, when the unprincipled Alcimus assumed the offices of chief captain and high-priest, they deserted the faithful Maccabees, and placed themselves under him: "For," said they, "one that is a priest of the seed of Aaron is come with this army, and he will do us no wrong." Their connexion with him was, however, quickly dissolved; for he knew that they were not proper instruments to perform unholy deeds. Hence, though he pretended to be their friend, yet he treacherously slew sixty of them in one day. They were evidently a simple, disinterested, and holy race. They derived their name from the Hebrew term, *chasdim*, which signifies pious or merciful. Some writers imagine that they were the same sect called by Josephus and Philo, Essenes. If this opinion be correct, the sect must have lost much of their public spirit, and decreased much in later times. Besides, the Assideans attended public worship with the congregation of Israel, while the Essenes neglected it, and showed no other respect for the temple service than by sending their offerings. They were, nevertheless, a singular race, much admired for their devotional and ascetic habits, and strictly moral conduct. Indeed, the description given of them by the Jewish historian corresponds generally with the life, conduct, and manners of the first Christians, in so much that a writer in one of our periodicals strongly urges the opinion that Josephus designedly delineates the first Christians under the name Essenes. But this opinion is scarcely credible, if Philo is correct in his assertion, that there were only about four thousand of this party in Palestine and Syria at the time he wrote, which was probably about the time when the Christians were most numerous in these countries. The fact that the Essenes are never mentioned in the New Testament is no decided proof that they did not exist as a Jewish sect in the age of Christ and his Apostles; for if they were few, and lived secluded from society, it is not surprising that we have no account of them in the Gospels or the Acts of the Apostles, which chiefly record the public events which concern the kingdom of Christ. The proper descendants of the Assideans and Essenes are most probably the Karaites, a comparatively small Jewish sect, who still continue to adhere to the laws of Moses, and despise the traditions of the rabbins.

We have seen, in the preceding chapter, that the holy and exalted spirit of Mattathias, powerfully animated his son Judah who was surnamed Maccabeus, an appellation afterwards ap-

propriated to his successors and all their followers. The reflecting reader will perhaps wonder that, after his great victory over Lysias, he should have been permitted by the Syrians to employ uninterruptedly his army to purify the temple, restore public worship, observe a long festival, build and fortify the walls of Jerusalem and Bethsura, supposed to be Bethzur, a strong city in the south of Judea, noticed in Joshua xv. 58; 2 Chron. xi. 7. His conduct is accounted for by the remarkable fact noticed, as it were accidentally, by the historian, that Ptolemy Macron, chief governor of Cælo-Syria and Phenicia, whose power he had most reason to dread, had unexpectedly, if not suddenly, become the friend of the Jews. This statesman and general had strenuously opposed them, but having discerned the folly, and perhaps the injustice of the avowed determination of his court to destroy them, he not only ceased to interfere with their internal affairs, but also openly exerted himself to procure for them peace. He had formerly deserted the service of Egypt for that of Syria. This circumstance inclined the Syrian court to listen the more readily to those who now ascribed his friendly behaviour to the Jews, to treacherous designs. That he must have felt deeply interested in their welfare is manifest, for, rather than continue to injure them, he preferred to take his own life by poison, after the example of some of the greatest men of ancient Greece and Rome.

Probably the state of the court of Syria about this time was also favourable to the patriotic labours of Judas. Lysias, having received certain information of the death of his sovereign, instantly proclaimed the young prince king, under the name of Antiochus Eupator, and took on himself the entire government of the kingdom. This office had been intrusted by the late monarch to Philip; but Lysias prepared to prevent him from enforcing his claims; and in this he was so successful, that Philip, on arriving at Antioch, saw it expedient for his personal safety to seek an asylum in Egypt, where he hoped to procure assistance to expel the usurper, and acquire possession of the right conferred on him by his dying prince.

Judas, however, was not long suffered to pursue the arts of peace, and execute the plans necessary to re-establish the religion of his nation. The astonishing success of his arms, and the rising prosperity of his people, roused the envy and malice of their hereditary enemies, who appear to have prevailed on almost every race in the adjacent territories to enter

into an alliance, the avowed object of which was to destroy the Jews sojourning among them, and to invade Judea, and extirpate the name of Israel. Thus Judas was placed in a situation similar to that of the ancient heroes of his race, and he rejoiced to tread in their steps.

The Edomites or Idumeans seem to have taken the lead in the great confederacy against Israel: next to them were the Ammonites and the Phenicians. A principal branch of the commerce of the last was the buying and selling of the prisoners taken in battle; and the greater number of these were Jews. Those of the two former nations who had not been carried captive into Babylon, or who had returned to their respective countries, had enriched themselves by taking possession of the Holy Land, during the period in which the proprietors were in exile, or too feeble to defend themselves. The Idumeans, especially, had seized the rich district of the south of Judea; its ancient capital Hebron was occupied by them. Though, therefore, Judas cherished not the ambition of a conqueror, yet, as the patriot of his country, he must have earnestly desired to vindicate its rights. Critical was his position, for besides the nations named, the multitudes of the heathen who filled all the regions of Galilee and Gilead had joined the league formed against him. Indeed, not one of the races surrounding Judea seem to have been his friends, except the Nabatheans, whose capital was Petra. It is probable that these and their brethren, the nomade Arabs, were the only people who maintained their national independence. The Idumeans were, we know, under the able direction of Gorgias, and the Ammonites and the other races in their vicinity were governed by a not less warlike Syrian general, named Timotheus.

The minds of Judas and his army were nerved to meet the dreadful tempest which threatened to overwhelm their beloved land. Confident in the favour and power of their God, they were prepared to surrender their lives in defence of the holy cause. Nor were their hopes disappointed. Proceeding to Acrabatine, a frontier district of Idumea, toward the southern extremity of the Dead Sea, they encountered the enemy, who sustained a total defeat, and left twenty thousand dead on the field of battle. They next laid siege to two fortresses, garrisoned by an independent tribe of Idumeans, called, from their ancestor or leader, "the children of Bean." When Judas learned that the garrisons were strong and fully prepared to endure a long siege, he divided his troops.

He left, under three of his brethren, a force sufficient to reduce the fortresses, and led the principal part of the army into the land of Ammon. Timotheus had already assembled there a large army, consisting of the Ammonites and many other heathens belonging to Asia. The Ammonites were first subdued with great slaughter, and Jazar, one of their chief cities, captured. It belonged to the tribe of Gad, and was seated near the mountains of Gilead. The main army, under Timotheus, was defeated apparently near Gazara, called also, it is supposed, Gadara, the capital of Peræa, a fine province east of the Jordan. More than twenty thousand of the enemy fell in battle; and the general and officers, who escaped, fled to the city. It, however, soon fell before Judas, and Timotheus and Apolophanes, another Syrian commander, were put to death. These events inflamed the wrath of the heathen; and, in several of their strong cities, they rose against the Jews who dwelt among them. A thousand were murdered in Tob, a district of the tribe of Manasseh, east of the Jordan. Many fled for safety to Dametha, a strong town in Gilead, and sent letters to Judas, imploring his aid. Their case was distressing, for the place was invested by Timotheus, conjectured to be a son of the general of the same name, put to death in Gazara, at the head of a considerable army, which had been raised by the cities of Phenicia. Judas had scarcely read the letter communicating this melancholy intelligence, before he received others of similar import from the Jews in Galilee. Calling a council of his officers, it was resolved that his brother Simon should instantly proceed to Galilee, with about three thousand men, and that his brethren, Joseph and Azarias, should march with a company to defend Jerusalem, while Judas and his brother Jonathan advanced with eight thousand to Gilead. Besides Dametha, they found in this district several other cities containing many Jews, closely shut up by the enemy. He captured Besora without much difficulty, and slew all the males who were idolaters; and, hasting on to Dametha, where the main body of the enemy were encamped, he fell on them unexpectedly, and routed them, with the loss of eight thousand. He then successively captured the other cities, and treated them as he had done Besora. Having obtained rich and great spoil, he returned to Jerusalem. The arms of Simon were equally victorious in Galilee; but the other division of the army were less fortunate. Having no enemy to oppose at Jerusalem, Joseph and Azarias, in violation of the orders of their wiser brother



led their little band against Jamnia, which was then a fine seaport, between Joppa and Azotus. On approaching it, they were attacked, and defeated by Georgias, who occupied it with a number of soldiers. The brothers lost about two thousand men, who constituted, perhaps, nearly the whole of their company.

Judas remained only a short period in Jerusalem. He marched towards Idumea, laid Hebron in ruins, advanced as a conqueror through the country of the Philistines, and destroyed everywhere every vestige of idolatry. He next overran Samaria, striking terror into the hearts of Israel's enemy, and returned with considerable treasure to the holy city.

The report of these victories at length alarmed Lysias. He speedily made great exertions to raise an army, which he was confident would prove sufficient to conquer Judea, from which he purposed to banish every Jew, and supply their place by idolaters. His army amounted to eighty-four thousand foot, as many horsemen as he could command, and eighty elephants. Then he marched to Bethsura. "Judas Maccabeus, and the whole people, beseeched the Lord, with tears in their eyes, to send his angel for the preservation of Israel. Full of confidence in God, they took the field. When they marched all together, with assured courage, out of Jerusalem, there appeared a horseman marching before them. His habit was white, with arms of gold, and he held a lance in his hand. That sight filled them with new ardour. They threw themselves upon the enemy like lions, killed twelve thousand six hundred men, and obliged the rest to fly, most of them wounded and without arms."

This unexpected overthrow produced a complete change in the conduct of Lysias. He most probably felt that his authority and power were too much in danger from the intrigues and power of Philip to justify him carrying on a contest with the able leaders of the Jews, and that it was now plain that Judea could neither be easily nor speedily subjugated. He accordingly proposed to Judas the most favourable terms of peace. The historian ascribes his pacific measures to the conviction "that the Hebrews could not be overcome, because the Almighty God helped them." The following letters, dated B. C. 163, from the king explicitly state the terms, which appear to have been sent to Antioch for his approbation: "King Antiochus unto his brother Lysias, sendeth greeting: since our father is translated unto the gods, our will is, that they that are in our realm live quietly, that every

one may attend upon his own affairs. We understand also that the Jews would not consent to our father, for to be brought unto the custom of the Gentiles, but had rather keep their own manner of living ; for the which cause they require of us that we should suffer them to live after their own laws. Wherefore our mind is, that this nation shall be in rest ; and we have determined to restore them their temple, that they may live according to the customs of their forefathers. Thou shalt do well therefore to send unto them, and grant them peace, that when they are certified of our mind, they may be of good comfort, and ever go cheerfully about their own affairs." And the letter of the king unto the nation of the Jews was after this manner : "King Antiochus sendeth greeting unto the council, and the rest of the Jews : if ye fare well, we have our desire ; we are also in good health. Menelaus declared unto us, that your desire was to return home, and to follow your own business : wherefore they that will depart shall have safe conduct till the thirtieth day of Xanthicus with security. And the Jews shall use their own kind of meats and laws as before ; and none of them in any manner of ways shall be molested for things ignorantly done. I have sent also Menelaus, that he may comfort you. Fare ye well." This peace caused great joy among the Jews. It is a remarkable fact that the letters of the Syrian king were accompanied by one from the Roman ambassadors at the Syrian court. They addressed the Jews in language strongly expressive of friendship : "Quintus Memmius and Titus Manlius, ambassadors of the Romans, send greeting unto the people of the Jews ; whatsoever Lysias the king's cousin hath granted, therewith we also are well pleased. But touching such things as he judged to be referred to the king, after ye have advised thereof, send one forthwith, that we may declare as it is convenient for you : for we are now going to Antioch. Therefore send some with speed, that we may know what is your mind. Farewell."

This letter most probably commenced the intercourse of the Jewish nation with the Romans : and it was quite in accordance with the policy of that celebrated people, previously to their acquisition of universal empire. They had scarcely established the independence of their own small kingdom or republic, when they improved every opportunity to proclaim themselves the vindicators of the wrongs, and the emancipators of the enslaved of all tribes and nations. The liberty of the human race was alone, if they might be believed, the great

and splendid object of their ambition. The desire or pursuit of any thing inferior to this, they everywhere declared, with all the solemnity of an oath, was utterly unworthy of a Roman. And their practice was in general long consistent with their lofty pretensions; and, being the very opposite of that exhibited by former conquerors, largely contributed to the rapid advancement of their power, especially among oppressed nations. This is obvious in the history of their introduction into Egypt, Greece, and Asia, and in the methods by which they obtained the ascendancy in the governments of these countries. Thus, apparently clothed in the noble robe of justice and mercy, they insidiously approached the Jews, whose heroism and patriotism they very possibly admired; and their success, doubtless, strengthened their confidence in the capability of their political wisdom to overreach all nations.

The Jews were fascinated and caught in the snare, from which few or none of the races under the Grecian empire escaped; but their conduct was far more inexcusable than that of any other people; and they had not only to regret their folly, but also to acknowledge their guilt and bewail their sufferings. The constitution of their government, divine in its origin, secured them against the policy and power of every nation, while they faithfully adhered to it; but this adherence involved unconquerable perseverance in maintaining their political, as well as their religious separation from all idolatrous nations. They were not, as we have remarked in a former page, restrained from commercial alliances with any people; but a union or a league of a more friendly or intimate nature with idolaters was incompatible with their allegiance to Jehovah, as their supreme Sovereign, and was a public confession that they had not entire confidence in his wisdom, faithfulness, and power, to afford them desirable and necessary protection. That Judas accepted the spontaneous offer of the friendship of Rome, is strongly to be suspected; for in the following year he formally solicited their alliance. This being an open violation of the fundamental laws of the chosen people, was a capital crime; and from this hour his days were numbered. The sentence of degradation from his high office was passed; and though he continued the object of the people's confidence and admiration, yet he owed the future short possession of his dignity wholly to the compassion and long-suffering of his supreme and invisible King. This appears not to have been the only public crime worthy of disgrace and death which he had ignorantly, rashly, or inadvertently committed. He had

deposed the deceitful and unjust Menelaus from the office of high-priest; for that person, we find, had retired, perhaps for personal safety, to Antioch. But instead of raising the nearest heir of Aaron to the dignity which exclusively belonged to him, it seems almost certain that Judas had either taken this office on himself, or accepted it, as his successors did, from the people, who had no right to dispose of it. The supreme sovereign of Israel had fixed this high office in Aaron's family, and it was treason for any one else to aspire to it, unless immediately "called of God, as was Aaron."

The most mighty monarch on earth was a mean personage, compared to the chief ruler in Israel. The former was indeed exalted according to the sovereign pleasure of Jehovah, by whom alone kings reign and princes decree justice; but the latter was his vicegerent, his only deputy or representative to his chosen people. By consequence, his public acts were to be viewed in a peculiar light, altogether different from any thing on earth. They appeared as the acts of Jehovah, whose place he filled. Hence the strong expressions of the Divine approbation given to the kings of Israel, in all their public administrations, when in their official acts they showed that they were men according to God's own heart, the ever-living King of Jacob's race. And from the same cause proceeded the signal tokens of Divine displeasure, witnessed and felt by all Israel, when their rulers publicly acted unbecomingly their exalted and holy office. The punishment was inflicted on the whole community, and that with Divine propriety; because, first, the reward of official fidelity was conferred on them all; and second, they were authorised to dethrone any ruler who presumed to violate the laws of the kingdom. These sentiments are amply established in the history of Israel. Prosperity rested on the nation in the reign of every king whose administration was sacredly conducted according to the book of the law, which prescribed his duty, and prohibited him from ruling according to his own wisdom or pleasure. On the other hand, the nation suffered the most grievous calamities on account of the public offences of some of their kings. Thus the sins of Manasseh are assigned as one of the principal causes of the captivity which the people endured a considerable time after his death; and David's political sin in numbering the people occasioned the fearful plague, which threatened the entire desolation of the Holy Land.

When Judas, therefore, proved unworthy of his trust, we

cease to wonder that his glory was quickly eclipsed, and that famine exhausted the strength of his followers, and forced him to succumb to his enemies. The hereditary foes of Israel showed no respect for the covenant of peace confirmed by Antiochus Eupator, nor did the Syrian governors of the neighbouring provinces regulate their conduct by it. Timotheus was conspicuous by his activity in continuing the war. He assembled in Gilead one hundred and twenty-five thousand foot, and five hundred horse. In advancing to meet him, Judas encountered and overthrew a considerable army of nomade Arabs. He had, however, the higher gratification of defeating the Syrian army led by Timotheus, who, besides leaving thousands dead, narrowly escaped from the field of battle. The most unjust proceedings of the Syrian generals, most probably, were secretly approved by the court, for the triumphant career of Judas determined the king and his protector to march against him.

The king placed himself at the head of a hundred thousand foot, twenty thousand horse, three hundred chariots of war, and thirty-two elephants. Judas courageously marched his army to Bethsura, where the enemy had encamped, and which they resolved to conquer, because it was, next to Jerusalem, the most important fortress of Palestine. With the bravest of his troops, he suddenly, in the night, entered the enemy's camp, killed four thousand, and diffused terror into the hearts of all. The king, however, was unmoved in his purpose to try the fortune of a general battle. The Jews displayed their usual fortitude; but the result was favourable to the Syrians, for Judas left them in possession of the field, and retired with his army to Jerusalem. The garrison of Bethsura, from the want of provisions, was soon forced to surrender. The Syrians immediately advanced on Jerusalem, took possession of the city, and laid siege to the temple. It was nobly defended, but there was not food sufficient to sustain a large garrison, and many fled to avoid death from famine. This dreadful evil prevailed, for the past year's produce was consumed; and the passing one was the seventh year, the year of rest, when the land lay fallow. These were the desperate circumstances of the Jews. Nothing seemed to avail them, but abject submission to an invincible foe, when Jehovah interposed to deliver them. While Antiochus and Lysias were exulting in the confidence that the besieged must yield, they received the most alarming and unexpected news, that Philip had raised an army in the East, and was hastily marching to take pos-

session of Antioch, the metropolis of the kingdom. Concealing this information from their own army and the Jews, they instantly sent to the latter proposals of peace, which were most acceptable to the Jews, for their religious liberty was conceded, and Judas was appointed governor of the country, from Ptolemais to the Gerrhenians. Thus, in the language of the author of the Second Book of the Maccabees, "Antiochus entreated the Jews, submitted himself, and swore to all equal conditions, agreed with them, and offered sacrifices, honoured the temple, and dealt kindly with the place." He, however, according to Josephus, having surveyed the city, violated his oath, and ordered his soldiers to destroy its walls. But the policy of Lysias subjected the Jews to a still greater calamity. He persuaded the king that Menelaus had been the author of all the rebellious acts of the Jews, and therefore ought to be put to death. This man, who had disgraced the office of high-priest, was no sooner killed, then Lysias raised to the office Alcimus, with the view of controlling the power of Judas; for the former was destitute of religious principles, and fully disposed to sacrifice the welfare of his people for the advancement of his own interest and honour. He had no legitimate claims to the office, for he belonged not, as he pretended, to the family of Aaron. The proper heir to the high-priest's office was Onias, the son of Onias III. On the exaltation of Alcimus, Onias went into Egypt, procured an introduction to the king, rose into favour, and succeeded in raising a temple, on the site of a heathen temple of Leontopolis, situated in the district of Heliopolis. Here he became the high-priest, established a form of worship in all respects resembling that observed in the temple of Jerusalem. The ministers selected were all of the tribe of Levi. Onias succeeded in gaining the approbation of his countrymen in Egypt, by persuading them that, by uniting under him to worship their God, they would accomplish a prediction in Isaiah xix. 18—25. He is not the last wise man who has misinterpreted the Scriptures, and particularly the prophetic division, to support a religious system altogether subversive of the explicit instruction which they contain. God had plainly declared that the only place in which he would meet with his people, to accept their sacrifices, was in the temple at Jerusalem. And no one who knew this and revered his will, would have presumptuously taught or believed that it was lawful to erect a rival temple for the observance of the laws of Moses. That Isaiah spoke nothing of such a temple

is manifest ; for his altar was to be constructed, not for the worship of the Jews, but for that of the Egyptians and Assyrians, who adopted the language of his people, and consecrated themselves to seek his honour in the earth. The prediction obviously refers to the period when among his people national alienations and prejudices would completely disappear.

Though Antiochus had rather augmented than diminished the visible dignity of Judas, he had almost deprived him of power to promote the good of Israel. Alcimus was a thorn in his side. To secure the support of the Syrian court, he patronised Grecian customs, and gathered around him all the Jews, who were disinclined to obey the laws, or who had actually apostatised. Judas appealed to the people, and the traitor of his country was not permitted to officiate as high-priest. He fled to Antioch. The throne of Syria had passed from Antiochus. On his return from Jerusalem, he found it seized by Philip, but he speedily displaced him, and put him to death. This was scarcely effected, when he had to contend against a more powerful rival.

Demetrius, son of Seleucus Philopater, had been detained as a hostage at Rome. He asserted that, on the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, the crown belonged to him rather than to the child of that prince. The Romans, however, judged otherwise ; and it was only by stealth that he escaped from Rome, and was conveyed in a Tyrian vessel to Tripoli, in Syria. On landing he employed means to spread the report that the Roman senate had sent him to ascend the throne of his ancestors. All ranks received him as their sovereign. Lysias and Antiochus Eupatar were delivered up to him by the troops. He instantly put them to death, and auspiciously entered on his reign. A Grecian by descent, and a Roman by education, he was in taste and habits the votary of paganism ; and deemed human happiness to consist in the gratification of the appetites and passions. His talents were respectable, and ambition, for a time, was more powerful in him than the love of pleasure.

Such a prince was ill qualified to discover or estimate the character of consistent worshippers of the True God. Accordingly, he believed without inquiry, the false report of Alcimus concerning the state of Judea, and immediately ordered Bacchides, governor of Mesopotamia, to lead an army into that province, remove Judas from the government, and commit the high priest's office to Alcimus. Bacchides succeeded, partly by pretended friendship, and partly by acts of

severity, to prevail on many of the Jews to accept Alcimus for their ruler. The usurper, however, found himself powerless as soon as the Syrian army had retired, and applied a second time to Demetrius. The result was, that Nicanor, one of the king's favourites, was sent with a large army, considered sufficient to inflict signal punishment, on what was denominated the obstinate and rebellious nation. "So Nicanor came to Jerusalem with a great force; and sent unto Judas and his brethren deceitfully, with friendly words, saying, Let there be no battle between me and you; I will come with a few men, that I may see you in peace. He came therefore to Judas, and they saluted one another peaceably. Howbeit the enemies were prepared to take away Judas by violence. Which thing after it was known to Judas, to wit, that he came unto him with deceit, he was sore afraid of him, and would see his face no more. Nicanor also, when he saw that his counsel was discovered, went out to fight against Judas beside Capharsalama; where they were slain of Nicanor's side about five thousand men, and the rest fled into the city of David. After this went Nicanor up to mount Sion, and there came out of the sanctuary certain of the priests, and certain of the elders of the people, to salute him peaceably, and to show him the burnt-sacrifice that was offered for the king. But he mocked them, and laughed at them, and abused them shamefully, and spoke proudly; and swore in his wrath, saying, Unless Judas and his host be now delivered into my hands, if ever I come again in safety, I will burn up this house: and with that he went out in a great rage. Then the priests entered in, and stood before the altar and the temple, weeping, and saying, Thou, O Lord, didst choose this house to be called by thy name, and to be a house of prayer and petition for thy people: be avenged of this man and his host, and let them fall by the sword: remember their blasphemies, and suffer them not to continue any longer. So Nicanor went out of Jerusalem, and pitched his tents in Bethhoron, where an host out of Syria met him. But Judas pitched in Adasa with three thousand men, and there he prayed, saying, O Lord, when they that were sent from the king of the Assyrians blasphemed, thine angel went out and smote an hundred fourscore and five thousand of them: even so destroy thou this host before us this day, that the rest may know that he hath spoken blasphemously against thy sanctuary, and judge thou him according to his wickedness. So the thirteenth day of the month Adar the hosts joined battle: but Nicanor's host was discomfited,



and he himself was first slain in the battle. Now, when Nicanor's host saw that he was slain, they cast away their weapons, and fled. Then they pursued after them a day's journey, from Adasa unto Gazara, sounding an alarm after them with their trumpets. Whereupon they came forth out of all the towns of Judea round about, and closed them in; so that they, turning back upon them that pursued them, were all slain with the sword, and not one of them was left. Afterwards they took the spoils and the prey, and smote off Nicanor's head, and his right hand, which he stretched out so proudly, and brought them away, and hanged them up toward Jerusalem. For this cause the people rejoiced greatly, and they kept that day a day of great gladness. Moreover, they ordained to keep yearly this day, being the thirteenth of Adar. Thus the land of Juda was in rest a little while."

The small army of Judas distinctly shows that his influence had been, from some unrecorded cause, greatly weakened, or what seems more probable, the number and power of apostates had increased. This proved a trial more than he was able to bear. He lost confidence in his God, and looked to the arm of flesh. He sent ambassadors to Rome, imploring her protection. The senate cordially received them, and made with them a defensive alliance. A letter from the senate was also sent to Demetrius, enjoining him to refrain from oppressing the Jews. Before, however, the ambassadors returned, Judas was no more. A third and more powerful army than the former had been led against him by Bacchides and Alcimus. He had only three thousand men to oppose them. "And, on approaching the enemy, they were struck with such a panic, that they all abandoned him, except eight hundred men. Judas with that small number, through an excess of valour and confidence, had the boldness to hazard a battle with so numerous an army, in which he perished, overpowered by multitudes. His loss was deplored throughout all Judea and at Jerusalem with all the marks of the most lively affliction, and the government put into the hands of Jonathan his brother;" for the tyranny of Syria became intolerable to the people. "In those days also was there a very great famine, by reason whereof the country revolted, and went with them. Then Bacchides chose the wicked men, and made them lords of the country. And they made inquiry and search for Judas' friends, and brought them unto Bacchides, who took vengeance of them, and used them despitely. So was there a great affliction in Israel, the like

whereof was not since the time that a prophet was not seen among them. For this cause all Judas' friends came together, and said unto Jonathan, since thy brother Judas died, we have no man like him to go forth against our enemies, and Bacchides, and against them of our nation that are adversaries to us: now therefore we have chosen thee this day to be our prince and captain in his stead, that thou mayest fight our battles. Upon this Jonathan took the governance upon him at that time, and rose up instead of his brother Judas. But when Bacchides gat knowledge thereof, he sought for to slay him. Then Jonathan, and Simon his brother, and all that were with him, perceiving that, fled into the wilderness of Thecoe, and pitched their tents by the water of the pool Asphar." The patriots carried on for some time a kind of guerilla warfare, while Bacchides repaired the strong places of the Holy Land. His troops sustained severe reverses; and "his counsel and travail was in vain. Wherefore he was very wroth at the wicked men that gave him counsel to come into the country, insomuch as he slew many of them, and purposed to return into his own country. Whereof when Jonathan had knowledge, he sent ambassadors unto him to the end he should make peace with him, and deliver them the prisoners. Which thing he accepted, and did according to his demands, and sware unto him that he would never do him harm all the days of his life. When therefore he had restored unto him the prisoners that he had taken aforetime out of the land of Judea, he returned and went his way into his own land, neither came he any more into their borders. Thus the sword ceased from Israel: but Jonathan dwelt at Machmas, and began to govern the people; and he destroyed the ungodly men out of Israel." And he was able to do this the more effectually in consequence of the death of Alcimus, the most active and enterprising enemy of the Jews. While the apostate was employed in removing the wall of the temple which separated the sacred divisions from the outer courts, that the whole might be open to the heathen, he was struck with a fatal disease, and died in great torment.

The Jews for some time prospered under the administration of Jonathan. Perhaps nothing was more favourable to this than the circumstances of the Syrian court. Demetrius dared not openly injure the Jews, from the time that the Romans recognised them as their allies; nor could he pursue any scheme of ambition, lest he should provoke them to strip him wholly of power. Thus humbled, he gave himself up

to indolence and intemperance, and became an object of indifference or contempt to all his subjects. A conspiracy being formed to depose him by some of his servants, they were secretly encouraged by several foreign powers. He had punished with death Timarchus, governor of Babylon, to please the citizens, who groaned under his tyrannical government. His brother, Heraclides, treasurer of the province, narrowly escaped similar punishment. Thirsting for revenge, he selected a talented young man, but of mean descent, to claim the throne as a son of Antiochus Epiphanes. Though generally regarded an imposter, yet it is probable that he was not, from the fact that the Jews denied not his pretensions to royalty, and the king of Egypt gave him his daughter in marriage. Be this as it may, several kings, and the senate of Rome, acknowledged the justice of his claims. He is known in history under the name of Alexander Balas. He seized on Ptolemais, and prepared to advance to Antioch. The assistance of Jonathan, whose valour was universally known, was eagerly sought by both parties. Demetrius first propitiated his favour, by appointing him general of his troops in Judea. But Alexander's proposal to constitute him at once governor and high-priest, with the title of "Friend of the King," was more acceptable to Jonathan, to whom he also sent a purple robe and crown, marks of the highest dignity, which were exclusively appropriated to princes and nobles of the highest rank. "Demetrius, who had received advice of this, still out-bid him, to secure to himself an ally of such importance. But after the injuries he had done to all those who had the true interest of the Jews at heart, and the whole nation in general, they dared not confide in him, and resolved to treat rather with Alexander. Jonathan therefore accepted the high priesthood from him; and with the consent of the whole people, at the feast of the tabernacles which happened soon after, he put on the pontifical vestments, and officiated as high-priest."

The contest for the crown of Syria was not of long duration. Demetrius displayed much bravery in the great battle which terminated his life, and the total defeat of his troops. Alexander Balas ascended the throne of Syria, B. C. 150. He soon after sent ambassadors to demand Cleopatra, the daughter of Ptolemy king of Egypt, in marriage. She was granted him; and her father conducted her in person to Ptolemais, where the nuptials were celebrated. Jonathan was in-

vited to that feast, and went thither, where he was received by the two kings with all possible marks of honour.

As a statesman and warrior, Jonathan was probably inferior to his brother Judas; but he had the honour and happiness of raising his people to a higher rank among the nations than they had occupied from the time of their restoration. This, however, was perhaps as much the result of the distracted and enfeebled state of Syria, as of his talents and labours. Alexander Balas very early justly forfeited the esteem of his subjects. Abandoning himself to sensual pleasures, he left the care of public affairs to his favourite Ammonius, who rendered himself hateful to all by cruelty and effeminacy. He shed the blood of every one whom he could find belonging to the race of the Seleucidæ. These things were made known to the sons of the late king, who had been sent for safety to the city of Cnidos in Caria. The eldest, named after his father Demetrius, hastened to attack the usurper. The former entered Syria when the latter was in Cilicia, and was unexpectedly supported by Ptolemy Philometer, king of Egypt, who had brought a fleet and troops to aid his son-in-law. But while he rested in Ptolemais, he discovered a conspiracy to take his life, conducted under the direction of Ammonius. Balas declining to deliver up the traitor, Ptolemy instantly deserted his cause, and advanced to Antioch. The citizens gladly received him, and offered him the crown. He refused the gift, but strongly urged them to confer it on Demetrius. To him he also gave his daughter Cleopatra, whom he had persuaded to leave Alexander Balas.

The cause of Demetrius was, perhaps, still more strengthened by Apollonius, governor of Cœlo-Syria and Phenicia, declaring for him, and employing the strength of his province against the interest of his late master. Provoked at the fidelity of Jonathan, Apollonius invaded Judea, with a considerable army. After repeated attacks, he was repulsed with great loss. Besides thousands killed in battle, a number who fled to the temple of Dagon, at Azotus, perished in the conflagration, by which Jonathan destroyed the city, temple and adjacent villages. Alexander rewarded the fidelity and valour of the Jewish hero with rich presents, and gave the topharchy of Ekron for his own inheritance.

When Alexander returned to Antioch, and found that the citizens had revolted, he laid waste the surrounding country, and boldly encountered the combined armies of Ptolemy and Demetrius. His forces being defeated, he fled to an Arab

prince, to whom he had entrusted his children. His host was treacherous; he took his life, and sent his body to Ptolemy, who was dying of a wound which he had received in the late battle. Demetrius in the meantime ascended the throne of his ancestors, and assumed the unmerited appellation of Nicator, "the Conqueror."

While the Syrians were thus occupied, Jonathan summoned all his energies in order to capture the tower or fortress which commanded the temple and city, and had been long occupied by aliens, the soldiers of the Syrian monarchs. "Then certain ungodly persons, who hated their own people, went unto the king, and told him that Jonathan besieged the tower. Whereof when he heard, he was angry, and immediately removing, he came to Ptolemais, and wrote unto Jonathan, that he should not lay siege to the tower, but come and speak with him at Ptolemais in great haste. Nevertheless Jonathan, when he heard this, commanded to besiege it still: and he choose certain of the elders of Israel and the priests, and put himself in peril; and took silver and gold, and raiment, and divers presents besides, and went to Ptolemais unto the king, where he found favour in his sight. And though certain ungodly men of the people had made complaints against him, yet the king entreated him, as his predecessors had done before, and promoted him in the sight of all his friends, and confirmed him in the high priesthood, and in all the honours that he had before, and gave him pre-eminence among his chief friends. Then Jonathan desired the king that he would make Judea free from tribute, as also the three governments, with the country of Samaria; and he promised him three hundred talents. So the king consented, and wrote letters unto Jonathan of all these things after this manner: "King Demetrius unto his brother Jonathan, and unto the nation of the Jews, sendeth greeting: We send you here a copy of the letter which we did write unto our cousin Lasthenes concerning you, that ye might see it. King Demetrius unto his father Lasthenes sendeth greeting: We are determined to do good to the people of the Jews, who are our friends, and keep covenants with us, because of their good will towards us. Wherefore we have ratified unto them the borders of Judea, with the three governments of Apherema, and Lydda, and Ramathem, that are added unto Judea from the country of Samaria, and all things appertaining unto them, for all such as do sacrifice in Jerusalem, instead of the payments which the king received of them yearly aforetime out of the fruits of

the earth and of trees. And as for other things that belong unto us, of the tithes and customs pertaining unto us, as also the salt-pits, and the crown taxes, which are due unto us, we discharge them of them all, for their relief. And nothing hereof shall be revoked from this time forth for ever. Now therefore see that thou make a copy of these things, and let it be delivered unto Jonathan, and set upon the holy mount in a conspicuous place."

Demetrius appears to have surrendered himself wholly to the counsel and direction of Lasthenes, to whom the above letter was addressed. He had, during his exile, resided with this Greek, and by his agency, he had procured the Grecian soldiers, who accompanied him to Syria. And it was most probably by his advice, that after obtaining the kingdom, he discharged and scattered the whole Syrian army. This act, and his total indifference to their interests, indicated by a life of ease, luxury, and pleasure, provoked at once the hatred and contempt of the military. And the unjust and oppressive administration of Lasthenes excited universal dissatisfaction. Diodotus, called also Tryphon, who had been recently one of the two chief magistrates of Antioch, was a man of boundless ambition. Taking advantage of the unpopularity of his sovereign, he conspired to dethrone him. He persuaded Zabdiel to deliver into his hands Antiochus, the eldest son of Alexander Balas, a mere child; having in his name obtained the chief rule he imagined it would be easy, by killing him, at a future convenient season, to place the crown on his own head.

Demetrius, on discovering his critical situation, applied to Jonathan for assistance; and this he readily procured on condition of ordering his troops to withdraw from the tower or fortress of Jerusalem, which Jonathan had not been able hitherto to capture. The arrival at Antioch of three thousand Jewish soldiers, celebrated for their heroism, imparted confidence to the court. The citizens were instantly summoned to deliver up all the weapons of war in their possession. Instead of obeying, about one hundred and twenty thousand surrounded the palace, resolved to kill their king. The Jews hastened to his relief "and, dispersing themselves through the city, slew that day in the city to the number of an hundred thousand. Also they set fire on the city, and got many spoils that day, and delivered the king. So when they of the city saw that the Jews had got the city as they would, their courage was abated; wherefore they made supplication to the king, and

cried, saying, Grant us peace, and let the Jews cease from assaulting us and the city. With that they cast away their weapons, and made peace; and the Jews were honoured in the sight of the king, and in the sight of all that were in his realm; and they returned to Jerusalem, having great spoils. So king Demetrius sat on the throne of his kingdom, and the land was quiet before him. Nevertheless he dissembled in all that ever he spake, and estranged himself from Jonathan, neither rewarded he him according to the benefits which he had received of him, but troubled him very sore." He announced his determination to reduce the Jews to a state of slavery not less wretched than that which they had endured under the most tyrannical of his predecessors. But this turned out for their good. For, while he was soon compelled to contend for his life, they were more than justified in submitting to his successor. The tremendous catastrophe which the surviving citizens of Antioch had witnessed, was not calculated to awaken loyal feelings. They hailed the return of Tryphon with the infant Antiochus. The troops also joined him, for Demetrius had neglected to pay them. He could now expect no help from Judea, and was happy to flee to Cilicia. "At that time young Antiochus wrote unto Jonathan, saying, I confirm thee in the high-priesthood, and appoint thee ruler over the four governments, and to be one of the king's friends. Upon this he sent him golden vessels to be served in, and gave him leave to drink in gold, and to be clothed in purple, and to wear a golden buckle. His brother Simon also he made captain, from the place called The Ladder of Tyrus unto the borders of Egypt."

Though Demetrius had fled, many of the soldiers in the provinces continued to maintain his cause. To oppose these, Jonathan, sanctioned by the new rulers of Syria, raised a large army, and led them to the land of the Philistines. Some of the cities voluntarily submitted; but Gaza resisted for some time, and saw the surrounding country laid waste. Having reduced this great city, Jonathan passed through the country to Damascus. The army of Demetrius had taken possession of Galilee, and he determined to expel them. In order to this, he sent his brother Simon to protect Jerusalem, while he himself advanced with the principal part of his army into Galilee. Unexpectedly attacked near the lake of Tiberias, a panic seized his troops, and they fled. They, however, soon recovered courage, and compelled the enemy to flee, leaving about three thousand dead. Their generals escaped, and assembled

a second and larger army, which Jonathan encountered near Hamath. They declined battle, and avoided destruction by passing over, in the night, the Eleutherus, a river which waters the valley lying between Libanus and Anti-Libanus, and falls into the Mediterranean. Simon had, in the meantime, captured Bethsura, garrisoned the strong places of Judea, and taken possession of Joppa.

The conquering generals, on returning to Jerusalem, called a council to decide on the measures necessary to be adopted to restore the fortifications of Jerusalem, strengthen the fortified cities of Judea, and particularly to obtain possession of the tower or strong place near the temple, still occupied by foreigners; for the promise of the Syrian king to withdraw his troops seems not to have been fulfilled. These measures Jonathan prosecuted with his accustomed vigour. To guard against the possible treachery of the Syrian court, he had, a little time before this, sent ambassadors to the Romans and Grecians to renew the alliances which his brother had made with these great nations. He informed them of the treacherous and murderous deeds of Tryphon, which exceedingly provoked the Romans. They publicly expressed their sympathy with the Jews, and sent them a ratification of their alliance, engraved on copper. Demetrius, in the meantime, had been invited by the governors of the regions east of the Euphrates to place himself at the head of their army, by which they proposed to subdue Parthia. While fighting against the Parthians, he was taken prisoner. In consequence of this event, Tryphon resolved to depose or kill the young prince, on whom he had conferred the nominal title of king, and declare himself the sovereign of Syria. He had, however, no hope of accomplishing this object while Jonathan retained power, and believing that his fidelity to Demetrius was unalterable, he first, under the guise of great friendship, persuaded him to dismiss his troops, whose services were not required; and next he induced him to meet him in Ptolemais, under the pretence of delivering it into his hands. The upright and generous are generally the most unsuspecting,—Jonathan entered the city, with about one thousand men; Tryphon instantly seized him, and put all the soldiers to death.





CONNEXION

OF

SACRED AND PROFANE HISTORY;

BEING A REVIEW OF THE

PRINCIPAL EVENTS IN THE WORLD

AS THEY BEAR UPON

THE STATE OF RELIGION,

FROM THE CLOSE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT HISTORY, TILL  
THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CHRISTIANITY.

BY D. DAVIDSON.

IN THREE VOLUMES

VOL. II.

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NEW YORK:  
ROBERT CARTER & BROTHERS,  
No. 530, BROADWAY  
1857.



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# CONNEXION

## BETWEEN

### SACRED AND PROFANE HISTORY

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#### CHAPTER I.

##### THE MACCABEAN PRINCES.

THE heathen were no sooner apprized of the death of the Jewish chief than they vowed to take vengeance on the Jews: and Tryphon expressed his purpose, and prepared an army to extirpate them. "Now when Simon heard that Tryphon had gathered together a great host to invade the land of Judea, and destroy it, and saw that the people were in great trembling and fear, he went up to Jerusalem, and gathered the people together, and gave them exhortation, saying, Ye yourselves know what great things I, and my brethren, and my father's house, have done for the laws and the sanctuary, the battles also and troubles which we have seen, by reason whereof all my brethren are slain for Israel's sake, and I am left alone. Now therefore be it far from me that I should spare mine own life in any time of trouble: for I am no better than my brethren. Doubtless I will avenge my nation, and he sanctuary, and our wives, and our children; for all the heathen are gathered to destroy us of every malice. Now, as soon as the people heard these words, their spirit revived. And they answered with a loud voice, saying, Thou shalt be our leader instead of Judas and Jonathan thy brother. Fight thou our battles, and whatsoever thou commandest us, that will we do. So then he gathered together all the men of war, and made haste to finish the walls of Jerusalem, and he fortified it round about. Also he sent Jonathan the son of Absalom, and with him a great power, to Joppa: who, casting out them that were therein, remained there in it. So

Tryphon removed from Ptolemais with a great power to invade the land of Judea; and Jonathan was with him in ward. But Simon pitched his tents at Adida, over against the plain. Now when Tryphon knew that Simon was risen up instead of his brother Jonathan, and meant to join battle with him, he sent messengers unto him, saying, whereas we have Jonathan thy brother in hold, it is for money that he is owing unto the king's treasure, concerning the business that was committed unto him. Wherefore now send an hundred talents of silver, and two of his sons for hostages, that, when he is at liberty, he may not revolt from us, and we will let him go. Hereupon Simon, albeit he perceived that they spake deceitfully unto him, yet sent he the money and the children, lest peradventure he should procure to himself great hatred of the people: who might have said, because I sent him not the money and the children, therefore is Jonathan dead. So he sent them the children and the hundred talents; howbeit Tryphon dissembled, neither would he let Jonathan go. And after this came Tryphon to invade the land, and destroy it, going round about by the way that leadeth unto Adora: but Simon and his host marched against him in every place wheresoever he went. Now they that were in the tower sent messengers unto Tryphon, to the end that he should hasten his coming unto them by the wilderness, and send them victuals. Wherefore Tryphon made ready all his horsemen to come that night: but there fell a very great snow, by reason whereof he came not. So he departed, and came into the country of Galaad. And when he came near to Bascama, he slew Jonathan, who was buried there. Afterward Tryphon returned, and went into his own land. Then sent Simon, and took the bones of Jonathan his brother, and buried them in Modin, the city of his fathers. And all Israel made great lamentation for him, and bewailed him many days. Simon also built a monument upon the sepulchre of his father and his brethren, and raised it aloft to the sight, with hewn stone behind and before. Moreover he set up seven pyramids, one against another, for his father, and his mother, and his four brethren. And in these he made cunning devices, about the which he set great pillars, and upon the pillars he made all their armour for a perpetual memory, and by the armour ships carved, that they might be seen of all that sail on the sea. This is the sepulchre which he made at Modin, and it standeth yet unto this day. Now Tryphon dealt deceitfully with the young king Antiochus, and slew him. And he

reigned in his stead, and crowned himself king of Asia, and brought a great calamity upon the land. Then Simon built up the strongholds in Judea, and fenced them about with high towers, and great walls, and gates, and bars, and laid up victuals therein. Moreover, Simon chose men, and sent to king Demetrius, to the end he should give the land an immunity, because all that Tryphon did was to spoil. Unto whom king Demetrius answered, and wrote after this manner: King Demetrius unto Simon the high-priest, and friend of kings, as also unto the elders and nation of the Jews, sendeth greeting: The golden crown, and the scarlet robe, which ye sent unto us, we have received: and we are ready to make a stedfast peace with you, yea, and to write unto our officers, to confirm the immunities which we have granted. And whatsoever covenants we have made with you shall stand; and the strongholds, which ye have builded, shall be your own. As for any oversight or fault committed unto this day, we forgive it, and the crown tax also which ye owe us: and if there were any other tribute paid in Jerusalem, it shall no more be paid. And look who are meet among you to be in our court, let them be enrolled, and let there be peace betwixt us. Thus the yoke of the heathen was taken away from Israel in the hundred and seventieth year. Then the people of Israel began to write in their instruments and contracts, in the first year of Simon the high-priest, the governor and leader of the Jews. In those days Simon camped against Gaza, and besieged it round about; he made also an engine of war, and set it by the city, and battered a certain tower, and took it. And they that were in the engine leaped into the city; whereupon there was a great uproar in the city: insomuch as the people of the city rent their clothes, and climbed upon the walls with their wives and children, and cried with a loud voice, beseeching Simon to grant them peace. And they said, Deal not with us according to our wickedness, but according to thy mercy. So Simon was appeased toward them, and fought no more against them, but put them out of the city, and cleansed the houses wherein the idols were, and so entered into it with songs and thanksgiving. Yea, he put all uncleanness out of it, and placed such men there as would keep the law, and made it stronger than it was before, and built therein a dwelling-place for himself. They also of the tower in Jerusalem were kept so strait, that they could neither come forth, nor go into the country, nor buy, nor sell: wherefore they were in great distress for want of victuals, and a great



numero of them perished through famine. Then cried they to Simon, beseeching him to be at one with them; which thing he granted them: and when he had put them out from thence, he cleansed the tower from pollutions; and entered into it the three and twentieth day of the second month, in the hundred seventy and first year, with thanksgiving, and branches of palm-trees, and with harps and cymbals, and with viols, and hymns, and songs; because there was destroyed a great enemy out of Israel. He ordained also that that day should be kept every year with gladness. Moreover, the hill of the temple that was by the tower he made stronger than it was, and there he dwelt himself with his company. And when Simon saw that John his son was a valiant man, he made him captain of all the hosts; and he dwelt in Gazara."

Simon doubtless regarded the imprisonment of Demetrius in Parthia an adverse event; but it happily did not long prevent the fall of Tryphon, the deceitful and cruel enemy of the Jews: for the very deeds by which he imagined that he had fully attained the summit of his ambition hastened his ruin. The death of Jonathan dissipated his fear of the Jews; he immediately murdered the young prince, and ascended the throne of Syria. His power was soon broken; for Cleopatra, despairing of the liberation of her husband, requested his brother, Antiochus Sidetes, who resided at Rhodes, to join her at Seleucus, where she had found an asylum, and was surrounded by many of the military. The message was acceptable, and Antiochus was not slow to assume the title of the king of Syria. He raised an army of mercenaries in Asia and Greece, but before entering Syria he endeavoured to secure the assistance of the Jews. They had already acquired, by their valour, almost all the privileges which a Syrian monarch could grant them; and they had conferred on Simon their chief all the dignity and power which he could desire. The great council of his nation had publicly constituted him the sovereign prince and high-priest of the nation, with power to convey these dignities to his posterity. And he had been still more gratified by the acts of the council being approved by his most powerful allies. "Now," says the Maccabean historian, "when it was heard at Rome, and as far as Sparta, that Jonathan was dead, they were very sorry. But as soon as they heard that his brother Simon was made high-priest in his stead, and ruled the country, and the cities therein, they wrote unto him, in tables of brass, to renew the friendship and league which they had made with Judas and Jonathan

his brethren: which writings were read before the congregation at Jerusalem. And this is the copy of the letters that the Lacedemonians sent: The rulers of the Lacedemonians, with the city, unto Simon the high-priest, and the elders, and priests, and residue of the people of the Jews, our brethren, send greeting: the ambassadors that were sent unto our people certified us of your glory and honour; wherefore we were glad of their coming, and did register the things that they spake in the council of the people in this manner: Neumenius, son of Antiochus, and Antipater, son of Jason, the Jews' ambassadors, came unto us to renew the friendship they had with us. And it pleased the people to entertain the men honourably, and to put the copy of their ambassage in public records, to the end the people of the Lacedemonians might have a memorial thereof: furthermore, we have written a copy thereof unto Simon the high-priest. After this, Simon sent Neumenius to Rome with a great shield of gold of a thousand pound weight, to confirm the league with them: whereof when the people heard, they said, What thanks shall we give to Simon and his sons? For he, and his brethren, and the house of his father, have established Israel, and chased away in fight their enemies from them, and confirmed their liberty. So then they wrote it in tables of brass, which they set upon pillars in mount Sion, in the third year of Simon the high-priest." Simon's grateful acknowledgment of the friendship of the Romans, and his munificent present, were so agreeable to them, that the Senate ordered Lucius Cornelius Piso, one of the consuls, to recommend the Jews to the principal allies of Rome. "Lucius, consul of the Romans, unto king Ptolemee, greeting: The Jews' ambassadors, our friends and confederates, came unto us to renew the old friendship and league, being sent from Simon the high-priest, and from the people of the Jews: and they brought a shield of gold of a thousand pound. We thought it good therefore to write unto the kings and countries, that they should do them no harm, nor fight against them, their cities or countries, nor yet aid their enemies against them. It seemed also good to us to receive the shield of them. If therefore there be any pestilent fellows that have fled from their country unto you, deliver them unto Simon the high-priest, that he may punish them according to their own law. The same things wrote he likewise unto Demetrius the king, and Attalus, to Ariarathes, and Arsaces, and to all the countries, and to Sampsumes, and the Lacedemonians, and to Delus, and Myndus, and Sicyon, and Caria, and Samos, and Pam-

phylia, and Lycia, and Halicarnassus, and Rhodus, and Phaselis, and Cos, and Side, and Aradus, and Gortyna, and Cnidus, and Cyprus and Cyrene. And the copy hereof they wrote to Simon the high-priest."

The letter of Antiochus Sidetes, besides conceding all that any of his predecessors had given the Jews, authorised Simon to coin money in his own name, and thus left him nothing to desire as a sovereign, independent prince. He added, "And as concerning Jerusalem, and the sanctuary, let them be free; and all the armour that thou hast made, fortresses that thou hast built, and keepest in thine hands, let them remain unto thee. And if any thing be, or shall be, owing to the king, let it be forgiven thee from this time forth for evermore. Furthermore, when we have obtained our kingdom, we will honour thee, and thy nation, and thy temple, with great honour, so that your honour shall be known throughout the world." Simon availed himself of the uncommon grant to coin money; for some of his coins are extant, and bear various inscriptions in the old Samaritan character.

Secure of the favour of Simon, Antiochus conducted a fleet and many troops to Seleucia; and having greatly increased his army, till it amounted to one hundred thousand foot and eight thousand horse, he advanced against Tryphon. The usurper could not raise troops to meet him; he therefore retreated to Dora, a strong place near Ptolemais, but finding himself unable to defend the place, he fled by sea to Orthosea, a seaport not far distant, and thence departed to Apamea, his native town, where he was taken and put to death.

When Antiochus perceived the feebleness of his antagonist, he indignantly refused the aid sent him by Simon, which consisted of two thousand men, silver and gold, and much armour. He perhaps pretended that the smallness of the gift sufficiently justified the violation of the promises by which he had propitiated the favour of the Jews. While he besieged Dora, he commissioned Athenobius to proceed to Jerusalem, and demand Simon to deliver up the citadel of Jerusalem, Joppa, and Gazara, and every place beyond the boundaries of Judea, or remit for the latter a thousand talents, as the only means of avoiding war with Syria. The messenger's report to his master confirmed him in his unjust designs, for he declared that the splendour and riches of Simon and the city astonished him. This excited the cupidity of Antiochus, and the answer of Simon stirred up his wrath. "We have," said the Jewish prince, "neither taken other men's land, nor

holden that which appertaineth to others, but the inheritance of our fathers, which our enemies had wrongfully in possession a certain time. Wherefore we, having opportunity, hold the inheritance of our fathers. And whereas thou demandest Joppa and Gazara, albeit they did great harm unto the people in our country, yet will we give an hundred talents for them. Hereunto Athenobius answered him not a word." Antiochus instantly ordered Cendebeus, one of his most distinguished generals, to lead a considerable army against the Jews. The Syrian general, placing a large garrison in Cedron, which was probably a strong position, on the road to Jerusalem, proceeded to lay waste the districts of Jamnia. "Then came up John from Gazara, and told Simon his father what Cendebeus had done. Wherefore Simon called his two eldest sons, Judas and John, and said unto them, I and my brethren, and my father's house, have ever, from our youth unto this day, fought against the enemies of Israel; and things have prospered so well in our hands, that we have delivered Israel oftentimes. But now I am old, and ye, by God's mercy, are of a sufficient age: be ye instead of me and my brother, and go and fight for our nation, and the help from Heaven be with you. So he chose out of the country twenty thousand men of war, with horsemen, who went out against Cendebeus, and rested that night at Modin. And when as they rose in the morning, and went into the plain, behold, a mighty great host, both of footmen and horsemen, came against them: howbeit there was a water-brook betwixt them. So he and his people pitched over against them: and when he saw that the people were afraid to go over the water-brook, he went first over himself, and then the men seeing him, passed through after him. That done, he divided his men, and set the horsemen in the midst of the footmen: for the enemy's horsemen were very many. Then sounded they with the holy trumpets: whereupon Cendebeus and his host were put to flight, so that many of them were slain, and the remnant gat them to the stronghold. At that time was Judas, John's brother, wounded: but John still followed after them, until he came to Cedron, which Cendebeus had burnt. So they fled even unto the towers in the fields of Azotus, wherefore he burnt it with fire: so that there were slain of them about two thousand men. Afterward he returned into the land of Judea in peace."

The exaltation of Simon's sons roused the envy of their brother-in-law, Ptolemy Abubus, who, as governor of Jeriche

had acquired immense wealth. Receiving with great show of affection his father-in-law, his wife, and their sons Matthias and Judas, in the time of the rich feast prepared for them, he treacherously put them all to death, and sent messengers to kill John and his two sons, in his house at Gazara. John was apprized of their coming, and speedily sought refuge in Jerusalem, before Ptolemy had reached that city, whose gates were shut against him. This event plunged the nation into great perplexity, but they were consoled by reflection on the Divine providence which had preserved John, whom they had been for sometime accustomed to regard as the successor of his father, whose memory was dear to them, and his melancholy end universally lamented. Simon's reign of eight years had been more happy and prosperous than that of his predecessors. The statement of the historian, comparatively speaking, is correct, that "Judea was quiet all his days; for he sought the good of his nation in such wise, as that evermore his authority and honour pleased them well. And as he was honourable in all his acts, so in this, that he took Joppe for an haven, and made an entrance to the isles of the sea; and enlarged the bounds of his nation, and recovered the country; and gathered together a great number of captives, and had the dominion of Gazara, and Bethsura, and the tower out of the which he took all uncleanness; neither was there any that resisted him. Then did they till their ground in peace, and the earth gave her increase, and the trees of the field their fruit. The ancient men sat all in the streets, communing together of good things, and the young men put on glorious and warlike apparel. He provided victuals for the cities, and set in them all manner of munition, so that his honourable name was renowned unto the end of the world. He made peace in the land, and Israel rejoiced with great joy: for every man sat under his vine and his fig-tree, and there was none to fray them: neither was there any left in the land to fight against them: yea, the kings themselves were overthrown in those days. Moreover, he strengthened all those of his people that were brought low: the law he searched out, and every contemner of the law and wicked person, he took away. He beautified the sanctuary, and multiplied the vessels of the temple."

John, surnamed Hyrcanus, inherited the vigorous talents and the patriotic spirit of his family. He was at once accepted as the successor of his father, B. C. 135, and his life augmented the glory of his nation. The murderer Ptolemy

like a wild beast, whom the dexterous hunter has deprived of his prey, growling, fled from Jerusalem, and sought refuge in Dagon, one of the fortresses above Jericho. Having in vain tried to seduce some of the principal persons to support his illegal pretensions to the supreme power, he became the traitor of his country. He wrote Antiochus Sidetes, and pledged himself to deliver Judea into his hands, on condition of receiving the appointment of governor. He had not, however, courage to wait the arrival of Syrian troops. Terrified by the appearance of Hyrcanus, whose troops laid siege to Dagon, he escaped to Philadelphia in Asia-Minor. The future history of this rich, but vile and contemptible person, is unknown.

The calamitous state of the Jews encouraged Antiochus Sidetes to lead a large army into Judea. "Hyrcanus was obliged to shut himself up in Jerusalem, where he sustained a long siege with incredible valour. Reduced at length to the last extremity for want of provisions, he caused proposals of peace to be made to the king. His condition was not known in the camp. Those who were about the king's person pressed him to take the advantage of the present occasion for exterminating the Jewish nation. They represented to him, recurring to past ages, that they had been driven out of Egypt as impious wretches, hated by the gods, and abhorred by men; that they were enemies to all the rest of mankind, as they had no communication with any but those of their own sect, and would neither eat, drink, nor have any familiarity with other people; that they did not adore the same gods; that they had laws, customs, and a religion, entirely different from that of all other nations; that therefore they well deserved to be treated by other nations with equal contempt, and to be rendered hated for hatred; and that all people ought to unite in extirpating them. Diodorus Siculus, as well as Josephus, says, it was from the pure effect of the generosity and clemency of Antiochus, that the Jewish nation was not entirely destroyed on this occasion." Probably, however, their deliverance ought rather to be traced to the circumstances at that time of the Syrian empire. Antiochus, doubtless, was aware that the Parthians contemplated to add Syria to their dominions, and were prepared to invade it under the pretence of re-establishing king Demetrius, their prisoner, on his throne. To avert this danger, Antiochus resolved to advance into Parthia, and he possibly thought it was more his interest to make Hyrcanus an ally than a revengeful enemy. Be this as it may, he re-

garded not the opinions of his courtiers, who sought the subjugation of Judea, and granted the Jews peace; not, however, on favourable terms, for he demanded that the besieged should surrender their arms; that the fortifications of Jerusalem should be demolished; and that a tribute should be paid to the king for Joppa, and for the other cities which the Jews had out of Judea; and that the citadel commanding the temple, which had been erased, and the lofty site of it levelled, should be rebuilt, and garrisoned by the king's troops. The latter condition Hyrcanus evaded, by paying five hundred talents. The capitulation was executed, and a brother of the Jewish prince, and some other great personages, were sent hostages to secure the observance of all the articles of the treaty.

Hyrcanus accompanied Antiochus in his fatal expedition into the East, and largely shared in the triumphs of the first campaign, when he returned to Jerusalem laden with military glory. Antiochus dispersed his army over the conquered provinces, which included all which had originally belonged to the Seleucidæ, except Parthia. The inhabitants were plundered, and in one of the insurrections that followed, Antiochus was slain. His throne was taken possession of by Demetrius, who had been liberated, and sent by the Parthians, at the head of an army, into Syria, in order to compel Antiochus to withdraw his troops from Parthia.

From this time the Syrian power was crushed by seditions, anarchy, or revolutions, till at last it was reduced into a Roman province. The Egyptians were too much occupied with their affairs to interfere with those of other nations; and the other nations usually opposed to the Jews were not in a state to do them much injury. Hyrcanus was thus left to pursue, without interruption, the schemes which he deemed calculated to advance the interests of his people. He greatly augmented his army, and, to effect this, employed mercenary troops, a custom equally opposed to the laws of his country, and to the example of all the pious kings and princes of Israel, in past generations. To supply his finances, Josephus reports, that he opened the sepulchres of David and others of the ancient kings, in hope of finding treasures, and if we may believe the improbable story of the historian, he was not disappointed; but he took only a portion, amounting to three thousand talents. Having been informed of the death of Antiochus, he made an invasion into Syria, and captured several cities. He next reduced Shechem and Gerizim, and demolished the Sa

maritan temple, two hundred years after its erection. The year 130 before the Christian era was memorable for the complete subjugation of the Idumeans, who were compelled, by Hyrcanus, to emigrate from their lands, or submit to circumcision and the laws of Moses. From this date they ceased to be known as a nation, for all who were not incorporated with the Jews were dispersed and mingled with other nations. Hundreds of years earlier they were warned by the prophet, that their continued existence was suspended by Heaven on condition of their humbly uniting with the Jews, whom they had always hated and persecuted; Isa. xxi. 11, 12.

About this time Hyrcanus, probably to guard himself against any machinations of Demetrius, who had repossessed himself of the throne of Syria, sent an embassy to Rome, of which Josephus thus writes: "Fanius, son of Marcus, the prætor, gathered the senate together on the eighth day before the ides of February, in the senate-house, when Lucius Manlius, the son of Lucius, of the Mentine tribe, and Caius Sempronius, the son of Caius, of the Falernian tribe, were present. The occasion was, that the ambassadors sent by the people of the Jews, Simon, the son of Dositheus, and Apollonius, the son of Alexander, and Diodorus, the son of Jason, who were good and virtuous men, had somewhat to propose about that league of friendship and mutual assistance which subsisted between them and the Romans, and about other public affairs, who desired that Joppa, and the havens, and Gaza-ra, and the springs of Jordan, and the several other cities and countries of theirs, which Antiochus had taken from them in the war, contrary to the decree of the senate, might be restored to them; and that it might not be lawful for the king's troops to pass through their country, and the countries of those that are subject to them: and that what attempts Antiochus had made during that war, without the decree of the senate, might be made void: and that they would send ambassadors, who should take care that restitution be made them of what Antiochus had taken from them, and that they should make an estimate of the country that had been laid waste in the war: and that they would grant them letters of protection to the kings and free people, in order to their quiet return home. It was therefore decreed as to these points, to renew their league of friendship and mutual assistance with these good men, and who were sent by a good and a friendly people.— But as to the letters desired, their answer was, that the senate would consult about that matter when their own affairs would



give them leave, and that they would endeavour, for the time to come, that no like injury should be done them: and that their prætor Fanius should give them money out of the public treasury to bear their expenses home. And thus did Fanius dismiss the Jewish ambassadors, and gave them money out of the public treasury; and gave the decree of the senate to those that were to conduct them, and to take care that they should return home in safety." Adversity had produced no salutary effect on the mind, dispositions, habits, or manners of Demetrius. He was universally dreaded or hated on account of his tyranny, haughtiness, and sensuality; and the Syrians exulted in the opportunity to revolt, while he was with his troops in Egypt assisting Cleopatra to depose her most profligate and savage husband, Ptolemy Physcon. The latter, in revenge, choose Alexander Zebina, the son of a broker in Alexandria, to proceed to Syria, and, under the pretence of being the son of Alexander Balas, claim the crown. The Syrians hailed the impostor, and, following him, defeated Demetrius, who had returned to subdue the insurgents. His army being destroyed or dispersed, Demetrius sought an asylum in Tyre; but the citizens put him to death. Zebina strengthened his power by a friendly alliance with Hyrcanus, who, like Simon, seems to have concerned himself little who reigned in Syria, provided its sovereign permitted the Jews to enjoy their liberty and independence. Alexander Zebina had been secretly supported by Cleopatra, widow of the late king Demetrius; and he divided with her the kingdom. In consequence of her eldest son Seleucus having caused himself to be proclaimed king, she sought an interview with him, and pierced him with a dart. This occasioned the revolt of some provinces, and Cleopatra saw it expedient to call her second son, Antiochus Grypus, from Athens, where he had been placed for his education. Proclaiming him king, she ruled in his name, and was assisted by Ptolemy Physcon, who deserted Zebina, because he declined to acknowledge himself a tributary to Egypt. Young Grypus married Tryphæna, a daughter of Physcon, and by the aid of Egyptian troops overcame Zebina. He soon after put his mother to death. Her son, Antiochus Cyzicenes, by Antiochus Sidetes, was not long in claiming the crown, and was acknowledged king by multitudes. After various combats, the brothers agreed to divide the kingdom between them. Antiochus Cyzicenes reigned over Cælo-Syria, and fixed on Damascus for his capital; Antioch was the residence of Antiochus Grypus, who was regarded as sovereign

of all the other provinces. Both these princes passed a short interval of peace in the indulgence of the most debasing pleasures, and the Syrian kingdom was afterwards almost ruined by their wars, and the contentions of their heirs or rival claimants for the crown. The Syrians at length, to rid themselves of the turbulent and bloody race of the Seleucidæ, offered, B. C. 83, the crown to Tigranes, king of Armenia, who possessed almost the entire kingdom, in peace, eighteen years.

While Egypt and Syria were gradually fading away, or consumed by tyranny, insurrections, or anarchy, Hyrcanus governed Judea with wisdom, and raised her to distinction, so as to command the continued respect of the proud and prosperous Romans. He completely subdued the Samaritans, who had never omitted an opportunity to injure the Jewish people. They in vain procured troops from Egypt and Syria to oppose him. These, indeed prevented some time the fall of their strong capital. But, after a siege of a whole year, in which the citizens suffered inexpressible calamities, Samaria fell, and was completely destroyed. Hyrcanus, by collecting all the streams in the vicinity, rendered the site a waste, in which no traces of a city remained, till the time of Herod, who raised in its place a fine city, which he named Sebaste, in honour of Augustus. Hyrcanus also conquered all the country of the Philistines, and Galilee, and shed a lustre on the Jewish people far more splendid than had been seen from the time of their restoration from Babylon. The Jews were also highly honoured by Ptolemy Philometor, and, after his death, by Cleopatra, the repudiated wife of his most unworthy brother Ptolemy Physcon.

Of the state of the Jews in Egypt during the government of Hyrcanus, Josephus, observes, that then "not only those who were at Jerusalem and in Judea were in prosperity, but also those of them that were at Alexandria, and in Egypt, and Cyprus; for Cleopatra the queen was at variance with her son Ptolemy, who was called Lathyrus, and appointed for her generals, Chelcias and Ananias, the sons of that Onias who built the temple in the prefecture of Heliopolis, like that at Jerusalem, as we have elsewhere related. Cleopatra intrusted these men with her army; and did nothing without their advice, as Strabo of Cappadocia attests, when he saith thus:—Now the greater part, both those that came to Cyprus with us, and those that were sent afterward thither, revolted to Ptolemy immediately; only those that were called Onias's party being Jews, continued faithful, because their countrymen Chelcias and

Ananias were in chief favour with the queen. These are the words of Strabo. However, this prosperous state of affairs moved the Jews to envy Hyrcanus; but they that were the worst disposed to him were the Pharisees, who are one of the sects of the Jews, as we have informed you already. These have so great a power over the multitude, that when they say anything against the king or against the high-priest, they are presently believed. Now Hyrcanus was a disciple of theirs, and greatly beloved by them. And when he once invited them to a feast, and entertained them very kindly, when he saw them in a good humour, he began to say to them, That they knew he was desirous to be a righteous man, and to do all things whereby he might please God, which was the profession of the Pharisees also. However, he desired, if they observed him offending in any point, and going out of the right way, they would call him back and correct him. On which occasion they attested to his being entirely virtuous; with which commendation he was well pleased; but still there was one of his guests there, whose name was Eleazar, a man of an ill temper, and delighting in seditious practices. This man said, 'Since thou desirest to know the truth, if thou wilt be righteous in earnest, lay down the high-priesthood, and content thyself with the civil government of the people.' And when he desired to know for what cause he ought to lay down the high-priesthood, the other replied, 'We have heard it from old men, that thy mother had been a captive under the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes.' This story was false, and Hyrcanus was provoked against him; and all the Pharisees had a very great indignation against him. Now there was one Jonathan, a very great friend of Hyrcanus, but of the sect of the Sadducees, whose notions are quite contrary to those of the Pharisees; he told Hyrcanus that Eleazar had cast such a reproach upon him, according to the common sentiments of all the Pharisees, and that this would be made manifest if he would but ask him the question, What punishment they thought this man deserved?—for that he might depend upon it, that the reproach was not laid on him with their approbation, if they were for punishing him as his crime deserved. So the Pharisees made answer, That he deserved stripes and bonds; but that it did not seem right to punish reproaches with death; and indeed the Pharisees, even upon other occasions, are not apt to be severe in punishments. At this gentle sentence, Hyrcanus was very angry, and thought that this man reproached him by their approbation. It was this Jonathan who

chiefly irritated him, and influenced him so far, that he made him leave the party of the Pharisees, and abolish the decrees they had imposed on the people, and punish those that observed them. From this source arose that hatred which he and his sons met with from the multitude. But when Hyrcanus had put an end to this sedition, he after that lived happily, and administered the government in the best manner for thirty-one years, and then died, leaving behind him five sons. He was esteemed by God worthy of the three privileges—the government of his nation, the dignity of the high-priesthood, and prophecy; for God was with him, and enabled him to know futurities; and, in particular, that, as to his two eldest sons, he foretold that they would not long continue in the government of public affairs; whose unhappy catastrophe will be worth our description, that we may thence learn how very much they were inferior to their father's happiness."

## CHAPTER II

### REIGN OF THE MACCABEAN KINGS

THE popularity of the Maccabean family ceased with prince Hyrcanus. The people never forgave his alliance with the Sadducees. This sect consisted chiefly of men of rank and pleasure. The multitude admired and followed the Pharisees, who, by high pretensions to patriotism, disinterested zeal for religion and sacred reverence for every religious observance, sanctioned by Moses, or by the traditions of the ancients, dazzled and blinded the eyes of the ignorant and unreflecting, and perverted their judgments, so that they either wholly overlooked or justified the unsatiable ambition, and implacable antipathies and resentments of their leaders, and discredited every report of their secret acts of injustice, oppression, and licentiousness. And the character and conduct of the descendants of Hyrcanus, who succeeded him in power, were not adapted to undermine the influence, or expose the evil deeds of religious hypocrites. He was scarcely numbered with the dead when his eldest son Aristobulus, discovered no respect for his memory, or natural affection for his kindred. Selfishness and vanity swayed his heart; and made him a prey to the intrigues of those who knew how to awaken in him imaginary fears or delusive hopes. To guard against any sudden insurrection or tumult in the city, which he had reason to apprehend from the subtlety, power, and malice of his popular enemies, he erected a castle or palace in a strong position, in which he and his successors ever after resided, till the dominion of Judea passed to another race. Simon having razed the tower which commanded the temple, and which had been long almost uninterruptedly occupied by a Syrian garrison, Hyrcanus judged it expedient to raise strong fortifications around the temple. Within these he erected, on a lofty rock, his palace of polished marble, and employed every means to render it invulnerable. It was named at first Baris or Castle, which Herod afterward

exchanged for Antonia, in honour of his friend Marcus Antonius.

Hyrcaus, before his decease, had committed the government to his wife, and advised her to appoint any of his sons, in whom she had most confidence, to conduct, under her direction, the affairs of the nation. Her eldest son Aristobulus, having no inclination to be guided by her wisdom, instantly proclaimed himself the successor of his father, and assumed the lofty title of king. He is said to have loved and admired the Greeks; and he certainly surpassed them not in moral excellence. His first royal act was to embroil his hands in the blood of his venerable mother, to secure himself in the possession of sovereign power. She was imprisoned and starved to death; all his brothers were shut up in prison, except Antigonus, whom he loved, or whose services he was not willing to lose. Being not less ambitious of the fame of a conqueror than of royal titles, he invaded Iturea, the region lying north-east of the inheritance of Manasseh, and stretching to Damascus. It derived its name from its ancient inhabitants, the descendants of Itur or Jetur, one of the sons of Ishmael; from whom it had been taken by the Israelites, sometime after their conquest of Canaan; 1 Chron. v. 18—22. And the fact that they once occupied it may have induced Aristobulus to regard it as a part of the Holy Land. This opinion is the more probable from the circumstance, that when the inhabitants were at this time subdued, the Jews compelled them either to emigrate or to be circumcised and obey the laws of Moses. In consequence of an attack of disease, Aristobulus soon returned to Jerusalem, and left Antigonus to prosecute the war. Jealous of his influence over the king, the queen and court conspired to destroy him. They succeeded in exciting the enfeebled and wicked prince to suspect his fidelity, and, by an act of diabolical deception, stimulated him to order his guards to murder him. Antigonus entering Jerusalem in triumph, during the festival of tents, instantly ascended, in full armour, to the temple, to render thanks for the complete success which he had obtained. His enemies appealed to the king if this was not proof sufficient of his treacherous designs, and suggested that were he to summon him to his presence, he would not appear unarmed. To put him to the test, the king requested him to visit him, but not in his warlike dress; and, at the same time, commanded the royal guards to kill him, if he approached in his armour. The queen enjoined the messenger to deliver the opposite message. And as he passed

through a subterranean gallery, which Hyrcanus had constructed between the palace and the temple, he was assassinated by the guards. Aristobulus soon discovered the truth, and the guilt of murder kindled a fire in his conscience which hastened his end, and rendered him inexpressibly miserable. Josephus remarks, that "he grew worse and worse, and his soul was constantly disturbed at the thoughts of what he had done, till his very bowels being torn to pieces by the intolerable grief he was under, he threw up a great quantity of blood. And, as one of those servants that attended him carried out that blood, he, by some supernatural providence, slipped and fell down in the very place where Antigonius had been slain; and so he spilt some of the murderer's blood upon the spots of the blood of him that had been murdered, which still appeared. Hereupon a lamentable cry arose among the spectators, as if the servant had spilled the blood on purpose in that place; and, as the king heard that cry, he inquired what was the cause of it; and while nobody durst tell him, he pressed them so much the more to let him know what was the matter; so, at length, when he had threatened them, and forced them to speak out, they told; whereupon he burst into tears, and groaned, and said, 'So I perceive I am not like to escape the all-seeing eye of God, as to the great crimes I have committed; but the vengeance of the blood of my kinsman pursues me hastily. O thou most impudent body! how long wilt thou retain a soul that ought to die, on account of that punishment it ought to suffer for a mother and a brother slain! how long shall I myself spend my blood drop by drop! let them take it all at once; and let their ghosts no longer be disappointed by a few parcels of my bowels offered to them.' As soon as he had said these words, he presently died, when he had reigned no longer than a year."

The queen immediately liberated the brothers, and raised Alexander, surnamed Jannæus, to the throne. He commenced his reign by killing one of his brethren, who was suspected of treason, B. C. 105. He had to struggle during the greater part of his reign with civil war or foreign enemies, but finally triumphed, and disgraced his last years by unrestrained sensual indulgences. Several important cities dependent on Syria or Judea revolted, and had called in the aid of Ptolemy Lathyrus, who had been permitted by his mother Cleopatra to reign over Cyprus, after she had deposed him from the throne of Egypt. His army defeated that of Jannæus, near the banks of the Jordan. Of fifty thousand whom

Jannæus led to battle, few were not either killed or taken prisoners; and the enemy proceeded, without opposition, to lay waste the whole country. The utter ruin of the Jews seemed only averted by Cleopatra, who advanced to the support of Jannæus. It was not, however, from friendship to him that she delivered the Jews, but from the apprehension that if her son should possess Judea and Phenicia, he would speedily attempt to recover Egypt. On the appearance of the Egyptian army, Ptolemy judged it expedient to return to Cyprus; and though some flattered Cleopatra that she might easily take possession of Judea, yet by the advice of her chief servants, who were Jews, she very soon departed to Egypt. From this time Jannæus extended his dominions, although not without occasional repulses, and the loss of many of his soldiers. His victories had, however, no charms to procure him the approbation or applause of his subjects. Pursuing the policy of his father in relation to the Pharisees, that sect poisoned the minds of the people, who, by repeated tumults and insurrections, brought on themselves extreme wretchedness. Jannæus perceiving his danger, from the machinations and power of his ambitious and revengeful enemies, procured from Pisdia and Cilicia six thousand men, who, as a guard, accompanied him everywhere. This scheme was more calculated to inflame than allay the wrath of the Pharisees. In one of his expeditions against the Arabians, his army was entirely destroyed. On his return to Jerusalem, the multitude cast off his authority, and hoped to overcome him before he could raise a new army. He, however, quickly found troops to subdue them. A civil war now prevailed six years, during which about fifty thousand of the rebels were cut off. When by many losses they were unable to meet him in the field, they sought an asylum in Belhome, a city or fortress unknown. Having captured it, he carried eight hundred to Jerusalem, and crucified them all in one day, on a spot where he and his wives and concubines could survey their last agonies. When they were fixed on crosses, he ordered his soldiers to cut the throats of their wives and children, in their presence. This savage deed was followed with peace to the despairing citizens, B. C. 86; but he continued to carry on war some time longer with success, and then surrendered himself to intemperance, and died after an unenviable reign of twenty-seven years. He left two young sons, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, and appointed Alexandra, his wife, to administer the government, and urged her to put herself under the direction



of the Pharisees. At his death, according to Josephus, the Jews had acquired many cities, which had been subject to the Syrians, Idumeans, and Phenicians. Thus, on the coast they possessed Strato's Tower, Apollonia, Joppa, Jamnia, Ashdod, Gaza, Anthedon, Raphia, and Rhinocolura; in the middle of the country, near to Idumea, Adora, and Marissa; near the country of Samaria, mount Carmel and mount Tabor, Scythopolis, and Gadara; of the country of the Gaulonitis, Seleucia, and Gabala; in the country of Moab, Heshbon, and Medaba, and Oronas, Gelithon, Zara, the valley of the Cilices, and Pella; but the latter had been destroyed because its inhabitants had resolutely refused to adopt the Jewish religion.

The Pharisees no sooner found themselves in the possession of power, than they became enthusiastically loyal. They eulogised the late king, whom they had hated and reviled, as one of the greatest monarchs who had ever ruled over Israel; and they celebrated his funeral with greater pomp and magnificence than that of any of his predecessors. But their revenge was insatiable. They recalled all of their party who had been exiled for political offences; and incessantly laboured to procure the banishment or death of all who had been most distinguished for their fidelity to the late government. Hyrcanus was unambitious, and disposed to peace; he was satisfied with the dignity of high-priest, and submitted to the counsels of the Pharisees. They hastened to repeal the decree which the noble John Hyrcanus had promulgated, abolishing their traditionary laws and rites. These they universally enforced; and nothing provoked their indignation and exposed to their vengeance more than neglect of these traditions, which from this time continued to be deemed more important than the inspired revelations of heaven.

Aristobulus placed himself in opposition to the Pharisees, and supported all his father's friends. Their enemies were implacable; and they perceived their ruin inevitable, if the queen interposed not to save them. In the seventh year of her reign, they boldly united, and obtained an interview, which happily terminated in her authorising them to reside in any of the cities or places favoured with garrisons, except those in which her treasures were deposited. She found two advantages in that conduct; the first was, that their enemies dared not attack them in those fortresses, where they would have their forces; the second, that they would always be a body of reserve upon which she could rely upon on any rupture with the Pharisees. The only great event in relation to Judea

in the reign of Alexandra was the approach of a great army to its vicinity, under the able king of Armenia, Tigranes, whom the Syrians had chosen for their king. Though the Jews had a large army, yet they had no hope of being able to contend against this powerful prince. The news that he had laid siege to Ptolemais threw the whole nation into the greatest consternation. The queen immediately sent him large and valuable presents. He gave her ambassadors a gracious reception; but she owed her safety to the interposition of providence rather than to the friendship of Tigranes. Considering his ambition and love of conquest, after reducing Ptolemais, he would no doubt have advanced on Jerusalem, had he not been called away to defend his native territories, threatened by the Romans, who had invaded Pontus and Cappadocia. He departed from Phenicia, in the ninth and last year of the reign of Alexandra. On her being attacked by a disease which was deemed incurable, Aristobulus executed his long meditated purpose to seize the crown. He secretly left Jerusalem with only one servant, and summoned around him his own and his father's friends; and in two weeks above twenty of the garrisoned towns and castles acknowledged him king. He then was able to command almost all the military forces of the nation. "The people as well as the army were entirely inclined to declare for him, weary of the cruel administration of the Pharisees, who had governed without control under Alexandra, and were become insupportable to all the world. They came therefore in crowds from all sides to follow the standards of Aristobulus, in hopes that he would abolish the tyranny of the Pharisees, which could not be expected from Hyrcanus his brother, who had been brought up by his mother in a blind submission to that sect: besides which, he had neither the courage nor capacity necessary to so vigorous a design; for he was heavy and indolent, void of activity and application, and of a very mean genius. When the Pharisees saw that Aristobulus's party augmented considerably, they went with Hyrcanus at their head to represent to the dying queen what had passed, and to demand her orders and assistance. She answered, that she was no longer in a condition to intermeddle in such affairs, and that she left the care of them to the Pharisees. However, she appointed Hyrcanus her heir and general, and expired soon after. As soon as she was dead, he took possession of the throne, and the Pharisees used all their endeavours to support him upon it. When Aristobulus quitted Jerusalem, they had caused his wife and chil

dren, whom he had left behind him, to be shut up in the castle of Baris, as hostages against himself; but seeing this did not stop him, they raised an army. Aristobulus did the same. A battle near Jericho decided the quarrel. Hyrcanus, abandoned by most part of his troops, who went over to his brother, was obliged to fly to Jerusalem, and to shut himself up in the castle of Baris." His partisans took refuge in the temple; and he very soon submitted to his brother, on condition of liberty to retire into private life with his personal property. Had Hyrcanus been permitted to follow his own inclinations, it is probable that his name would have had no longer a place in history. This, however, suited not the views of his numerous friends, who regarded him as an indispensable instrument to maintain their influence in society, and obtain the objects of their ambition. The most enterprising of these was Antipas or Antipater, to whose agency, from this time till his descendants became the chief rulers of Judea, may be traced the wars, revolutions, and contests, which brought on the Jews great and accumulated sufferings. Some imagined that this man was of Jewish descent; but Josephus asserts that he was an Idumean of noble birth, and exceedingly rich. His father had been highly esteemed by Alexander Jannæus, who had chosen him general of his army in Idumea; and he had augmented his power by entering into friendship with many persons of influence in Ascalon, Gaza, and Arabia. He and his son Antipater retained favour at court during the reigns of Alexander and Alexandra, and was apparently the chief minister of Hyrcanus. On that prince resigning the crown, he endeavoured, by every possible means, to awaken in him suspicions that his brother intended to take his life, and that he ought to seek an asylum in the court of Aretas, king of Petra. They had not been long in Petra, when he prevailed on Hyrcanus to from an alliance with Aretas, in order to recover his crown. Having agreed to deliver up to Aretas a number of cities which he had lost in his wars with Jannæus, he invaded Judea with an army of fifty thousand men, who were joined by many Jews, devoted to the interests of the Pharisees. The appearance of the Arabians alarmed all ranks, and they eagerly sought to avoid danger by deserting Aristobulus, and hailing Hyrcanus as their lawful king. The former, with the forces which he could command, ventured a battle, and was totally defeated. He fled to Jerusalem, which the invader soon after entered without opposition. He and a few priests withdrew within the forti-

fications of the temple, which was immediately besieged. Both parties were alike unprepared to endure a tedious siege, for famine prevailed over the whole country and Hyrcanus and Aristobulus had recourse for aid to the Romans. Scaurus had been lately sent by Pompey to take possession of Syria. Damascus, the capital, had been conquered by the Roman generals before his arrival, and he proceeded to Judea. Aristobulus procured his favour by a present of four hundred talents. Scaurus commanded Aretas to leave Judea, if he desired to live in friendship with the Romans. He obeyed; and Aristobulus hastily gathered together a large army, and pursued the Arabians. A fierce battle ensued, which terminated in the overthrow of the army of Aretas, who left seven thousand dead. The most distinguished of the Jewish army who were slain, was Phalion, the brother of Antipater.

These unexpected reverses were insufficient to cool the fiery ambition of Antipater; they rather stimulated his zeal in what he pretended was the just cause of Hyrcanus. Accordingly, he persuaded him to send him as his ambassador to the celebrated Pompey, who had arrived in Damascus, covered with the laurels of his triumph over Tigranes. At the same time, Aristobulus sent an ambassador to the Roman conqueror, imploring his patronage. The ambassadors pleaded before him as the arbiter of the greatest affairs of kingdoms. He declined to give a final decision till he returned from Arabia, which he proposed to conquer. Aristobulus, however, perceived that his expressed opposition to the design of Pompey against Arabia had made him his enemy, and he resolved to defend himself against the Roman power. He sedulously laboured during all the time that the Romans were engaged in the conquest of the strong city of Petra, to prepare for a vigorous defence of Judea. This conduct confirmed the purpose of Pompey to humble him; and he no sooner had successfully terminated the war against Aretas than he marched into Judea. His progress was arrested on the frontiers of Ephraim and Benjamin, on the road to Jericho, by the very strong fortress of Alexandrium, seated on a lofty mountain. It contained the sepulchre of the family of its founder, Alexander Jannæus. Here Aristobulus was posted. Pompey summoned him to descend. He complied, to please his friends, who dreaded a war with the Romans. "After a conversation, which turned upon his difference with his brother, he returned into his castle. He repeated the same two or three times, in hopes by that complacency to gain upon Pompey, and induce him to

decide in his favour. But for fear of accident, he did not omit to put good garrisons into his strong places, and to make all other preparations for a vigorous defence, in case Pompey should decree against him. Pompey, who had advice of his proceedings, the last time he came to him, obliged him to put them all into his hands by way of sequestration, and made him sign orders for that purpose to all the commanders of those places. Aristobulus, incensed at the violence which had been done him, as soon as he was released, made all haste to Jerusalem, and prepared every thing for the war. His resolution to keep the crown, made him the sport of the different passions, hope and fear. When he saw the least appearance that Pompey would decide in his favour, he made use of all the arts of complacency to incline him to it; when, on the contrary, he had the least reason to suspect that he would declare against him, he observed directly opposite conduct. Such was the contrariety visible in the different steps he took throughout this affair." The Roman army advanced on Jerusalem. On their approach, Aristobulus perceived his folly, and went out to meet the general; and "endeavoured to bring him to an accommodation, by promising an entire submission, and a great sum of money to prevent the war. Pompey accepted his offers, and sent Gabinius at the head of a detachment to receive the money: but when that lieutenant-general arrived at Jerusalem, he found the gates shut against him, and, instead of receiving the money, he was told from the top of the walls, that the city would not stand to the agreement. Pompey, thereupon, not being willing that they should deceive him with impunity, ordered Aristobulus, whom he had kept with him, to be put in irons, and advanced with his whole army against Jerusalem. The city was extremely strong by its situation and the works which had been made, and, had it not been divided within doors against itself, was capable of making a long defence. Aristobulus's party was for defending the place, especially when they saw that Pompey kept their king prisoner; but the adherents of Hyrcanus were determined to open the gates to that general. And as the latter were much the greater number, the other party retired to the mountain where the temple stood, to defend it, and caused the bridges of the ditch and valley which surrounded it to be broken down. Pompey, to whom the city immediately opened its gates, resolved to besiege the temple. The place held out three entire months; and would have done so three more, and perhaps obliged the Romans to abandon their en-

terprise, but for the superstitious rigour with which the besieged observed the Sabbath. They believed, indeed that they might defend themselves when attacked, but not that they might prevent the works of the enemy, or made any for themselves. The Romans knew how to take the advantage of this inaction upon the Sabbath-days. They did not attack the Jews upon them, but filled up the fosses, make their approaches, and fixed their engines without opposition. They threw down at length a great tower, with which so great a part of the wall fell, that the breach was large enough for an assault. The place was carried sword in hand, and a terrible slaughter ensued, in which more than twelve thousand persons were killed. During the whole tumult, cries and disorder of this slaughter, history observes, that the priests, who were at that time employed in divine service, continued it with a surprising unconcern, notwithstanding the rage of their enemies, and their grief to see their friends and relations massacred before their eyes. Many of them saw their own blood mingle with that of the sacrifices they offered, and the sword of the enemy make themselves the victims of their duty ; happy and worthy of being envied, if they were as faithful to the spirit, as the letter of the law ! Pompey, with many of his superior officers, entered the temple ; and not only into the sanctuary, but into the *sanctum sanctorum*, into which, by the law, only the high-priest was permitted to enter once a-year, upon the solemn day of expiation. This was what afflicted and enraged the Jews most against the Romans. Pompey did not touch the treasures of the temple, that consisted principally in sums which had been deposited there by private families for their better security. Those sums amounted to two thousand talents in specie, without reckoning the gold and the silver vessels, which were innumerable, and of infinite value. It was not, says Cicero, out of respect for the majesty of the God adored in that temple, that Pompey behaved in this manner ; for, according to him, nothing was more contemptible than the Jewish religion, more unworthy the wisdom and grandeur of the Romans, nor more opposite to the institutions of their ancestors : Pompey, in this noble disinterestedness, had no other motive than to deprive malice and calumny of all means of attacking his reputation. Such were the thoughts of the most learned of the pagans upon the only religion of the True God. They blasphemed what they knew nothing of. It hath been observed, that till then Pompey had been successful in all things ; but

that, after this sacrilegious curiosity, his good fortune abandoned him, and that his taking the temple of Jerusalem was his last victory."

Before leaving Jerusalem, he caused his army to demolish its walls, and the fortifications of several other cities of Judea. He declared it a part of Syria, imposed a tribute on Hyrcanus, whom he restored to the throne, intrusted Antipater with the administration, and left Scaurus sub-governor, with a number of Roman soldiers. He sent Aristobulus and his two sons, Alexander and Antigonus, prisoners to Rome. The latter escaped on his journey, and immediately returned to Judea, and raised a considerable army. The whole administration of Antipater was conducted so as to procure for himself the favour of the Romans. Hence, instead of raising a powerful army to defend the throne, he applied to Gabinius, the Roman governor of Syria, to subdue Antigonus. His army was soon dispersed, but he found an asylum, for some time, in Alexandria. After some time, partly by delivering up all the strongest places possessed by his friends, and partly by the intercessions of his mother, he was permitted to depart wherever he pleased. Gabinius demolished the fortresses, and re-established Hyrcanus in the office of high-priest, but made an important change in the form of the civil government, which, however, was only temporary. He divided the kingdom into five provinces, and appointed a council to govern each. Crassus, who had succeeded Gabinius in the government of Syria, in his rash expedition against the Parthians, B. C. 57, "always intent upon gratifying his insatiable avarice, stopt at Jerusalem, where he had been told great treasures were laid up. He plundered the temple of all the riches in it; which amounted to the sum of ten thousand talents, that is to say, about fifteen hundred thousand pounds sterling." Hyrcanus was nominally chief ruler, but, in consequence of mental weakness and indolence, he left Antipater to govern the kingdom according to his pleasure. Probably he felt himself insecure, when Aristobulus arrived in Syria with two Roman legions, committed to him by Julius Cesar, who, as soon as he had made himself master of Syria, had liberated Aristobulus, in hope that he would be useful by opposing the schemes of Pompey in Syria. But the friends of that general quickly found means to kill Aristobulus by poison. And Antipater, by his great political influence, was most successful in procuring the favour of the Roman generals in the East, and particularly of Cesar, who was greatly indebted to him for most

efficient assistance in his mighty contest with his rival Pompey in Egypt. Antipater had led a considerable army to his assistance, and personally performed the most heroic actions in the service of Cesar. Nor was this all; he had either induced the high-priest Hyrcanus to write letters to the Jews in Egypt, or he had forged them in his name, requesting them to join Cesar, and supply him with whatever his army required.

Cesar was generous, and had pleasure in rewarding his friends. When, therefore, he had terminated the war in Egypt, and arrived in Judea, disregarding the supplications of Antigonus to be restored to the throne of his deceased father, whom he had accompanied into Syria, he fully gratified the desires of Hyrcanus and Antipater. He abolished the form of government which had been introduced by Gabinius, and restored the monarchical. Hyrcanus was declared king and high-priest, with liberty to rebuild the walls of his metropolis, and Antipater was constituted under him procurator of Judea. The latter immediately appointed Phasaël his eldest son, and Herod his youngest, governors; the former of Jerusalem, and the latter of Galilee. The measures pursued by both rendered them exceedingly popular with the nation and the Syrian Roman governor. Herod, especially, was applauded for his bold and successful efforts to destroy numerous banditti who had long infested Galilee and the adjacent provinces. His conduct, however, in putting the leaders whom he seized to death, without trying them before the proper tribunal, awakened the jealousy and indignation of all who professed to value the liberty and laws of their country. These formed a strong party, and forced Hyrcanus to summon Herod before the Sanhedrim to answer the accusations brought against him. The king was his friend, and therefore suffered him to appear in the great council, in full armour, accompanied with a guard of soldiers. The scene confounded all the councillors; one alone, Samoas, who was universally known and esteemed for integrity, had the courage to maintain the dignity of his office. He denounced the weakness and folly of Hyrcanus in permitting justice and law to be thus insulted and concluded an eloquent address by solemnly admonishing the court of the fearful consequences which might be apprehended if they submitted to the pride and insolence of Herod. "Regard my words: God is great; and this very man, whom you are going to absolve and dismiss, for the sake of Hyrcanus, will one day punish you and your king." These ominous words were awfully verified, as we shall have occasion



soon to notice. The Sanhedrim were for a moment roused to a sense of their duty, and showed signs of a disposition to pronounce Herod worthy of death. On perceiving this, Hyrcanus adjourned the court, and advised Herod to flee from Jerusalem. He withdrew to Syria, under pretence that the king threatened to destroy him; and by rich presents conciliated the favour of Sextus Cesar the governor, by whom he was appointed general of the forces in Cœlo-Syria. In these circumstances, it was scarcely expected that he would regard the second summons to stand accused in the Sanhedrim. He would have preferred laying siege to Jerusalem; but the arguments of his father and brother conquered his hostile purposes. The Sanhedrim were deterred from proceeding against him, but were exceedingly incensed against their king, who had arrested the course of justice and equity.

Cesar was assassinated in the senate about this time. A very short time before that event, he had publicly testified his esteem for the Jews, by conferring on them great additional privileges, which were afterwards confirmed by the senate of Rome, and are minutely described by Josephus. The Jews received at the same time, from several of the cities of Greece and Asia, strong expressions of friendship. These advantages, however, did not prevent them from suffering much about this time from the Roman civil wars, which were deeply felt in Syria. Antipater sedulously applied himself to promote the interests of Cassius, to whom he afforded efficient aid, at a critical time, when the chiefs of other cities declined, or were slow to send him the supply of money which he demanded. The chief persons whom he employed to impose on each city its proportion, were Antipater's sons and Malichus, who had been, next to Antipater, the ablest minister of Hyrcanus. He was the enemy of the growing power of his associates; and more, perhaps, from aversion to them than from dislike of Cassius, neglected to force the cities to pay what was required of them. In consequence of this, Cassius ordered the inhabitants of a number of these cities to be publicly sold, and only spared the life of Malichus at the intercession of Hyrcanus, who ransomed him at the price of one hundred talents. From this time Malichus resolved to kill Antipater. His first plots were detected; but he solemnly denied them, and was forgiven. His hatred and resentment were increased, according as the family of Antipater advanced in power and honour. Cassius not only commissioned Herod to rule Cœlo-Syria, but also promised to make him king

of Judea, as soon he had succeeded to the supreme government of Rome. What Malichus could not effect by power he did by deceit and treachery. He gained the butler of Hyrcanus, and persuaded him to mix the wine with poison, which was given at dinner to Antipater. His sons, who were not ignorant who was the real instigator of the atrocious deed, seized the first opportunity of revenge, by murdering him; and were preserved from punishment by the public approbation of Cassius. A brother of Malichus, to revenge his death, stirred up an insurrection which spread misery over several districts. It was quelled by Phasael, although supported by Felix, who had received the government of Syria, and regarded with indifference by Hyrcanus. The dastardly behaviour of the king exceedingly provoked the wrath of Herod, but he was appeased on his consenting to give him in marriage Mariamne, his grand-daughter, who was everywhere celebrated for her beauty.

The sons of Antipater, nevertheless, had to contend with a far more powerful enemy than Malichus. Antigonus, son of Aristobulus, assisted by Ptolemy Mennæus, prince of Chalcis, and other lesser powers, led an army into Judea, to strip his uncle of the crown which he was not worthy to bear. Herod defeated him on the frontiers; but he soon re-appeared under more favourable auspices. The Parthians engaged to place him on the throne of his ancestors, on condition of receiving one thousand talents and five hundred women. The small number of Roman troops left in Syria, *b. c.* 41, encouraged Pacorus, son of the Parthian king, to invade Syria. He sent his cup-bearer of the same name, with a detachment to join the troops raised by Antigonus. Hyrcanus and Phasael, had the imprudence to proceed themselves to the united army, with a proposal of terms of accommodation. The enemy, destitute of the principle of honour, put them in irons, and hastily entered Jerusalem, in the hope of taking Herod also prisoner. He fled; the Parthians plundered the city, and then placed Antigonus on the throne, "and delivered Hyrcanus and Phasael in chains into his hands. Phasael, who well knew that his death was resolved on, dashed out his brains against the wall, to avoid the hands of the executioner. As for Hyrcanus, his life was granted him; but to render him incapable of the priesthood, Antigonus caused his ears to be cut off; for, according to the Levitical law, it was requisite that the high-priest should be perfect in all his members. After having thus mutilated him, he gave him back to the Parthians,

that they might carry him into the East, from whence it would not be possible for him to embroil affairs in Judea. He continued a prisoner at Seleucia, in Babylonia, till the coming of Phraates to the crown, who caused his chains to be taken off, and gave him entire liberty to see and converse with the Jews of that country, who were very numerous. They looked upon him as their king and high-priest, and raised him a revenue sufficient to support his rank with splendour. The love of his native country made him forget all those advantages. He returned the year following to Jerusalem, whither Herod had invited him to come, but put him to death some years afterwards.

Herod at first took refuge in Egypt, from whence he went to Rome. Anthony was then in the high degree of power, which the triumvirate had given him. He took Herod under his protection, and even did more in his favour than he expected; for instead of what he proposed, which was at most to obtain the crown for Aristobulus, whose sister, Mariamne, he had lately married, with the view only of governing under him, as Antipater had done under Hyrcanus, Anthony caused the crown to be conferred upon himself, contrary to the usual maxim of the Romans in like cases; for it was not their custom to violate the rights of the royal houses which acknowledged them for protectors, and to give the crowns to strangers. Herod was declared king of Judea by the senate, and conducted by the consuls to the capitol, where he received the investiture of the crown, with the ceremonies usual upon such occasions. Herod passed only seven days at Rome in negotiating this great affair, and returned speedily into Judea. He employed no more time than three months in his journeys by sea and land."

Antigonus, however, by great exertions, defended his throne two years, and cherished the vain hope of receiving assistance from the Parthians, although he had failed to fulfil his promises to them, and beheld them expelled from Syria by the Romans. About the time of Herod's return to Palestine, Antigonus was engaged in the siege of Massada, a strong fortress, which contained the family and treasures of Herod, who had intrusted its defence to his brother Joseph. After reducing Joppa, Herod marched to the aid of his friends, whom he had the happiness of relieving. He had now a considerable army, consisting of Jews and Romans, and conceived himself able to attempt the siege of Jerusalem. But his Roman soldiers were more disposed to enrich themselves by

plunder than to subdue his enemies ; and the Roman officers were bribed by Antigonus to supply him with troops ; besides, Galilee was infested with bands of banditti, who desolated the country. He deemed it prudent to direct his chief efforts to destroy these marauders, probably in order to conciliate the Jewish people. While his army were thus employed, he went into the northern division of Syria, and joined Anthony, who had arrived there, and was besieging the chief city, Samarata, the present Semisat, situated on the Euphrates. His gallant services on this occasion were most acceptable to the Triumvir, who testified his regard for him by ordering Sosius, whom he appointed governor of Syria, to assist him in his contest for the throne of Judea. During his residence in Syria, his own army had suffered a great defeat, and lost Joseph their captain. He, however, speedily revenged the death of his brother, for he defeated, with great slaughter, the army of Antigonus. That prince never recovered the loss which he sustained in this battle ; and, as soon as the army of his opponent had received a great reinforcement of thirty thousand men, and six thousand horse, commanded by Sosius, he was shut up in Jerusalem. " While the works necessary to the siege were carrying on, Herod made a tour to Samaria, and at length consummated his marriage with Mariamne. They had been contracted four years to each other : but the unforeseen troubles into which he fell had prevented their consummating the marriage till now. She was the daughter of Alexander, the son of king Aristobulus, and Alexandra the daughter of Hyrcanus the second, and thereby grand-daughter to those two brothers. She was a princess of extraordinary beauty and virtue, and possessed, in an eminent degree, all the other qualities that adorn the sex. The attachment of the Jews to the Asmonean family, made Herod imagine, that by espousing her he should find no difficulty in gaining their affection, which was one of his reasons for consummating his marriage at that time. On his return to Jerusalem, Sosius and he, having joined their forces, pressed the siege in concert with the utmost vigour, and with a very numerous army, which amounted to at least sixty thousand men. The place however held out against them many months with exceeding resolution ; and if the besieged had been as expert in the art of war and the defence of places, as they were brave and resolute, it would not perhaps have been taken. But the Romans, who were much better skilled in those things than them, carried the place at length, after a siege of something

more than six months. The Jews being driven from their posts, the enemy entered on all sides, and made themselves masters of the city. And to revenge the obstinate resistance they had made, and the pains they had suffered during so long and difficult a siege, they filled all quarters of Jerusalem with blood and slaughter, plundered and destroyed all before them, though Herod did his utmost both to prevent the one and the other. Antigonus seeing all lost, came and threw himself at the feet of Sosius in the most submissive and most abject manner. He was put in chains, and sent to Anthony as soon as he arrived at Antioch. He designed at first to have reserved him for his triumph; but Herod, who did not think himself safe as long as that branch of the royal family survived, would not let him rest till he had obtained the death of that unfortunate prince, for which he even gave a large sum of money. He was proceeded against in form, condemned to die, and had the sentence executed upon him in the same manner as common criminals, with the rods and axes of the lictor, and was fastened to a stake,—a treatment with which the Romans had never used any crowned head before.”

Thus ended the reign of the Asmoneans, after a duration of an hundred and twenty-nine years, from the beginning of the government of Judas Maccabeus. That chief had been honoured to open bright prospects to the Jews; but neither they nor his descendants for a number of generations had discovered much wisdom to improve them. The majority of the nation departed from God; and few continued to reverence his authority, or confide in his power and favour to protect them. True religion was scarcely visible; and its form was only regarded as a sacrifice to expiate, or a veil to conceal principles allied to those of paganism, or pagan philosophy, and practices equally detestable as those which characterised the most intemperate and licentious idolaters. Their sun had been long obscured by thick clouds, and was about to leave them in the blackness of darkness, till the Sun of righteousness should arise to illuminate all nations. Judah, indeed, might be said to retain the sceptre, but henceforth it was actually held by strangers to the race of Jacob; an event assuredly ominous of the approach of the long promised and fervently desired Messiah, who was destined to revolutionise the kingdom of Judah, and ascend the throne of his father David, in order to administer justice, truth, and mercy, without respect of persons, to all, whether Jews or Gentiles, who

truly worshipped God in spirit and in truth. Such was certainly the import of the ancient prediction announced by Jacob in his last days,—“The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come; and unto him shall the gathering of the people be.”

## CHAPTER III.

### THE FOURTH, OR ROMAN EMPIRE.

#### ORIGIN OF ROME.—CARTHAGE, ITS RIVAL FOR EMPIRE IN THE WEST.

IN our record of the events which more immediately affected the Eastern nations, we have seen the Romans assume the supremacy in almost all the important kingdoms and provinces which constituted the Grecian empire. From the time of their entire conquest of Italy, they proceeded rapidly to make their power to be gradually and successively felt and acknowledged in Illyricum, Greece, Egypt, Macedon, Asia Minor, Syria, comprising all the countries lying west of the Euphrates, and, finally, Phenicia and Judea. Their first appearance in these regions was peculiarly interesting, and may be said to have at once astonished and fascinated the inhabitants; for they, with consummate wisdom or subtlety, sought and acquired the political ascendancy, as much, if not more, by policy rather than might. Their ambassadors, captains, soldiers, and indeed all their political servants, proclaimed themselves the disinterested agents of humanity, voluntarily devoted and prepared to sacrifice all things to deliver the human race from tyranny, oppression, and slavery. And, what was a new thing in the ancient world, their actions did not generally belie their words. Compared with all the former conquerors of the ancient world, they were the liberators of the wretched nations. While they everywhere trampled on tyrants, they conferred on the people all the liberty which they valued, left them at least in nominal independence, and stationed among them a number of counsellors and soldiers, whom both parties regarded necessary guardians of the peace and welfare of the emancipated communities. That these guardians frequently enslaved the legitimate rulers, invaded the liberties of the people, preyed on the property of all ranks, and shed the blood of many, history amply proves. It is, however

equally certain, that this atrocious conduct was contrary to the will and instructions of the chief rulers and directors of the Roman government. To the utmost extent of their power and vigilance, they acted on their publicly avowed principle, to humble the proud, admit into favour the submissive, and protect and support the weak. Accordingly, they usually treated rather as allies than dependants, the nations that either voluntarily desired their protection, or readily acknowledged their superiority. To this may be traced the remarkable confidence in the senate of Rome, and esteem for them, which were cherished by not a few of the kings and people, whom they had assisted or conquered. One of the most striking testimonies of this confidence and esteem, and one which was altogether new in the history of man, was the custom of sovereigns at their death, bequeathing, with the approbation of their subjects, their respective kingdoms to the Romans. Thus they were constituted heirs of the kingdoms of Pergamus, Bithynia, Cyrenaica, and Libya, Egypt, and Cyprus. "Generally speaking," Rollin remarks, "of all foreign yokes, none ever was lighter than that of the Romans. Scarcely could its weight be perceived by those who bore it." The political wisdom of Rome contributed not only to the extension, but also to the consolidation and unity of its empire. Almost all the nations were impoverished and exhausted by foreign aggressions, or by weak, tyrannical, or brutal rulers, and internal strife and anarchy. They groaned under various and accumulated sufferings, and more deeply sighed and longed for rest than even for liberty. This, they flattered themselves, would be obtained by throwing themselves into the arms of the Romans; nor, considering their previous circumstances, did they experience disappointment.

This view of the Roman power may seem very different from the portrait drawn of it by the spirit of prophecy. But that the former perfectly accorded with the latter, every one will be convinced who will accompany us in the very superficial survey which our plan permits us to take, of the rise, progress, and establishment of the fourth empire. Daniel thus delineates it, as it had been represented to Nebuchadnezzar, in vision: "The fourth kingdom shall be strong as iron: forasmuch as iron breaketh in pieces and subdueth all things; and as iron that breaketh all these, shall it break in pieces and bruise. And whereas thou sawest the feet and toes, part of potter's clay, and part of iron, the kingdom shall be divided; but there shall be in it of the strength of the iron, forasmuch



as thou sawest the iron mixed with miry clay. And as the toes of the feet were part of iron, and part of clay, so the kingdom shall be partly strong, and partly broken. And whereas thou sawest iron mixed with miry clay, they shall mingle themselves with the seed of men: but they shall not cleave one to another, even as iron is not mixed with clay." And again the prophet records the more brief description of this empire, as given him by the angel of the Most High: Thus he said, "The fourth beast shall be the fourth kingdom upon earth, which shall be diverse from all kingdoms, and shall devour the whole earth, and shall tread it down, and break it in pieces." In the system of divine predictions, a wild beast is the selected image of a great, idolatrous, and oppressive power. This emblem is applied to the Roman empire, but the beast, unlike those denoting the former prophetic empires, is nameless, notwithstanding that this empire was diverse from, or rather, copied from them. This evidently suggests, that, while the Roman conquerors would in general resemble those of Babylon, Persia, and Macedon, they would, at the same time, be characterised by features peculiar to themselves. And this was strictly true of them. In common with the former empires, the Romans patronised idolatry, and ultimately established pure despotism. Its rulers, however, protected not only the conquered nations, in their laws, customs, manners, and different forms and kinds of religions, but also adopted their numerous and various gods, their best laws, their literature, science, and arts; and communicated to them, in exchange, their most valued privileges and most approved laws. And thus they elevated the nations as much as possible, to that state of civilization which they had themselves reached.

In reference to this peculiarity of the Roman empire, and which may be deemed its greatest glory, Dr. G. Miller, in his *Philosophy of Modern History*, observes, that "The Roman people seem to have been eminently qualified for the work of civilization. It was the well known practice of the Romans, to adopt from every nation, subdued in their long career of conquest, the arms, the tactics, the laws, and the philosophy, in which they perceived themselves excelled. But legislation appears to have been their grand and peculiar object. The formation of their legislative system appears to have engaged their attention from the very commencement of their government. In the days of their republic the study of the laws became the most effectual instrument of popular ambi-

tion; and the imperial despotism, which chastised and controlled the factions of their degeneracy, has been rendered illustrious by the improvement and compilation of their ordinances. That despotism, indeed, which extinguished the civil liberties of Rome, fulfilled the political destination of this extraordinary state. When Augustus was craftily destroying the remaining principles of Roman freedom, and training the people to habits of submission, the provinces looked forward with pleasure to the accomplishment of his designs, the impartial superintendence of a common master, being a desirable refuge from the depredations of republican governors. The period, accordingly, in which Roman legislation was most flourishing, was that which intervened between the age of Cicero and the reign of Alexander Severus; and a series of five reigns occurred within this period, beginning with that of Nerva and ending with that of the latter Antoninus, the history of which has been emphatically named the history of humanity. Under this government the experience of the empire, which included the whole civilized world, was accumulated into one mass for the direction of mankind; schools too were established for disseminating the knowledge of law throughout the Roman dominions; particularly the Athenæum founded at Rome by Adrian, and the great academy erected afterwards at Berytus in Phenicia, probably by Alexander Severus: and, finally, this various knowledge was reduced into a code, first by the direction of the emperor Theodosius, in the year 438, and afterwards more perfectly by the emperor Justinian, in various publications, the first of which was issued in the year 528, and the last in the year 566, the concluding year of his reign. Thus was fulfilled in a more perfect sense, the eulogy, which the Roman poet could scarcely have pronounced except in relation to the conquering ambition of his countrymen:—

Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento  
 Hac tibi erunt artes; pacisque imponere morem,  
 Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos.—*Æneid*, lib. 6. l. 852, &c.

Hence we may perceive the Divine propriety of that superintendence of Providence, by which Rome rose to the summit of its greatness before the promulgation of Christianity; for in no former age had the human mind been much improved, except by a few persons. The mighty rulers of Asia had treated the conquered nations as slaves, and governed them as they did the inferior animals. Their will was

law, and they gave themselves no concern with the minds of the multitude, except to subject them to their power, and enslave them by their superstitions. In these circumstances, they would have been ill-qualified to examine the claims of the messengers of Heaven to their confidence, or to estimate the evidences adduced by them of the truth and importance of their message. In order to this, their minds would have, humanly speaking, required, as experience proves savages do, years of training, to discern the complete proof of the truth of the new religion. It is true that the principal facts of the gospel may be, and often are, understood and credited by children and the rust of mankind, and become effectual in them for their peace, purity, and happiness. But the comprehension of the reasons which demonstrate its truth can only distinguish minds considerably cultivated by the intelligent exercise of the understanding and judgment, and directed to the varied subjects of knowledge, which exclusively characterise civilized society. Those who know the gospel best have always been most solicitous to exhibit it in the presence of the most enlightened of mankind ; for they know that though the ignorant may despise it, and the proud hate it, yet it commends itself to the consciences of all who are capable of exercising the senses to discern good and evil. They are, therefore, not ashamed, or rather, they boast of the gospel, in the presence of the most illustrious for wisdom or learning.

The iron strength of Rome is conspicuous in the earliest period of its history. Neither famine, pestilence, storm, nor earthquake, or the power of the hunter, could subdue the inherent young vigour of this beast of the forest. A few families of refugees or banditti settled on a spot in Italy, and maintained their position in every variety of circumstance, and amidst every form of danger, till their strength enabled them to enter on aggressive wars, by which they attained the sovereignty of the mightiest empire of the remote ages.

The Romans, relying on their tradition, derive their origin from Æneas and other Trojans, who fled from their native country when Troy was destroyed by the Greeks, about fourteen hundred years before the Christian era. But it is more certain that they consisted of a horde of barbarians, who had united to seek a place where they might procure subsistence for themselves and their flocks, which, with their weapons of war, constituted their wealth. This they found on the south bank of the Tiber, at its junction with the Anio. Having expelled the former inhabitants, they were naturally

hated or dreaded by the adjacent population. Their number, at the founding of Rome, their capital, B. C. 748, was computed at 3000 men on foot, and 300 horsemen. These were divided into the classes of nobles or patricians, and plebeians; patrons, and clients or dependents. The head of these in civil affairs and war had the title of king. His council, selected from the patricians, became the celebrated senate of Rome; and the plebeians assembled to deliberate and vote on the affairs of the nation, were named the Comitium. Thus, while the Roman government was originally a monarchy in form, its institutions were republican.

Latium, the country of the Romans, extended fifty miles along the coast from Ostia, the port of Rome at the mouth of the Tiber, to Circeii; and stretched into the interior about sixteen miles. This comparatively small region was divided into forty-seven independent states. Rome being one of these, of course possessed only a small district, perhaps not more than four miles in length. The site of the city occupied first one of the seven hills or mounts, which it afterwards covered. The soil was, compared to Italy in general, unproductive, and consequently urged the Romans to cherish the habits of moderation and industry which long prevailed among them. And their relative position stimulated them to bold and daring acts to defend themselves, and subdue their enemies and rivals for dominion. However ignorant and barbarous they may have been in their first age, they early acquired considerable knowledge of the arts of government and war. Probably they owed this to their neighbours who were of Grecian descent. On their west was the state of Etruria, whose community showed their relation to Greece by their progress in science and the arts of refinement. Campania and Lucania only separated the Romans from Magna Grecia, which we have had occasion to notice as one of the first seats of Grecian philosophy. And Rome is known to have cultivated a close and unalterable alliance with the inhabitants of Marseilles and the neighbouring country near the mouth of the Rhone. These were Greeks who emigrated to Gaul more than five hundred years before Christ, and were celebrated for their commerce, academies, and elegant manners. The monarchy of Rome subsisted, it is said, 244 years, during which, the city was much enlarged and adorned; the population augmented to 80,000 fit for war, besides many sent to form small colonies; and the superiority of the state was acknowledged in all Latium. Tarquin, the son of a rich merchant of Corinth, who

had fled from the tyrant of his native city, chose Rome for his residence. He first was elevated to be tutor to the king's sons; and, finally, on the death of the king, he prevailed on the Romans to elect him for his successor. His reign seems to have been justly the most celebrated of all the kings. He was successful in war, and most assiduously advanced the arts of peace, for he strengthened and beautified the cities, promoted education, and rewarded and honoured the industrious. He was succeeded by Severus Tullius, who emulated his example. Tullius, in his old age was murdered by a grandson of Tarquin, who afterwards reigned under the name Tarquin II. His arrogance and cruelty provoked the Romans, and under the direction of Brutus, they deposed and established republicanism, the principal magistrates of which were named consuls. These were generally chosen from the patricians, by the centuries or the various classes of the community, and, with the senate, held the supreme power. But their counsels and plans were controlled by tribunes, who were chosen by the comitia, and appointed to officiate as the representatives of the people. The number of the former officers was limited to two; that of the latter varied from three to ten. The tribunes could propose no law, nor move any positive resolution; but each by a negative veto could prevent the passing of any law or motion, and thus arrest all the proceedings of either the senate or comitia. This privilege of the tribune became an ever-flowing fountain of perplexities and calamities to the community, and was the more irresistible from the circumstance that the person of the tribune was pronounced sacred, Whoever offered him violence or killed him, was, by the law accursed; their effects were devoted to religion, and their lives might, with impunity, be taken by any one.

The consuls and tribunes were elected every year. These, and the subordinate officers, were frequently unable to preserve the citizens from insurrection, or to prevail on them to defend their country against their enemies. In these seasons of alarm, the entire government was intrusted to the most eminent individual, who, under the title of dictator, exercised, for six months, absolute and uncontrolled authority. The most esteemed and admired dictators usually resigned their high office within the period appointed to hold it, and, indeed, as soon as they had accomplished the great and immediate object for which they were chosen. During more than a century, the civil affairs of the Romans were wholly decided by the arbitrary judgment of the majority. They possessed

no code of laws to which they could appeal. This had occasioned many internal commotions, which all ranks were earnestly desirous to allay. The means adopted to obtain this most desirable object, although apparently dictated by wisdom, brought the state to the verge of destruction. They commissioned three of their most eminent senators to proceed to the Greek cities of Italy and Athens, to procure such laws as the experience of the Greeks had proved to be most equitable and productive of happiness to the community. On the return of these commissioners, seven senators were appointed to unite with them to digest the new laws, arrange them into a proper form, and to apply them for the good order of the state. In order to this, they were intrusted for one year with the whole power of government, and from their sentence there was no appeal to either the consuls, tribunes, or to the senate or comitia. "This was almost as remarkable a revolution in the government of Rome, as that from kings to consuls. Nothing could be more moderate than the beginning of this joint reign of the decemvirs, (as the commissioners were called.) They agreed, that only one at a time should have the fasces and the other consular ornaments, assemble the senate, and confirm decrees. To this honour they were to succeed by turns, each enjoying it one whole day, and then resigning it to another. The rest, who were not actually exercising their authority, affected no distinction but that of guards, their habits differing very little from those of the other senators. They repaired every morning, each in his turn, to their tribunal in the forum; and there distributed justice with so much impartiality, that the people, charmed with their conduct, seemed to have forgot their tribunes. They were assisted in the interpretation of the Greek transcripts by one Hermodorus, banished from Ephesus, his native city, and then accidentally at Rome. When the work was completed, the decemvirs assembled the people, and harangued them to this effect: 'May the gods grant that what we now present to you, Romans, may be equally agreeable and advantageous to the republic, to you, and your remotest posterity! Read the laws we have drawn up. We have used all the care and attention possible; but, after all, a whole nation must see farther than any ten persons: examine our laws therefore in private, make them the subject of your conversation; confer upon them, and consider what ought to be taken from them, and what may be added. Nothing that we have drawn up shall have the force of a law, till it is received with universal consent. Be you, Romans ra-

ther the authors than barely the approvers, of laws which are to establish order and regularity, and to be the foundation of the happiness both of the senate and people.' An address so modest and candid was heard with great applause. Immediately the laws were cut in ten tables of oak, fixed up in the forum, and all who came to start any difficulties about them, well received, and readily heard. When all necessary corrections and amendments had been made, the ten tables were carried before the senate, where they met with no opposition ; so that a decree was passed for convening the centuries for their ratification. This assembly was soon after held, and the auspices being solemnly taken, the laws were first confirmed by the unanimous voice of the whole Roman people, and then transcribed on pillars of brass, and ranged in order in the forum, as the foundation of all judicial determinations, with regard to public and private affairs. As many eminent men in the republic were of opinion, that several regulations, which would fill two other tables, were necessary to be added to the ten already established, the continuation of the decemviral government for one year more was proposed in a general assembly of the people, and approved of by the senate and people with equal readiness, but for different reasons. The senators were glad to be uncontrolled by the tribunes, and the people extremely desirous to postpone the restoration of the consular dignity. Never was any office so much solicited by the gravest and wisest senators, as the decemvirate at this time. Those patricians who were formerly the declared enemies of the people, and who scorned to canvass for public offices, were now wholly taken up in flattering and courting the meanest of the citizens. Appius, though a decemvir, forgetting his dignity, debased himself more than any of the candidates. He was perpetually seen in public places, with those who had been formerly tribunes, and whom he knew to be agreeable to the people. By their means he recommended himself to the multitude, as the author of the happiness they enjoyed under the mild government of the decemvirs. But Appius himself when asked by the patricians, whether he desired to be continued in his office for the next year, affected to dislike it, and was continually talking of the uneasiness that attends public employments. His colleagues saw into his designs, and wisely formed their judgment of him by his actions, and not his words. They observed, that he availed himself of his popularity in order to lessen the most venerable senators in the esteem of the people ; that he excluded all men

of known merit from standing at the approaching election, by artfully defaming them among the multitude; and that, contrary to the pride of the Claudian family, he affected great affability and moderation. All these particulars in his conduct gave great uneasiness to his competitors, and rendered him suspicious to his colleagues. These latter therefore formed a design to disappoint him. When the time of the comitia for the creation of the new decemvirs, drew near, they appointed Appius to preside in them; for the president in these assemblies proposed to the people the persons who stood for the office in question; and it had never yet been known, that any one had nominated himself. But Appius, contrary to all the rules of decency, proposed himself for the first decemvir; and the people readily gave him their suffrages. The other persons he named were all men at his devotion, and such as he favoured." Appius Claudius and his associates speedily resolved to render their dignity perpetual; and on the morning that they assumed the office, "the Romans were greatly surprised to see each decemvir appear in the forum early in the morning, with twelve lictors bearing axes among their fasces, like those that were anciently carried before the kings, and afterwards before the dictator: so that the forum was filled with a hundred and twenty lictors. This was a dreadful sight to Rome, the people prognosticating from thence, that this would be a year of tyranny and injustice. And they were soon made sensible, that their fears were not groundless. The decemvirs began to reign imperiously, and with a despotic power. They were always surrounded, not only by the numerous train of their lictors, but also by a crowd of desperate men, loaded with debts, and guilty of the blackest crimes. Many young patricians, preferring licentiousness to liberty, made their court to them in the most abject manner, in order to screen themselves from justice, and escape, by their favour, the punishment due to their crimes. No man's life or property was any longer safe. The young patricians, supporters of the ten tyrants, were not ashamed, upon the most frivolous pretences, to take possession of their neighbour's estates; and when application was made to the decemvirs for redress, the complainants were treated with contempt, and their complaints rejected. An inconsiderate word, or an expression of concern at the remembrance of their ancient liberty, was a capital crime. Some of the chief citizens were scourged for complaining of the present administration; others were banished, and some even put to death, and their goods confiscated.



The new tyrants vented their fury chiefly upon the people, treating them more like slaves than Roman citizens. As for the patricians, most of them, dreading the tyranny of the decemvirs, gave way to the storm, and retired into the country for the remaining part of the year. They hoped that the tempest would cease with the annual power of the decemvirs.

"At length the ides of May, the time fixed for holding the comitia, in order to elect new magistrates, drew near; but the decemvirs, instead of assembling the people, proposed two new tables of laws, the first relating to religion and the worship of the gods, the second to marriages and the right of husbands. These made up the number of the Twelve Tables, which the Romans preserved ever after as a sacred depositum. Notwithstanding the hatred the public bore the decemvirs, they found little to object to in their laws; the last only, forbidding patricians and plebeians to intermarry, seemed an artful invention to keep the two parties always divided, that they might reign with more security. In the mean time the ides of May passed without a comitia for the election of new magistrates. The tyrants then showed themselves openly, and, in opposition to the senate and people, retained their power without any other title than possession and violence. All who gave them umbrage were proscribed; and many worthy citizens, retiring from their country, took refuge among the Latins and Hernici. The people, groaning under so cruel a tyranny, applied to the senate as their only refuge. But the senators, instead of comforting them, took pleasure in seeing them oppressed, and bearing a great share in the misfortunes they had occasioned. When any plebeian complained to them, they maliciously referred him to Claudius, that idol whom they had set up and preferred to so many illustrious defenders of their country."

The dreadful reign of the decemvirs was not long, and the restoration of the constitution was effected without much blood. But the times immediately following were so stormy that the elevation to the office of dictator of the first warriors and statesmen, was repeatedly found indispensable to avert the total ruin of the state. Among the most celebrated of the dictators was Camillus. He had been unjustly compelled by his fellow-citizens to seek an asylum among the Ardeates. These he persuaded to join him in rescuing Rome from the barbarous Gauls, who had set the capital on fire. Five times was Camillus called to rule as dictator; and he had the felicity to overcome all the most formidable enemies of his coun-

try, and to restore peace among his citizens. From the time that the city was rebuilt, the Romans were engaged, for 140 years, in an uninterrupted series of wars in Italy, all whose states successively became, at different times, subject to them. Some of these states were "admitted to the freedom of Rome, and partook in the prerogative of Roman citizens. A few were, by their own choice, in preference to the character of Roman citizens, permitted to retain the independency of their towns, and were treated as allies. Others, under pretence of being admitted to the freedom of Rome, though without the right of suffrage, were deprived of their corporation establishments, and, with the title of citizens, treated as subjects. A few were governed in form by a military power, and by a præfect or magistrate annually sent from Rome. From this unequal treatment arose the variety of conditions by which the natives of Italy were distinguished, as colonies, municipal towns, allies, præfectures, or provincial governments." At a future period all the inhabitants of Italy were enrolled as citizens of Rome.

The first people, beyond the bounds of Italy, with whom the Romans formed any close connexion, were the Carthaginians. They ratified a commercial alliance with them immediately after the deposition of Tarquin II. Of this treaty, the terms of which are still on record, it is unnecessary to say more, than that it strongly indicates the early existence of the jealousy which these states felt towards each other, and which afterwards burned with irrepressible fury. Rome, however, long maintained friendly intercourse with Carthage, and received aid from it in their bold and triumphant contest with Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, whose invasion of Italy has been adverted to in a former page. A few years later, and their mighty struggle for the seas, if not of the whole world, fixed on them the wondering eyes of almost all the intelligent and observing among the human race; for such, doubtless, perceived that on the final result was suspended, for an unknown period, the destinies of the best known and most important kingdoms and governments on the globe.

If we consider the sovereignty of the fourth empire of prophecy, in its relation to humanity, civilization, and the true religion, the records of antiquity suggest ample evidence to attest, that the Carthaginians were less fitted than the Romans to hold this great trust. To illustrate and confirm this opinion would require volumes; but we can only appropriate to it one or two pages. The little that we learn of the Carthaginian

people is chiefly through the information given by their enemies, the Romans. Their testimony, however, carries with it scarcely any signs of a disposition to exaggerate the power, conceal the excellence, or magnify the vices or defects of their rivals.

Carthage was situated, like Rome, on the Mediterranean, but on the opposite coast, in that province of Africa, anciently called Africa Proper, now Tunis. Though this position was favourable for commerce, yet the surrounding region afforded neither protection nor resources for a great population, equal to that of Italy, which was defended by its mountains, and remarkable for fertility, and its vicinity to the most productive island of Sicily, which was visible from the city of Rhegium, in Magna Grecia. The Carthaginians, according to tradition, derived their origin from the Tyrians or Phenicians. Their city is said to have been more than a hundred years older than Rome, and far surpassed that city in extent and wealth. Their original territory, for which they long paid tribute to the natives, was not large; and they were compelled, from the first, to apply themselves to such arts as might enable them to procure subsistence from abroad. They were soon enriched by commerce, which, after the destruction of Tyre, was more extensive than that of any other people; for "they then became the principal merchants and carriers to the numerous nations on the Mediterranean. Their ships covered the seas. By their naval power they made themselves the sovereigns of the ocean; and by their immense wealth they maintained large armies, which they employed to extend their dominion in Africa, and to subdue several provinces in Spain. Sardinia and the small islands in the Mediterranean were seized by them, and they acquired possessions in Sicily. Their government was republican, similar somewhat to that adopted by the Romans, and consisted of a senate and popular assembly, by whom were annually chosen two officers for the supreme direction of all the affairs of the state. Though this was calculated to cherish the love of liberty and glory, yet the Carthaginian ambition was almost universally limited to the acquisition of riches. The commercial, not the military spirit, animated all ranks. Rank was estimated by wealth. The army, except the officers, consisted of foreigners, hired to defend and exalt a country in which they had little or no interest, and which, indeed, many of them hated. It must have been, therefore, always difficult to secure the services of such an army; and, on one occasion, they had

almost totally destroyed the state. The schemes and uses of the conquests of the Carthaginians were, of course, regulated by the nature of their ambition. They desired to multiply seats of commerce rather than to acquire vast territories. The dominion of the coasts satisfied them, unless the interior of a country contained mines of the richer metals, or promised an extension of trade. We have no reason to believe that they ever devised or attempted to ameliorate or improve the condition of the conquered, not even when that might, by such policy, have contributed to their own power and wealth. To instruct or civilize man formed no part of their counsels, plans, or pursuits. Their views respecting their colonies and those nations whom they subdued, were exclusively confined to devising and using the most appropriate means of procuring from them an augmentation to their revenue or army.

Learning, properly so called, was not unknown to the Carthaginians. They were acquainted with the Greeks, and a considerable number valued and acquired Grecian science and literature. But the government, so far as history testifies, employed no means to cultivate the minds of the people except such as were indispensable to fit them for business. The system of education of the schools established in the state embraced little more than reading, writing, and arithmetic. Polite learning, history, and philosophy, were contemned; laws were, indeed, enacted prohibiting a Carthaginian from learning the language of Greece, lest he should be qualified to correspond by word or writing with the enemies of his country. The religion of Carthage was that of their ancestors in Phenicia, and with superstitious obstinacy were its most debasing, cruel, and sanguinary rites observed by the Carthaginians to the last hour of their national existence. These hints may suffice to show that they were neither qualified nor worthy to become the conquerors of the world; and that, however great they were, the advancement of their empire would neither have tended to unite the nations, nor elevate the human mind to investigate truth, or estimate moral excellence. Their overthrow was therefore, doubtless, not less advantageous to true religion, and the best interests of the human race, than had been the expulsion of part of the same race from Canaan by Joshua.

The fire of the Romans' ambition burned with intensity proportionable to the success of their arms. They despised for ages ease, wealth, and luxury; renown alone had charms in their eyes. Their most eminent statesmen and military

leaders were content to pass the time not required by the affairs of the nation, in cultivating with their own hands the small portions of the land which they received from their fathers, or from the state, in recompense for their noble exertions to maintain its peace or extend its dominion. The triumph of the republic in Italy demanded the most solicitous care of the senators, and the most arduous efforts of its citizens, to defend not only the real or supposed interests of the rising state, but also those of their numerous colonies, allies, and tributaries. This object rendered large armies necessary, and to support these the resources of Italy were found to be inadequate. To procure foreign supplies became now a first object of policy, and nowhere could these be more easily obtained in abundance than in Sicily. Consequently, the Romans felt it imperative to possess this island, or at least to establish an alliance with its principal rulers. Similar reasons of state had long directed the views of the Carthaginians to the conquest of this island, from which they drew a great portion of the provisions required by their metropolis and army. Hence the political state of Sicily gave rise to the first great war between Carthage and Rome, which terminated only after the lapse of twenty-three years.

Sicily was chiefly occupied by colonies from Greece. The capital of these colonies was Syracuse, situated on the southwest coast. It was one of the finest and largest cities of ancient times. The Carthaginians possessed several important posts in the island, and Lilybæum, their chief city, stood on the western coast, nearly opposite Carthage. On the southeast extremity stood Messina, divided by a narrow or strait from Rhegium in Italy. A number of Italians from Campania had been admitted into Messina by the prince of Syracuse. They had treacherously risen against the citizens, murdered every individual, and seized their habitations and property. About B. C. 264, the celebrated king of Syracuse, Hiero II. resolved to execute vengeance on these miscreants. He soon reduced them to such distress, that they were resolved to surrender themselves to the first power that could afford them protection. "But, being divided in their choice, one party made an offer of their submission to the Carthaginians, and the other to the Romans. The latter scrupled, it is said, to protect a crime which they had recently punished in their own soldiers. A legion stationed in Rhegium had put to death the citizens whom they had been appointed to protect, and taken possession of the city. An army sent against them

killed the greater number, and carried the survivors in chains to Rome, where they were scourged and beheaded. While the Romans hesitated to oppose Hiero, the Carthaginians, less scrupulous, sent a number of soldiers, who entered Messina. This conduct of their rivals speedily led the Romans to act with decision. "The officer who had charge in the contiguous parts of Italy had orders to assemble all the shipping that could be found on the coast from Tarentum to Naples, to pass with his army into Sicily, and endeavour to dispossess the Carthaginians from the city of Messina. As soon as this officer appeared in the road, with a force so much superior to that of his rivals, the party in the city that favoured the admission of the Romans took arms, and forced the Carthaginians to evacuate the place." Thus what is called the first Punic war was commenced.

"The first great object of each party was no more than to secure the possession of Messina, and to command the passage of the straits which separate Italy from Sicily; but their views were gradually extended to objects of more importance, to the sovereignty of that island, and the dominion of the seas." This contest was likely to be extremely unequal, but in its progress was displayed the unconquerable valour of the Romans, which drew on them the eyes of all the surrounding nations, and has therefore strong claims to a more full description than many of their future wars, which more immediately hastened to elevate them to the sovereignty of the world. "On the one side appeared the resources of a great nation, collected from extensive dominions, a great naval force, standing armies, and the experience of distant operations. On the other, the ferocity or valour of a small state, hitherto exerted only against their neighbours of Italy, who, though subdued, were averse to subjection, and in no condition to furnish the necessary supplies for a distant war; without commerce or revenue, without any army but what was annually formed by detachments from the people, and without any officers besides the ordinary magistrates of the city; in short, without any naval force or experience of naval or distant operations. Notwithstanding these unpromising appearances on the side of the Romans, the commanding aspect of their first descent upon Sicily procured them not only the possession of Messina, but soon after determined Hiero, the king of Syracuse, hitherto in alliance with the Carthaginians, to espouse their cause, to supply their army with provisions, and afterwards to join them with his own. Being thus reinforced by the natives of Sicily

they were enabled to recall part of the force with which they began the war: continued, though at a less expense, to act on the offensive, and drove the Carthaginians from many of their important stations in the island. While the arms of the Romans and of Hiero were victorious on shore, the Carthaginians continued to be masters of the sea, kept possession of all the harbours in Sicily, overawed the coasts, obstructed the military convoys from Italy, and alarmed that country itself with frequent descents. It was evident that, under these disadvantages, the Romans could neither make nor preserve any maritime acquisition; and it was necessary either to drop the contest in yielding the sea, or to endeavour, on that element likewise, to cope with their rival. Though not altogether, as historians represent them, unacquainted with shipping, they were certainly inferior to the Carthaginians in the art of navigation, and altogether unprovided with ships of force. Fortunately for them, neither the art of sailing, nor that of constructing ships, was yet arrived at such a degree of perfection as not to be easily imitated by nations who had any experience or practice of the sea. Vessels of the best construction that was then known were fit to be navigated only with oars, or in a fair wind and on a smooth sea. They might be built of green timber; and, in case of a storm, could run ashore under any cover, or upon any beach that was clear of rocks. Such ships as these the Romans, without hesitation, undertook to provide. Having a Carthaginian galley, accidentally stranded at Messina, for a model, it is said that, in sixty days from the time that the timber was cut down, they fitted out and manned for the sea one hundred galleys of five tier of oars, and, twenty of three tier. Vessels of the first of these rates carried three hundred rowers, and two hundred fighting men. The manner of applying their oars from so many tiers, and a much greater number which they sometimes employed, has justly appeared a great difficulty to the mechanics and antiquarians of modern times, and is confessedly not well understood. The Romans, while their galleys were building, trained their rowers to the oar on benches that were erected on the beach, and placed in the form of those of the real galley. Being sensible that the enemy must be still greatly superior in the management of their ships and in the quickness of their motions, they endeavoured to deprive them of this advantage, by preparing to grapple, and to bind their vessels together. In this condition, the men might engage on equal terms, fight from their stages or decks as on solid ground, and

the Roman buckler and sword have the same effect as on shore. With an armament so constructed, still inferior to the enemy, and even unfortunate in its first attempts, they learned, by perseverance, to vanquish the masters of the sea on their own element; and not only protected the coasts of Italy, and supported their operations in Sicily, but, with a powerful fleet of three hundred and thirty sail, overcame at sea a superior number of the enemy, and carried the war to the gates of Carthage. On this occasion took place the famous adventure of Regulus; who being successful in his first operations, gave the Romans some hopes of conquest in Africa; but they were checked at once by the defeat of their army, and the captivity of their general. This event removed the seat of the war again into Sicily; and the Romans, still endeavouring to maintain a naval force, suffered so many losses, and incurred so many disasters by storms, that they were, during a certain period of the war, disgusted with the service at sea, and seemed to drop all pretensions to power on this element. The experience of a few years, however, while they endeavoured to continue their operation by land, without any support from the sea, made them sensible of the necessity they were under of restoring their shipping; and they did so with a resolution and vigour which enabled them once more to prevail over the superior skill and experience of their enemy. In this ruinous contest, both parties made the utmost efforts, and the most uninterrupted exertion of their forces. Taking the forces of both sides, in one naval engagement, five hundred galleys of five tier of oars, with two hundred and fifty thousand men, and in another, seven hundred galleys, with three hundred and fifty thousand men, were brought into action; and in the course of these struggles the Romans lost, either by tempests or by the hands of the enemy, seven hundred galleys; their antagonists, about five hundred. In the result of these destructive encounters, the Carthaginians, beginning to balance the inconveniences which attended the continuance of war against the concessions that were necessary to obtain peace, came to a resolution to accept of the following terms: That they should evacuate Sicily, and all the islands from thence to Africa: That they should not for the future make war on Hiero, king of Syracuse, nor on any of his allies: That they should release all Roman captives without any ransom: And within twenty years pay to the Romans a sum of three thousand Euboic talents. Thus the Romans, in the result of a war which was the first they undertook beyond the limits of



Italy, entered on the possession of all that the Carthaginians held in the islands for which they contended ; and, by a continuation of the same policy which they had so successfully pursued in Italy, by applying to their new acquisitions, in stead of the alarming denomination of subject, the softer name of ally, they brought Hiero, who was sovereign of the greater part of Sicily, into a state of dependence on themselves."

From the time that the Romans had humbled Carthage, they scarcely concealed their determination to give law to the world. They nevertheless sedulously laboured to disguise their boundless ambition of universal empire, by the assumption of the office of the disinterested friends of universal liberty ; and as such they showed themselves ready to listen to the complaints of the oppressed everywhere, and to depose and expel all who were reputed tyrannical and unjust rulers. With this noble attitude, their treatment of Sicily ill accorded ; for on the withdrawal of the troops of Carthage, the whole island, except the division which constituted the kingdom of Hiero, was declared by the senate and people of Rome to be a Roman province. The Sicilians were of course subjected to Roman laws, and governed by a Roman prætor, who was supreme ruler and judge, and by a quæstor, whose office empowered him to receive the revenues for the republic. "These revenues were either fixed or casual. The fixed were called tributes, and consisted of a certain sum of money which the province was every year to pay into the public treasury. The casual were the tenths of the product of the lands, and the duties upon merchandise exported and imported. Certain officers, called publicans, generally chosen out of the body of the Roman knights, were appointed to levy both these sorts of taxes ; and the latter sort were farmed by the publicans at a certain annual rent, which they constantly paid the republic at all events. However, these fixed revenues did not hinder the Romans from often demanding of the provinces extraordinary supplies of men, ships, and corn." Though Sicily was thus deprived of its laws, and by consequence of what the inhabitants would deem the best portion of their liberty, they received, for a compensation, deliverance from suffering, occasioned by the wars which had been long carried on by the three races, Greeks, Carthaginians, and Italians, in their struggle for the supremacy. The two sovereigns, Hiero and the Roman republic, being cordially united, the Sicilians happily enjoyed, for many years, uninterrupted peace and prosperity. The exaltation of the Romans, on account

of the success which, as they believed, their gods had given them as a reward of their determined valour, was tempered by severe sufferings, inflicted on them by the superintending Ruler of all. An extraordinary inundation of the Tiber overwhelmed the lower parts of the city, and a frightful fire consumed the upper parts. "Rome," Livy says, "lost more wealth in one day than she had procured by many victories." Adversity, in any form, had usually no other permanent effect on the ancient Romans, than to rouse and stimulate their energies; they were strangers to sorrow, despondency, or despair. They never renounced their lofty pretensions to brave every danger; but, in seasons of great reverses, they had the prudence to proclaim themselves the most zealous friends of justice, good order, and peace; and the deeds which they on these occasions performed, to impose on mankind, have been celebrated by their historians, as striking proofs that they excelled all other nations as much in generosity and magnanimity, as in ambition, courage, intrepidity, and fortitude. It was perhaps from the conviction of their own critical situation, that they showed no inclination to profit by the apparently helpless state of Carthage after the peace. On the return of the army, the Carthaginian senate, having exhausted its treasure, most inconsiderately requested the soldiers to accept, for the benefit of the state, of somewhat less than was due them. This excited the indignation of the whole army, and they declared war against their masters. Happily the Carthaginian officers, whom the army dismissed, succeeded in training the citizens to arms, and were enabled, after a struggle of three years, to put down the insurrection and destroy the rebels. The latter sought in vain the support of the Romans; they not only declined to oppose the Carthaginians, but afforded them every facility to procure arms and provisions during this singular momentous contest. This conduct was most probably dictated by their own condition. By the census we find that the number of the citizens had been, from war, the inundation and conflagration, or other causes, reduced in the course of five years, from 297,220 to 251,222, and the pecuniary resources were more than proportionably diminished. To meet the debts of the state, the coin was raised six times above its real value. Relief was procured from fines or tribute imposed on Carthage, and the spoils of war; but all the resources which the state could command were required to secure the frontiers against the Gauls, and other restless and violent enemies. How slight claims the Romans had to the applause

of mankind for true magnanimity and love of justice in their behaviour to Carthage, they soon showed ; for the Carthaginians had no sooner conquered their mercenary army, than the Romans most unjustly demanded compensation for the losses suffered from the loss of a number of their ships, which had been captured while carrying supplies to the rebels. And the Carthaginians only escaped a new war with the Romans, at this time, by ceding to them Sardinia, and paying 1200 talents.

The Romans, in the year B. C. 223, presented a wonderful phenomenon in their history : Military operations were unnecessary—they enjoyed peace ; and after the lapse of 430 years, the temple of Janus was shut. This object was indeed transitory as a meteor in the skies ; but it forcibly expressed the warlike character of the nation, and their political vigour, which centuries of incessant combat only served to strengthen. How many Romans must have perished by the sword ! How many calamities must the community have endured ! What wretchedness must have been experienced by those with whom they contended ? Truly the habitations of those who know not God are full of horrid cruelty.

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE FOURTH, OR ROMAN EMPIRE, CONTINUED.

#### CONTEST FOR EMPIRE IN THE WEST.—HANNIBAL AND P. C. SCIPIO.

THE temple of Janus may have remained shut two or three years ; but being always open during war, its shrine was visited B. C. 219, for in that year the war with Illyricum, which has been adverted to in a former page, was commenced, and before its termination the Gauls once more invaded Italy. Their army amounting to 50,000 foot, and 20,000 horsemen, were arrested in Etruria, in their march to attack Rome. The preparations to repel them were exceedingly great ; for the Romans are said to have raised about 700,000 foot, and 70,000 horse. These were divided into several armies, ap pointed to occupy different stations, so as to cover the whole country. The first that met the enemy were defeated with great slaughter ; but the Romans soon united their forces, overcame the Gauls, and pursued them across the Po, and conquered all the country now called Italy, quite to the Alps.

While they were thus employed, they looked with suspicion on the proceedings of the Carthaginians, who reluctantly allowed themselves to be directed by the counsels of Hamilcar, the avowed enemy of Rome, and one of the most accomplished generals. He had discovered his great talents in the Sicilian war, and still more by delivering his country from the power of its mercenary troops. Having restored peace to Carthage, he had led an army into Spain, and made important conquests ; but he was killed in battle. The command of his troops was committed to Asdrubal, a general scarcely his inferior, and distinguished by integrity, strict adherence to treaties, and disposed to cultivate the friendship of the Romans. They immediately sent ambassadors to the senate of Carthage, and to Asdrubal, demanding that he should not make war on the Spaniards beyond the Iberus, the modern Ebro, and that Saguntum should be declared a free city.

This great man was assassinated by a slave, who thus sought revenge for an injury, real or supposed, done to his master. The celebrated Hannibal, a son of Hamilcar, was now placed over the Carthaginian army in Spain. He had, when only a child, at the desire of his noble father, sworn before the altar of Jupiter eternal enmity to the Romans; and his implacable resentment increased with his years. This eminent man's skill and enterprise in war have immortalised his name as the first of heroes, notwithstanding that he failed in the great object both of his ambition and life. The voice of the soldiers called him to the highest office in the army, and consequently in the state, in his twenty-fifth year; the senate confirmed their choice, and the report of it exceedingly galled the Romans: and the opposite views and feelings of all parties were shown to be just, by the wisdom of his future plans, the prudence, perseverance, and ardour by which he pursued them, and the vast results of their execution.

Spain was a prize of no ordinary value. Its mountains were the richest in Europe, or western Asia, for they abounded in rich mines of gold, silver, and copper. The natives were numerous, and consisted of many races or tribes; and though rude and ignorant, yet they were brave and enthusiastically attached to their country. They tattooed their bodies, and ornamented their long hair with the precious metals; and of such materials, it is said, were their most common utensils and vessels formed. The females alone laboured; the men were all warriors, and valued their arms and horses more than their lives. War generally prevailed among the tribes; but love of country disposed some of them to unite to resist the encroachments of strangers. Several tribes in almost the centre of Spain assembled armed, to the amount of 100,000 men, to oppose the progress of Hannibal towards the Iberus. He totally overthrew and scattered them, and proceeded to invest the important city Saguntum. The brave citizens sustained a siege of eight months; and when all hope of receiving aid from Rome which they had implored failed, and their case became desperate, they set their city on fire and perished with it. This infraction of the late treaty fired the indignation of the Romans, and they sent their ambassadors to demand the senate of Carthage to deliver Hannibal into their hands, or prepare for war. The Carthaginians chose the latter alternative. In this manner originated the second dreadful Punic war, which threatened the entire ruin of the Ro-

mans, and left Carthage incapable of recovering her place among the nations.

Hannibal's great natural capacities were invigorated by learning and science. He spoke the Greek, and wrote some books in that language. He was excelled in learning by few great warriors, and perhaps equalled any of them in the knowledge of human nature and of the world. Though not ignorant of the science of morals, he generally regulated his actions by rules of expedience rather than by benevolence or justice. Taught from his earliest years to regard and treat the Romans as the enemies of his country, and to qualify himself, by every possible means, to revenge the injuries which it had sustained from that people, he seemed to deem no device unlawful, and no deed wrong, which tended to dishonour or injure them. To effect this, to him the most desir-

ble of all objects, he had, it is said, for a long time, conceived that the most proper means was to invade Italy, and make it the principal seat of war. In reference to this plan, he had made himself acquainted with the regions separating Spain from Italy, and with the political relations and condition of their inhabitants; and with the predominant dispositions and particular circumstances of the numerous small states subject or allied to Rome, in Italy. From all the information which he had been able to gather, he felt confident that he could not only penetrate Italy through the country of the Gauls, but that he would receive powerful support from them, and many of the races who were only subject to the Romans from inability to resist them.

After the destruction of Saguntum, Hannibal retired to New Carthage, the modern Carthagena, the chief city of the vast territories which Carthage had acquired in Spain. It was admirably situated, in relation to the conquered countries, and had one of the best harbours in Spain, and perhaps in the world. He now put forth all his strength to prepare for war, which the senate of Carthage left him to conduct in the manner which he judged most eligible. Having committed the government of Spain to his brother Asdrubal, with a considerable fleet and land army, he led his army to Iberus, and thence to the Pyrenees. The opposition encountered from the natives, and the difficulties which now presented themselves, depressed the spirits of many of the troops, so that, by the number of deserters, and those dismissed from the service, the army now mustered only fifty thousand foot, nine thousand horse, and thirty-seven elephants. Ten thousand com-

manded by Hanno, one of the brothers of Hannibal, were left on the Spanish side of the Pyrenees, to observe the motions of the natives and keep them in awe, while the army proceeded across these mountains. Hannibal's march through Gaul, at some distance from the coast, appears to have been comparatively easy, till he reached the Rhone, about four days march from where that great river falls into the Mediterranean. He seized many boats and canoes to convey the army across the river. But it was only by the most skilful manœuvres that he succeeded, without sustaining much loss, from the rude and barbarous attack of the large army of Gauls who had assembled to oppose him. He marched along its western branch, which flowed from the north; and then, turning east, he passed it, not far from its junction with the Isere, and advanced to the Alps. Hitherto he had suffered little from the natives, and, in some instances, he had even procured from them important supplies for his troops. But after he ascended the lofty Alps, from dread of him as an enemy, or from the desire of plunder, "they occupied every post at which they could obstruct his march; assailed him from the heights, endeavoured to overwhelm his army in the gorges of the mountains, or force them over precipices, which frequently sunk perpendicular under the narrow paths by which they were to pass. Near to the summits of the ridge, at which he arrived by a continual ascent of many days, he had his way to form on the sides of frozen mountains, and through masses of perennial ice, which, at the approach of winter, were now covered with recent snow. Many of his men and horses, coming from a warm climate, perished by the cold; and his army having struggled, during so long a time, with extremes to which it was little accustomed, was reduced, from fifty thousand foot and nine thousand horse, the numbers which remained to him in descending the Pyrenees, to twenty thousand foot and six thousand cavalry, a force, in all appearance, extremely disproportioned to the service for which they were destined."

The rapidity of the movements of Hannibal, through extensive and almost unknown territories, which were occupied by multitudes of inhabitants accustomed to incessant and bloody wars, and over mountains which no army had ever dared to pass, astonished the nations, and alarmed the Romans. From the great preparations which they had made to make the principal countries subject to Carthage, the theatre of war, it is plain that they had not anticipated the possibility of his

invasion of Italy by land. They had raised two large armies, and intrusted them to their consuls, Publius Cornelius Scipio, and Tiberius Sempronius Longus. The latter was ordered to Sicily, and, if expedient, to Africa; the former embarked for Spain, and, touching on the coast of Gaul, received the unexpected information, that a Carthaginian army were on its march through Gaul to Italy. At Marseilles he ascertained the position of the enemy, and proceeded to the banks of the Rhone. He arrived at the place where Hannibal had passed it three days before; and, convinced that no advantage could be gained by attempting to pursue him, he sent his brother Cneius Scipio, with the larger division of the army, into Spain, and embarked the other division, and sailed for Etruria. On landing, he joined, and took command of the legions which had been appointed to restore the colonies of Cremona and Placentia. "With these forces he passed the Po, and was arrived on the Ticinus, when Hannibal came down into the plain country, at some distance below Turin. The Carthaginian general, at his arrival in those parts, had moved to his right; and, to gratify his new allies the Insubres, inhabiting what is now the duchy of Milan, who were then at war with the Taurini or Piedmontese, he laid siege to the capital of that country, and in three days reduced it by force. From thence he continued his march on the left of Po; and, as the armies advanced, both generals, as if by concert, approached with their cavalry, or light troops, mutually to observe each other. They met on the Ticinus with some degree of surprise on both sides, and were necessarily engaged in a conflict, which served as a trial of their respective forces, and in which the Italian cavalry were defeated by the Spanish and African horse. The Roman consul was wounded, and with much difficulty rescued from the enemy by his son Publius Cornelius." The consul, disabled by his wound, caused his army to repossess the Po, and rest on its banks near Trebia. Here he was deserted by two thousand horsemen who had been raised by the Gauls in alliance with Rome. These joined Hannibal. This event following the defeat of Scipio, excited fearful apprehensions in Rome. The citizens imagined that they beheld all Italy in a state of revolt, and ready, under Hannibal, to invest the city. They immediately summoned Sempronius to return, with his army, and join Scipio, in the defence of the state.

Thus auspiciously for Hannibal commenced that fearful conflict which he maintained in Italy during sixteen years. He



fought a number of great battles, and is said to have plundered four hundred towns, slain three hundred thousand, and brought Rome to the very verge of utter destruction. Sempronius rashly attacked the forces of Hannibal, in opposition to the judgment of Scipio. The Carthaginian army lost few men by the sword, but many by the coldness of the climate to which they were unaccustomed, and only one of the elephants escaped. The greater number of the Romans perished, or were taken captive. On this occasion, the iron mind of the Romans was remarkably displayed. The senate and comitia resolved, not only to provide troops to defend Italy, but also as many as were judged necessary to secure their foreign conquests in Spain, Sicily, and Sardinia. Scipio was ordered to proceed to Spain, to perform the services for which he had been destined at the time of his election.

The battle of Thrasymenus, so called from the lake of that name, in Etruria, was more disastrous than that of Trebia, and produced a more powerful impression on the Romans, and their allies and subjects. Rome presented a scene of indescribable distress. The senate met every day; and saw no chance of preserving the peace, or re-animating the courage of the people, but by appointing a dictator, their last refuge in every great emergency. Q. Fabius Maximus was called to this high office. From an unavoidable informality in his election, it was conceived that he could not govern under that title, and they therefore named him *pro-dictator*. While the Romans deliberated, Hannibal had the pleasure of beholding the northern and western parts of Italy cast off the yoke of Rome; and he hastened to deliver the nations in the southern division.

T. Varro and L. Æmilius Paulus were chosen consuls, on the *pro-dictator* resigning his office. The former being admired by the people, he was favoured with a large army, amply supplied with every thing necessary for their comfort. Vain and haughty, he disregarded the counsels of his colleague, and indeed of his officers generally. The armies met at Cannæ, situated on the Aufidus, now named Ofanto, the principal river of Apulia, near where that river falls into the sea. This place gave name to the most celebrated battle that Hannibal fought in Italy or elsewhere. The defeat of the Romans, whose number was almost double that of the Carthaginians, was complete; and seemed to put the entire conquest and ruin of Rome in the power of the conqueror. "A general ferment arose throughout all Italy. Many can-

tons of Grecian extraction, having been about sixty years subject to Rome, now declared for Carthage. Others, feeling themselves released from the dominion of the Romans, but intending to recover their liberties, not merely to change their masters, now waited for an opportunity to stipulate the conditions on which they were to join the victor. Of this number were the cities of Capua, Tarentum, Lochri, Metapontum, Crotona, and other towns in the south-east of the peninsula. In other cantons, the people having divided and opposed each other with great animosity, severally called to their assistance such of the parties at war as they judged were most likely to support them against their antagonists. Some of the Roman colonies, even within the districts that were open to the enemy's incursions, still adhered to the metropolis; but the possessions of the republic were greatly reduced, and scarcely equalled what the state had acquired before the expulsion of Pyrrhus from Italy, or even before the annexation of Campania, or the conquest of Samnium. The allegiance of her subjects and the faith of her allies in Sicily were greatly shaken. Hiero, the king of Syracuse, who had some time, under the notion of an alliance, cherished his dependance on Rome, being now greatly sunk in the decline of years, could no longer answer for the conduct of his own court, and died soon after this event."

Hannibal, on declining to advance immediately on Rome, was told by one of his officers, that he knew how to conquer, but was not qualified to improve his victories,—an opinion entertained by many others. But this great man felt that success had weakened his force, and that he had not the means required for the capture of the city. Though his plans were approved by the senate and people of Carthage, yet they had never sent him any re-enforcements or supplies during the three years that he had been in Italy. The report of his splendid deeds now procured him the promise of assistance from Philip II. of Macedon; but the Romans soon compelled that prince to employ all his resources to defend his own dominions, which, we have observed in a former chapter, he laboured in vain to effect. And the extraordinary exertions of the Romans speedily arrested the triumphs of Hannibal, so that he found himself from this time struggling against a power which he doubtless foresaw would finally overcome him, unless the councils of his nation afforded him efficient aid. In the battle of Cannæ, he had made many thousand prisoners, whom he proposed to liberate on receiving a sum

of money. The Romans refused to redeem these unhappy men, under pretence that they had acted unworthy of the Roman name, but in reality, with a view to increase the embarrassment of their great enemy. Disappointed thus of an immediate supply of money, he sent his brother Mago to Carthage with a report of his success, and a request of aid in troops and money.

In the meantime, the presence, acts, and circumstances of Hannibal were not calculated to allay in the Romans the spirit of revenge, which they deemed both their glory and duty to cherish. He was avowedly the resolved and implacable enemy of Rome. Every Roman he looked on with emotions similar to those felt by the hungry lion, tiger, or bear, on the appearance of its prey. History exhibits him surveying the field of the slain the morning after the great battle with inexpressible satisfaction, when he discovered it covered with 45,000 Roman soldiers, among whom not a few were of the highest rank in the state and army. His soldiers spent a whole day in stripping the dead, and not less than three bushels of the rings worn by Roman knights were sent to Carthage. But Hannibal's sun had past its meridian, and its shadow every succeeding hour indicated the approach of night. His troops had no interest in the service, except what they might feel from admiration of his deeds, or gratitude for his favours. Those disappointed in the hopes which he encouraged them to entertain, of an easy conquest of Rome, or disgusted with the service, clandestinely deserted, or went over to the enemy. And those whose demands he was able to satisfy by giving them opportunity and licence to riot in the spoils of the defeated, saw no necessity to prosecute the war, and preferred a life of ease and pleasure to fighting and death. Besides their number was diminished by every victory, and their victorious general found himself unable to preserve his conquests, or to protect those Italians who declared themselves his friends. Though, therefore, present sufferings overwhelmed the multitude of the Romans unaccustomed to reflect, yet the observant and intelligent never lost the hope of rising above every reverse of fortune, and the proud patriots determined to perish rather than live to witness Rome a prey to her enemies. Several thousand of the soldiers who had escaped the sword of Hannibal, took refuge in Canusium, the modern Canosa, which an earthquake destroyed in the end of the seventeenth century. A part of these considering Rome lost, proposed to withdraw from Italy, and

join some of the allies of the Romans. They had previously to this proposal by Cæsilius, placed themselves under the command of A. Claudius Pulcher, and Scipio, son of the general in Spain, whom he surpassed in fame. This youth of eighteen years, accompanied by a small band, went to Cæsilius, and said, "I call Jupiter to witness, that I will never depart my country, nor suffer any man to do it, and do you take this oath, or die." The party of Cæsilius, terrified, swore, and submitted to be watched by a strong guard. The spirit of young Scipio was common to the principal citizens of Rome. While the paroxysm of anguish and despair filled the city with the cries of the thousands of women, who had lost their husbands, brothers, or sons, the gates were shut that no one might have opportunity to flee, and all messengers arriving were received in private, that no gloomy tidings might be publicly known. Tranquillity being partially restored, the senate and comitia assembled, and it was then manifest that Rome retained all her native vigour. The Romans were invigorated by their losses, and re-animated by their sufferings. To obtain, as speedily as possible, large armies, all ranks were called to fight, and the slaves were purchased from their masters, that they might serve in the army. Thus the Romans appeared to rise in the midst of their sufferings, and to gain strength from their losses. "They prepared to attack or to resist at once in all the different quarters to which the war was likely to extend, and took their measures for the support of it in Spain, in Sardinia, and Sicily, as well as in Italy. They continued their fleets at sea; not only observed and obstructed the communications of Carthage with the seats of war, but having intercepted part of the correspondence of Philip with Hannibal, they sent a powerful squadron to the coast of Epirus; and, by an alliance with the states of Etolia, whom they persuaded to renew their late war with Philip, found that prince sufficient employment on the frontiers of his own kingdom as effectually prevented his sending any supply to Hannibal, and, in the sequel reduced him to the humiliating necessity of making a separate peace."

Hannibal's application to Carthage brought him no relief. A strong party were opposed to him from envy, or disapprobation of his measures, and many of his friends supposed that since he triumphed, he would be able to procure resources and augment his glory, by the destruction of Rome without their assistance. After much bitter discussion in the senate, Mago procured a vote for a re-enforcement to his brother of

four thousand horse, forty elephants, and a sum of money. But this resolution appears to have languished in the execution; and the armament, when ready to sail, was suffered to be diverted from its purpose, and ordered to Spain instead of Italy. Thus left to his own exertions, how transcendent must have been the talents of Hannibal, to enable him to maintain an army, and of course, considerable influence in Italy, sixteen years, and to prevent the Romans from recovering by their utmost efforts, for at least thirteen years, the territories and powers of which he robbed them in his first three campaigns, by his wisdom, bravery, and valour! Nor did he resign to them Italy till his patriotism impelled him to return for the protection of his ungrateful country. It was, indeed, not in Italy, but in Spain and Africa, that the Romans conquered Hannibal.

Neglected or undermined by the senate, the invader of Italy looked for assistance to the Carthaginian possessions in Spain, which he might claim as his own; for they had been chiefly acquired by his father or himself, and had been committed by him to the care and vigilance and prowess of his brothers Asdrubal, Mago, Hanno, and Asdrubal son of Gisgo. Hence the destruction of the power of the Carthaginians in Spain, and their expulsion from that country, became a first object to the Romans. They accordingly called the brothers, Cneius and Publius Scipio to command the army in Spain, where they were welcomed by the natives. In two years, they restored the influence of the Roman party, who had been almost suppressed by Hannibal, after his destruction of Saguntum. But these able generals were betrayed by their allies, and perished. Few, or none of the Roman leaders were desirous to succeed them in the dangerous service, which promised little glory or wealth. The young hero Scipio, son of the elder Scipio, solicited the honour, which others despised. That he might be raised to the office of commander at the early age of twenty-four years, the senate and comitia dispensed with the forms of law. He departed for Spain with thirty armed vessels and ten thousand men. Having joined the remains of their vanquished countrymen near the Iberus, he fixed the troops for winter in Tarraco the modern Tarragona, situated on the coast north-east of the river.

On learning that the principal stores of the enemy were in New Carthage, distant about three hundred miles from Tarraco, he determined to open the campaign by attempting to surprise it. In this enterprise he was the more easily success-

ful, from the Carthaginians having no apprehension of danger. But he failed in his still more important efforts to prevent Asdrubal from leaving Spain with troops raised to support his brother in Italy. On ascertaining the departure of Asdrubal, he instantly sent information to Rome of the danger impending from the passage through the Alps of a second Carthaginian army. Asdrubal followed the course of his brother, and, by the friendly conduct of the natives, he reached Italy sooner, and in more favourable circumstances than his brother had done. But, before he could form a junction with the army of his country, he was attacked by a powerful army, commanded by the two consuls, and totally defeated, on the banks of the Metaurus, or Metro, a small river which falls into the Adriatic, near Pisaurum, the present Pesaro. Asdrubal fell in the battle, and fifty thousand were either killed or made captives. This calamitous event was rendered peculiarly distressing to Hannibal, when he came to know that he could entertain no sanguine hope of future assistance from Spain, in which Scipio was everywhere victorious. This celebrated general, after five years service in Spain, returned to Rome, with much treasure, many captives, and with the glad news that the Romans had no enemies to dread in that country, for, by his valour, he had subdued the Carthaginians, and, by his clemency, he had conciliated the natives. Having been exalted to the high office of consul, he now proposed to invade Africa, and carry the war into the heart of the enemy's country. After many disputes in the senate on the propriety of this proposal, it was decreed, that while the other consul should remain to oppose Hannibal, Scipio should have for his province Sicily, "dispose of the forces that were still there, receive the voluntary supplies of men and of money, which he himself might be able to procure; and if he found, upon mature deliberation, a proper opportunity, that he might make a descent upon Africa. Agreeably to this resolution, he set out for the province assigned him, having a considerable fleet equipped by private contribution, and a body of seven thousand volunteers, who embarked in high expectation of the service in which he proposed to employ them" in his province. While thus employed, he opened up a correspondence with Syphax, one of the kings of Numidia, who was disaffected to Carthage. He even visited this prince, and obtained his promise to support the Romans, as soon as they invaded the territories of Carthage, with an adequate force.

The Carthaginians had hitherto regarded the war with comparatively little concern, but now became fully awake to their danger. Commercial pursuits were neglected, and the community resolved to defend their country. No means, however, had been employed to strengthen it against the invader; and Lælius, whom Scipio sent to secure a proper station for the Roman forces, seems to have met no resistance in conducting a fleet, with a considerable number of soldiers, into the harbour of Hippo, a city built under the Fair Promontory, about fifty miles south-west of Carthage. Utica, deemed a more eligible position for the troops, was seated about half way between Hippo and Carthage. Lælius reached it; but soon found his army in great danger; for the surrounding country was deserted and desolate, affording no means of subsistence, and an army of thirty thousand Carthaginians, commanded by Asdrubal, son of Gisgo, threatened to approach him, as soon as they were joined by fifty thousand under Syphax.

Woman is powerful in all nations, and had considerable influence in the fate of Carthage on this occasion. Sophonisba, daughter of Asdrubal, the chief man in Carthage, distinguished by her beauty, and still more by a proud aspiring spirit, had pledged her affections to Massinissa, a prince of Numidia, during the time that he had resided for his education in the city. He was the enemy of Syphax, who had, on Asdrubal promising to give him his daughter, joined Carthage; and Massinissa, in revenge, offered his services to Scipio; and, by the forces accompanying him, greatly augmented the power of the Romans. Scipio directed his fleet and numerous army, loaded with provision, to sail for Utica, and on approaching the coast took possession of a peninsula in the vicinity. The soldiers of Asdrubal and Syphax were in the vicinity, lodged in huts, covered with brushwood and palm-leaves. The Romans were not strong enough to attack them openly, and waited for reinforcements from Rome. In the meantime, Scipio resolved to imitate the infidelity which characterised the Carthaginians, and induce them to believe themselves secure in their camps, which they were indisposed to leave till the winter had passed. Designing to set their camps on fire in the darkness of night, and to attack them in the confusion which would follow, he sent messengers with proposals of peace, but with instructions to examine accurately the ground and the state of the army. The apparent distress of his situation justified the confidence which Asdruba

placed in his expressed desire of peace. Having obtained the requisite information, Scipio, however, regarded not the negotiation, and, proceeding with his army, he set Asdrubal's camp on fire, in several places. The soldiers, supposing the fire to be accidental, unarmed, ran every where to extinguish it. Thus unprepared, the Romans fell on them, and dispersed them with great slaughter. Those who escaped, as well as the army of Syphax, were soon after defeated, and the kingdom of Syphax seized by Massinissa.

These misfortunes were ascribed by the citizens of Carthage to Asdrubal, and to escape their vengeance he retired from the service with about eight thousand men. All hope for Carthage now depended on the presence of Hannibal. Expresses were instantly sent him and his brother Mago, to return with all their forces to defend their country. Whatever were his feelings on leaving Italy, he hastened to obey the summons. Indeed he appears to have expected it, for he had ships prepared to receive his troops. His arrival in Africa revived the hopes of his countrymen; but he knew their weakness, that they had no courage and fortitude to surmount great difficulties, or patiently endure severe privations and distress. When, therefore, he observed that existing circumstances were such as were sufficient to dispose the Romans to peace, he sought an interview with their general. They were at this time stationed far into the country, having retired on the approach of Hannibal, and were surrounded with enemies, and could not expect to procure, without great risk, necessary supplies. The Romans, however, were accustomed to suffer, and had recently learned that Carthaginian faith was deception. The senate had entered into a treaty of peace previously to the return of Hannibal. On his appearance the people were elated, and, in utter violation of their engagements, seized all the Roman vessels that entered the bay, and insulted the messengers sent to complain of this outrage. It is not therefore surprising, that while Scipio courteously met Hannibal, he insisted on conditions of peace too mortifying to meet the views and expectations of the lofty-minded Carthaginian. They separated, not to meet again till the one or the other was the conqueror. The armies were encamped near Zama, about seventy-five miles from Carthage. This place gave name to the tremendous contest, which terminated the second Punic war, B. C. 202, after a duration of seventeen years; for Hannibal became convinced that Carthage was no longer able to contend with her powerful rival. On retreat



ing to the city, in the meeting of senate he gave his advice to accept whatever terms were proposed by Scipio, and these were exceedingly humbling; for he demanded that, while Carthage should retain in Africa all her former possessions, and continue to be governed by her own laws, she should restore all the ships or property of the Romans seized in violation of the late truce—deliver all captives, deserters, or fugitive slaves—surrender her whole fleet, except ten galleys—deliver all the elephants in the stalls, and cease from training any more of these animals—make no war on any nation without the consent of the Romans—indemnify Massinissa for all his losses sustained in the war—pay Rome ten thousand talents, or about two millions sterling, at the rate of two hundred talents every fifty years—give such hostages as Scipio should select—and pay and support the Roman forces in Africa till the treaty should be ratified. On the ratification of the treaty being read in the senate, many of the members were in tears; but Hannibal was observed to smile. Being questioned on this insult of public distress, he said “That a smile of scorn for those who felt not the loss of their country until it affected their private concerns, was an expression of sorrow for Carthage.”

## CHAPTER V.

### THE FOURTH, OR ROMAN EMPIRE, CONTINUED.

#### CARTHAGE REDUCED.

Scipio, honoured for his victories in Africa with the name Africanus, had reduced Carthage to a state of apparent subjection to the dictation of Rome,—an event which permitted the stream of Roman ambition almost suddenly to appear a mighty river, ready to inundate the globe. The fifty succeeding years beheld the Romans the chief conquering power in Europe, Africa, and Asia. Boundless dominions opened to their insatiable ambition. Little existed in the state of the known world, at least in their eyes, to repress their desires and expectations of universal empire, except the internal commotions of the state, and especially of Rome, and the unexpected resuscitation of Carthage. The last was imagined incompatible with the stability of Roman greatness, and the first utterly subversive of the Roman power.

While the Romans were seen everywhere engaged in war, the Carthaginians traversed every sea, pursuing with unwearied activity the varied objects of a most lucrative commerce. The attainment of immense wealth, and the indulgences of luxurious pleasures, are not adapted to reconcile the human mind to humiliating or insulting treatment, especially from those inferior in power as well as riches. Could the Romans demand strict adherence to the letter of a treaty, which required the Carthaginians to submit, without retaliation, to the most unjust and dishonourable proceedings of the adjacent poor, rude, and barbarous states? This was perhaps conceived impossible by the chief men of Carthage. If so, they had not carefully studied the manifest policy, or the implacable and revengeful character of the Roman people. But the rulers of Carthage had no alternative when their rights were infringed by their neighbours, but to appeal to Roman justice and humbly implore liberty to defend themselves. Can they

be condemned for acting in violation of a treaty, when their appeal to justice was contemned? This was the crime which the Romans pretended sufficient to justify them in commencing the third Punic war, and in utterly destroying the metropolis of their rival. Never have a great people displayed more flagrant injustice, or practised more barbarous cruelty.

On the restoration of peace to Carthage, Hannibal zealously employed his great and varied talents to advance the interests and restore the glory of his country. His citizens soon acknowledged him to be not less skilful in politics than accomplished in the art of war. He was exalted to the principal place in the state, and distinguished himself as the able corrector of abuses, and the patron of every measure calculated to promote the commerce of the country, and the comfort of the community. But he had to contend against a powerful party, the hereditary enemies of his family, who envied his greatness, and suffered from the reformatations which he effected, for they could no longer enrich themselves at the expense of the state. The Romans observed, with not more agreeable feelings, his power, and ascribed to him the correspondence of Carthage with Antiochus the Great, which they had detected about a year after the conclusion of the late war. To ascertain the real designs of Carthage, messengers were sent under the pretence of settling some differences between that state and Massinissa. These messengers were authorised to demand, if they deemed it expedient, that Hannibal should be delivered up to the Romans, who accused him of having formed a conspiracy against the peace of both republics. This great man was fully aware of the views and intentions of the Romans, and of the inability of his friends to prevent his rivals in the senate from betraying him into their power. He therefore resolved to flee from the storm. On the day that the Roman ambassadors arrived, he discharged, with no appearance of embarrassment, all the functions of his high office; but in the night he embarked, and sailed for Asia-Minor, where he hoped to retaliate on his powerful enemies.

The deceit, injustice, and malignant designs of the Romans were soon discovered by the total disregard which their ambassadors discovered for the peace and prosperity of Carthage, which they pretended to have been sent to establish and secure. Massinissa had seized the richest province of the Carthaginian state. He had no claim on it, except that it had been violently wrested by his father from Carthage, who seems to have assigned it to Syphax, by whom it had been

restored to Carthage. His conduct was allowed by the Romans to be unjust, but they secretly approved of it; and listened with indifference to the complaints and representations of the Carthaginians. Such treatment was intolerable to the most wealthy people on the face of the earth. Nevertheless, they endured it for one generation; but, at last, unhappily they attempted to acquire by their arms what their frequent applications to Rome could not procure. They led an army against Massinissa, who in his ninetieth year, placed himself at the head of his troops, and obtained a signal victory. This was the ostensible cause of the third Punic war, which commenced about B. C. 149, and fully exhibited "the great iron teeth of the" nameless beast, destined to devour, "break in pieces, and stamp the residue of" the three former wild beasts, which preyed over all the earth.

Had Massinissa been defeated, doubtless, Rome would have hastened to assist him, although it is probable, that they were pleased to see both parties prosecute plans which destroyed their respective energies and diminished their powers of defence or resistance. It was the policy of Rome not to permit the rise of any powerful kingdom, in any country which they looked on as their own. And, however loudly they proclaimed that sacred respect for the rights of nations directed their counsels and regulated their measures, certain it is, that in their deliberations on their differences with other kingdoms, the object which they sought to determine was, almost universally, not the right, but the expediency of declaring war against them. This was especially the case when the senate assembled to decide what was to be done in relation to the Carthaginians in consequence of what they called the daring violation of the treaty of peace. No senators questioned the right of the Romans instantly to proclaim war against that presumptuous and haughty people; but all agreed that, previously to coming to a decision, deputies ought to be sent to Africa to procure information by which they might be able to form a sound judgment on the subject. The report of these deputies, on their return to Rome, being laid before the senate, an important discussion ensued. One of the most enlightened senators, Scipio Nasica, strongly insisted that it was the interest of Rome to maintain peace with Carthage, and not to seek its ruin. That state, he said, had no forces sufficient to alarm the Romans; and even were they greater than they were known to be, they were "no more than were required to call forth into action or keep alive the virtues of a people

who, for want of proper exertion, were already begun to decline in strength, vigilance, discipline, and valour." Cato, who had, as one of the deputies, visited Carthage, declared that he was astonished at the greatness, wealth, and populousness of that republic, and not less at the amazing fertility of its territories; and, presenting a parcel of figs, he exclaimed, "These are the produce of a land that is but three days sail from Rome. Judge what Italy may have to fear from a country whose produce is so much superior to its own! That country is now in arms; the sword is drawn against Massinissa; but, when thrust in his side, will penetrate to you. Your boasted victories have not subdued the Carthaginians, but given them experience, taught them caution, and instructed them how to disguise, under the semblance of war, a war which you will find marshalled against you in their docks and in their arsenals." He concluded his ardent address with the memorable and often repeated sentence: *Delenda est Carthago*, "Carthage must be destroyed." The opinion, somewhat modified, of the stern patriot, the unchanging enemy of eloquent literature, refined society, luxury, and intemperance, prevailed; for it accorded with the ambitious, proud, and vengeful spirit of the great majority of his hearers. And thus he hastened, as we shall see, and as Scipio Nasica foresaw and predicted, that very state of society of which he abhorred the very idea, laboured to withstand, and would have sacrificed his life to avert. The senate, assuming an appearance of much moderation, resolved to destroy the city of Carthage, but not till they had removed its inhabitants to a new city, to be built ten miles from the sea. It was agreed that this resolution should be kept a secret until effectual means were prepared for its execution.

That the wretched people, whose destruction they had decreed, might not, if possible, penetrate their dark counsels, without any declaration of war, they instructed the consuls to convey their forces to Sicily. And, to attain the same fatal object, these leaders proceeded to act with consummate duplicity. But the arrival of the troops in Sicily, considering its position in relation to Africa, clearly indicated that the Romans had no good intentions respecting Carthage. The Carthaginians were haughty and cruel in prosperity; their very religion cherished the malignant passions; and they were not accustomed to compassionate the weak or to regard the cries of the wretched. And we may therefore conclude, that they were not only destitute of benevolence, but also of respect for

the approbation or censure of mankind. Can it then be surprising that in adversity they were pusillanimous or reckless. Few among them appear to have valued patriotism or national honour. The inhabitants were not united by any one great object of common interest. Hence, the people of Utica no sooner heard that the Roman army had passed to Sicily than they sent a deputation to invite the consuls to take possession of their harbour and city. The senate and popular assembly of Carthage were now distracted by opposite counsels; none had courage or fortitude to suggest the propriety of sacrificing every consideration to maintain the honour of their country. To propitiate the Romans they banished Asdrubal because he was the chief advocate of the war with Massinissa. Twenty thousand soldiers are said to have withdrawn with him from the city. Ambassadors were sent to Rome, empowered to express regret for offensive measures of their senate and people, and to implore forgiveness. Before listening to any proposition from Carthage, the Romans demanded for a pledge of her fidelity and desire of peace, three hundred children of the chief families. Compliance with this barbarous request brought no hope to the Carthaginians, for the Roman fleet speedily entered Utica, and the commanders of the army answered the deputies who arrived there from Carthage, that they could only grant that state protection, on condition of the docks being destroyed and the arsenals emptied. Even this demand was not resisted by the mean-minded rulers and dastardly race of Carthage. Trusting to the word and honour of the Romans, whose imitation of their own disregard for truth and honour had already repeatedly ensnared and degraded them, they surrendered all the articles employed in war; among which were two thousand suits of armour, a like number of catapultæ, or engines for throwing missiles, an immense store of arrows, darts, and other warlike missiles. The Romans no longer judged it necessary to dissimulate; their victims appeared resolutely helpless. They were insultingly exhorted to bear with equanimity inevitable evils, and instantly leave their city, and retire and build a new one, in any spot which they chose, ten miles from the sea. The deputies of Carthage were overwhelmed; and having in vain prostrated themselves before the Roman officers, and appealed to their pledged faith and Roman reputation for generosity, honour, and humanity, they finished their mission, in the language of despair. "We go then," they said, "to certain death, which we have merited by having; persuaded our fellow-citi

zens to resign themselves into the hands of the Romans. But if you mean to have your commands obeyed, you must be ready to enforce them ; and by this means you may save an unfortunate people from exposing themselves, by any act of despair, to worse sufferings than they have yet endured."

The report of the deputies was followed by universal grief, anguish, and rage. The citizens burst into the senate, and put to death every member, who had, with even their own consent, submitted to the degrading impositions of the Romans. Anarchy and tumult reigned ; a few only were capable of self-control and reflection. These had the precaution to shut the gates, to stretch the chain which protected the entrance of the harbour, and to make a collection of stones on the battlements, these being the only weapons they had left to repel the first attacks of the Romans. The remnant of the senate too, without reflecting on the desperate state of their affairs, resolved on war. Despair and frenzy succeeded in every breast to dejection and meanness. Assemblies were called to reverse the sentence of banishment lately pronounced against Asdrubal, and against the troops under his command. These exiles were entreated to hasten their return for the defence of a city bereft of arms, ships, military and naval stores. The people, in the mean time, with an ardour, which reason and the hopes of success during the prosperity of the republic could not have inspired, endeavoured to replace the arms and the stores which they had so shamefully surrendered. They demolished their houses to supply the docks with timber. They opened the temples and other public buildings, to accommodate the workmen ; and, without distinction of sex, condition, or age, became labourers in the public works, collected materials, furnished provisions, or bore a part in any labour that was thought necessary to put the city in a state of defence. They supplied the founders and the armourers with the brass and iron of their domestic utensils ; or, where these metals were deficient, brought what they could furnish of silver and gold. They joined their hair with the other materials which were used in the roperies, to be spun into cordage for the shipping, and into braces for their engines of war. The Roman consuls, apprised of what was in agitation, willing to await the return of reason, and to let these first ebullitions of frenzy subside, for some days made no attempts on the city. But, hearing of the approach of Asdrubal, they thought it necessary to endeavour, before his arrival, to possess themselves of the gates. Having in vain attempted to

scale the walls, they were obliged to undergo the labours of a regular siege; and, though they made a breach, were repulsed in attempting to force the city by storm.

Asdrubal nobly sustained the cause of his country several years. During two of these, the Romans, by their utmost efforts, approached not one step nearer their object; and the Carthaginians, although apparently robbed of all their resources, by having merely displayed a proper "spirit, were reinstated in their rank among the nations, and had negotiations with the neighbouring powers of Mauritania and Numidia, whose aid they solicited with alarming reflections on the boundless ambition, and invidious policy of the Romans. They even conveyed assurances of support to the Achæans, to the pretended Philip, an impostor, who, about this time, laid claim to the throne of Macedonia; and they encouraged with hopes of assistance the subjects of that kingdom, who were at this time in arms to recover the independence of their monarchy.

The Roman people were never much depressed by disappointments. Persuaded that they had hitherto failed at Carthage from the successive commanders appointed over the troops having proved themselves unqualified for the service, they sent thither Scipio, by birth the son of Æmilius Paullus, and by adoption the grandson of Scipio Africanus. He was ten years under the legal age for a general. But having showed by his deeds that he was eminently endowed with the qualities requisite for the office, the forms of law were dispensed with, as they had been in the case of the celebrated man to whom he owed his name; and in two years he justified the judgment of his fellow citizens. After surmounting every difficulty he obtained an entrance into the city. "The inhabitants, during six days, disputed every house and every passage, and successively set fire to the buildings whenever they were obliged to abandon them. Above fifty thousand persons of different sexes, who had taken refuge in the citadel, at last accepted of quarter, and were led captive from thence in two separate divisions, one of twenty-five thousand women, and another of thirty thousand men. Nine hundred deserters, who had left the Roman army during the siege, having been refused the quarter which was granted to the others, took post in a temple which stood on an eminence, with a resolution to die with swords in their hands, and with the greatest effusion of blood to their enemies. To these Asdrubal, followed by his wife and his children, joined himself; but not



having the courage to persist in the same purpose with these deserters, he left the temple, and accepted of quarter." His magnanimous wife disdained to accompany him, preferring to perish with her country. Richly dressed, as if the day of her death was a day of triumph, she presented herself to view, and within the hearing of the Roman general and her husband, exclaimed, "Base coward, the mean things which thou hast done to save thy life shall not avail thee; thou shalt die in this instant, at least in thy two children." Then stabbing them with a dagger, while they struggled in the agonies of death, she threw them from the summit of the temple, and leaped after them into the flames of the fire kindled by the deserters, who chose also thus to die rather than to fall into the hands of their indignant and sanguinary countrymen. The city continued burning seventeen days, and was wholly given up for a prey to the conquering army, the general reserving nothing for himself or the state, except the precious metal statues or other most valuable ornaments that escaped the conflagration. The simple report of Scipio to the senate was, "Carthage is taken. The army waits your further orders;" and this was sufficient to diffuse ecstatic joy over Rome.

The territories of Carthage were declared a Roman province; and from this time the Romans threw off their flimsy disguise, and almost everywhere acted the part of ancient conquerors, and made the nations feel that they were the sovereigns of the earth. In this same year, B. C. 145, the splendid city of Corinth perished, and about the same time the feeble rays of Grecian liberty almost vanished. "The fortifications of Thebes, and of some other towns disaffected to the Romans, were at the same time demolished; and the arrangements to be made in the country of Greece were committed to deputies from the Roman senate. By their order, the Achæan league was dissolved, and all its conventions annulled. The states which had composed it were deprived of their sovereignty, subjected to pay a tribute, and placed under the government of a person annually sent from Rome with the title of the Prætor of Achaia.'

## CHAPTER VI.

### THE FOURTH OR ROMAN EMPIRE, CONTINUED.

#### THE FIRST GREAT INTERNAL CONFLICTS.—TIBERIUS GRACCHUS MARIUS, AND SYLLA.

MAN's greatest opponent to his attainment of moral excellence is found in his own heart. An analogous observation seems applicable to the Roman people. Rome herself was the last and mightiest power which she had to overcome in her ascent to the throne of universal empire. While the nations first in commerce and wealth, or in wisdom and military science, learning, and civilization, were either crushed by her iron sceptre, or prostrated before her majesty, and reluctantly submissive to her mandates, she struggled long to sustain her life amidst the strifes, contentions, disorders, wars, proscriptions, and murders of her own citizens.

On the fall of Carthage, Rome doubtless regarded herself mistress of Europe and Africa; and she had before this time raised her throne in Asia. While the Romans thus triumphed every where, and extended their dominions almost equal to their ambition, and most probably far beyond their most sanguine expectations, the fiery process was kindling which consumed the liberty of every subject of the empire, and exhibited to mankind the fourth beast, in all the terrific features in which he was portrayed by the prophetic Spirit.

The victorious race of the Romans were satisfied with a shadow of the patriotism, moderation, patience, faith, generosity, and justice, which were the boast and glory of their ancestors; and their descendants were soon characterised and degraded by selfishness, pride, intemperance, treachery, avarice, injustice, cruelty, and blood. In past times, the idea of honour was recalled by the title citizen; and the officers of the state were open to the ambition of all classes of citizens. The patrician assumed no superiority over the plebeian, except to show himself willing to sacrifice his all for the safety

and exaltation of the community. Those raised to the first offices cheerfully retired at the time fixed by law to perform the meanest offices, and to associate with the lowest classes, in their toils, enjoyments, and amusements. The consul and chief general of the one year served in the next as tribune, an inferior office, and even as a private soldier. The supreme magistrate withdrew from office to direct the plough, and to place himself at the head of the table with his children, freemen, and slaves. All ranks quietly submitted to eat the food, and wear the clothes, and furnish their houses, according to the rules prescribed by the censor, whom they had called to control them. The comitium, or public assembly, cheerfully left the senate the chief direction and government of the greatest affairs of the state; and the latter assembly, consisting of patricians and ennobled plebeians, committed to the former the power to judge all who were accused of any crime, and to prevent the execution of any plan, which they deemed disadvantageous to the state.

This state of republican simplicity, and political virtue, was undermined by the growing majesty and wealth of the citizens who held office, and by the augmentation in number and poverty of the other classes. Between these naturally arose, and were cherished alienation of affection, suspicions, and eager pursuit of conflicting interests. From the vast accumulation of wealth which poured into Italy from every quarter of the world, the citizens looked on all other countries as their own property, and declined to tax themselves. This left the officers of state scarcely any other alternative than to pursue the course of conquest, and impose oppressive tribute on the conquered. Innumerable opportunities were thus presented for the principal servants of the state to acquire fame and riches; but having permitted themselves to taste the sweets of wealth, ease, and pleasure, they generally sought office to gratify their avarice rather than advance the honour of the state. And as those who attained distinction and wealth became numerous, they withdrew from the multitude, or merely employed them to procure for themselves the highest dignities of the state. Hence they became objects of envy to the poor class, who, though they sold their services to the highest bidder, yet preferred to unite in any scheme which promised to support them in idleness or pleasure, and retain the power and mortify the pride and vanity of the rich. By consequence, while the patricians and nobles could not but dread the power invested by the state in the comitia, and devise measures to

weaken it, those of them who were checked by their associates in their ambition, sought the support of the people by flattering them that to their assembly, and not to the senate, properly belonged the sovereignty of the state.

The first great manifestation of the alienation of the plebeians from the nobles, was occasioned by an act of flagrant injustice of the senate, which was resented by one of the most virtuous of their number. The Romans, having destroyed Carthage, not only claimed all that part of Spain which had submitted to that state, but determined to possess the whole of that country. In this scheme, they were opposed by Viriathus, whose valour has been celebrated by his enemies. Though ultimately vanquished, yet he long resisted the Roman power, and at one time compelled the commander of their army to submit to resign every part of Spain to him, except what the Romans had previously conquered. This peace the noble Viriathus granted, when he could have either put to death or reduced to slavery, the Roman general, the consul Servilianus, and his whole army. The treaty was ratified by the Roman government; but in a short time violated, without the least provocation. The Spaniard once more defeated them, and granted them an honourable peace. But the senate refused to confirm the treaty, and under pretension of sacred respect for honour or justice, ordered the consul Mancinus, who had accepted it, and all his officers, to return naked and in chains to Spain, and deliver themselves up to their victor. He nobly disdained to punish the innocent; and one of the disgraced officers resolved to be avenged on his own class, who had exposed the Roman name to the execration of mankind. Tiberius Gracchus had served quæstor, under Mancinus, and was condemned with him; but he appealed from the judgment of the senate to the comitia, and was saved from the disgrace and danger to which the sentence exposed him. From this time he embraced with ardour the cause of the people. Though by descent he was one of them, yet his father had raised his family to the highest dignity, and they were allied by marriage to the principal persons in the state. His mother, who was admired and praised for every Roman virtue, belonged to the family of the first Scipio Africanus, and his sister was the wife of the second Scipio Africanus.

If the people had cause to complain bitterly of the haughty pride of the rich, and the oppressive conduct of the powerful, they appeared to possess sufficient means, if wisely employed, to ameliorate their condition; for their number, and the ex-

traordinary, almost incontrollable influence of their tribunes, could compel the senate to comply with whatever they might demand. The number of enrolled citizens in Rome or other parts of Italy, had rapidly risen from three, to more than four hundred thousand. The great majority of these, especially in the metropolis, were idle, extremely poor, ignorant, superstitious, and profligate. The buildings covered a circuit of fourteen miles; and laws were required to restrain individuals from encroaching on streets, squares, and other spots reserved for the convenience of the public. The population was disproportionately increased, and deteriorated by a variety of causes. The more active the nobles were in procuring property, as well as power, they felt the necessity of conciliating the good will of the people. This gave rise to the custom, which became common for the government, to collect and distribute large quantities of provision to the poorer class. And all who sought popularity expended immense wealth in religious processions, or attractive shows. The votes of the citizens were now of much value, and were purchased by those who desired offices, which their merit could not procure, but which secured them wealth by the rewards attached to these offices, especially the principal ones in the distant provinces. All these things induced the most worthless of the Roman citizens belonging to the country to reside in the capital. Now these, and indeed all the poor citizens considered all the conquests, and honours, and riches of the state, as theirs by right, in common, at least, with the patricians; for were they not chiefly procured by the toil, and valour, and blood of the people? It is, therefore, not surprising that the comitia enthusiastically received and approved the motion of their favourite tribune Gracchus, to allot to every family a portion of land, and prohibit any one from possessing more than a certain definite quantity.

About two centuries and a half before Tiberius Gracchus, the Licinian law, so named from its author Licinius, had been sanctioned by the republic. It restricted every citizen to five hundred jugara, or about two hundred and fifty acres of land, one hundred large, and five hundred small cattle. The reformer desired at first only the restoration of this law in a modified form, adapted somewhat to the avaricious dispositions, luxurious habits, and ostentatious manners of the age. His scheme provoked the indignation of all who possessed, expected, or aspired to the distinction usually accompanying rank, property, or wealth. The nobles combined to

counteract his influence ; and, by prevailing on his most intimate friend, the tribune M. Octavius, to desert him, and exercise the right of his office, thus enabled him to prevent the obnoxious law from being read in the public assembly. Thus unexpectedly defeated, having entire confidence in his own strength, Gracchus determined to revive, in all its vigour, the Licinian law, without the least respect to the views, passions, or interests of his order. In personal appearance, amiable manners, correct deportment, no Roman had stronger claims on the esteem of his fellow citizens ; and no one equalled him in popular eloquence. He was ably supported by Appius Claudius, the chief priest, whose daughter he had married, and by the only consul in Rome, Mutius Scævola. Thus armed, after repeated attempts to recover the assistance of Octavius, he persuaded the comitia to degrade him from his office. This being effected, the law passed ; and he, his brother Caius, and his father-in-law, Appius, were appointed commissioners to execute it. They advanced slowly in their work, for they were obstructed in every step by the senators, who impatiently waited a fit opportunity to cancel the law. Their wrath was inflamed into fury and vengeance by other reforms which Gracchus introduced or proposed, and especially by his resolution being carried, that the treasury of the kingdom of Pergamus, granted by the will of its last sovereign to the Roman people, should be distributed to the poor.

To preserve himself from the machinations of his strong and numerous enemies, whom he knew to be resolved on his destruction, he employed every possible means to secure his re-election to the office of tribune for another year. The life of a tribune was held sacred, and, whoever was guilty of taking it, provoked the indignation and revenge of the entire community. The house of Tiberius was guarded by his friends night and day ; and four thousand protected him to and from the public assembly. The day of the election of tribune passed over without any decision regarding him. On the next morning, the senate met to devise measures to secure the peace and safety of the republic. On receiving a report, doubtless raised at their suggestion, that the reformer was about to assume the sovereignty of the empire, the senate called on the consul to provide means to maintain the constitution. He declined to use force against a tribune, and merely said, "If the people shall come to any violent or illegal determination, I will employ the whole force of my authority to prevent its effect." No sentiment could be less acceptable to those ad

dressed. All demanded the punishment of the violators of the public law, and the disturbers of the peace. Scipio Nisica exclaimed, "The consul deserts the republic; let those who wish to preserve it, follow me." The senators all arose, and, being joined by their clients, proceeded with him to the comitium. The people awed by their presence, withdrew. Tiberius in vain attempted to escape by flight; he and about three hundred were killed, and their bodies thrown into the river.

The senate, conscious of having, under pretence of zeal for the law, violently outraged its majesty, endeavoured to pacify the wrath of the people, whose admired leader had been murdered. No one proposed to abolish the Licinian, or Agrarian law. Instead of Tiberius and Appius, who had recently died, F. Flaccus, and P. Carbo, the most daring of the popular leaders, were chosen commissioners to divide the land. Scipio Nisica was sent to Pergamus, and died an honourable exile. The reformation or revolution attempted by Tiberius Gracchus may be regarded as the commencement of the most dreadful and sanguinary contest between the patricians and plebeians, or the senate and comitium, which raged, with short intervals, till both assemblies became utterly powerless, and Rome, with all her allies and tributaries, was ruled by the iron rod of despotism, and the peace that succeeded the many storms was more ominous of evil than the fiercest tempest that had ever desolated the empire. But it was doubtless hailed by the unreflecting, and, as we shall have occasion to observe, prepared the Fourth Beast to accomplish his proper work, and fulfil his destiny. The senate had still to renew the combat for the preservation of its dignity and power, notwithstanding their triumph over Tiberius Gracchus. The popular course which he had chosen was steadily pursued by F. Flaccus, and most vigorously by his own brother Caius, who was scarcely inferior to him in talent, and superior in fixedness of purpose and ardour in action. Caius and Flaccus resolved to subvert the power of the nobles; and, among the other measures to effect this, proposed to raise all the Italian allies of Rome to the rank of citizens: and other popular measures they most perseveringly advocated. They were accused of having been guilty of murder in a popular tumult; and refused to appear before the tribunal of justice. Having, with numerous partizans in arms, taken refuge on the Aventine hill, they were proclaimed enemies of the republic. Their weight in gold was promised to one or more who should

either kill or secure them. They were attacked; Caius Gracchus fell by his own hand, or by that of a faithful servant. Fulvius Flaccus was taken and killed. Those who carried their heads to the consul received the promised reward. Three thousand two hundred and fifty of their followers were slain in the streets; great numbers were cast into prison and strangled; their bodies were thrown into the river, and their estates confiscated. The house of Fulvius was razed, and the ground appropriated for public uses. Thus, B. C. 121, the system of proscription began, by which afterwards the principal citizens of the Republic were cut off, without any appeal to justice or equity, or mercy. The thirst of the Roman beast for blood was insatiable; and he swallowed that of his own kind as greedily as he did that of those whom he reckoned his proper prey, in foreign lands.

The functions of government were allowed to move freely for a few years, for a deep feeling of common danger pervaded all ranks. The sanguinary war with the brave Jugurtha, in Africa, occupied the attention of the Romans; and the movements of the large and mighty armies of the Gauls, beyond the Alps, in the region named Transalpine Gaul, and still more, the revolt of the allies in Italy, filled them with fearful apprehensions. But in these wars, which terminated in the triumph of Rome over these fierce foes, were trained two of her leaders, Marius and Sylla, who inflicted on her far more dreadful evils than she had perhaps ever endured. Marius was a fellow-citizen with Cicero, of Arpinum, a town of Campania, seated on the river Liris. He was of mean descent, and, in common with his class, uneducated, but he was evidently formed to command the admiration or dread of the multitude; with a huge body, and extraordinary strength, he was remarkable for the usual fierceness of his countenance and the roughness of his voice. He was not less distinguished by strong intellectual powers, great ambition, courage, and fortitude, urging him on to undertake any, the most hazardous enterprise, by the accomplishing of which he had hope of popular applause. He seemed capable of breathing only in the tempest; and strife, contention, and war, constituted the very element of his life. His natural alliances were made with the bold and fiery spirits of the storms which raged in his time; and he invisibly or openly directed the waves which dashed to pieces, or removed from their place, the pillars of the state, and dispersed, destroyed, or engulphed almost every precious ornament of the community. But he occasionally



sought the friendship of those whom he deened and proclaimed to be his natural enemies ; and, to win their confidence, his mighty mind enabled him to appear to have suppressed every passion, and to have cast away every prejudice. And when he judged it expedient to secure the support of the people, by condescension, kindness, and courtesy rather than by haughtiness, austerity, and wrath, he exchanged the terrible aspect of the lion for the gentleness of the lamb. Nor did he hesitate, in the pursuit of his chief object of desire, to throw off the robe of deception, without the least respect for truth, consistency, or honour. He publicly despised the superiority of noble descent, the advantages of literature and science, the pleasures and luxuries procured by wealth, and all the elegances and refinements unattainable by the class of society to which he originally belonged ; while, at the same time, his whole energies were employed, and his life was exposed, as a thing of no value, to obtain the first honours of the state, and the power to manage and control all the affairs of government. No one perhaps found it more difficult to persuade the people to appoint him a tribune ; they were astonished and provoked that one of such mean parentage should presume to stand candidate for any office of dignity. But the wisdom, courage, and rectitude with which he discharged the duties of that office and afterwards that of prætor, failed not to recommend him to the esteem of all who sincerely loved their country ; and his great and splendid deeds on the theatre of war rendered his name illustrious, so that the people at last called him a god. While absent from the city, he was repeatedly chosen consul, and seven times he was raised to this most exalted office. But who is the man that lives and labours merely for personal aggrandisement that secures permanent glory for himself or happiness for his country ?

The transcendent military talents of Marius were first duly appreciated by the second Scipio Africanus, under whom he served ; but he owed more to Q. C. Metellus, one of the most venerated and most upright patriots of Rome. This patrician was equally distinguished as a wise and tried statesman, and an accomplished and victorious general. When appointed to the government of the Roman province in Africa, he chose Marius for the lieutenant-general of the army placed under his command. On his departure, the Romans exulted in the confident expectation that he would speedily wipe away and revenge the disgrace which their arms had suffered in the war with the renowned Jugurtha, who had defeated their army

under the command of successive consuls. His first report to the senate announced the complete overthrow and dispersion of the enemy's forces, and the certain prospect of peace. In a brief period, however, it appeared that the consummate policy of Jugurtha rendered the subjection of his kingdom as uncertain as it had hitherto been. The Romans became indignant, and not unwillingly listened to the friends of Marius, who insinuated, at his suggestion, that the past success of the army was effected by his exertions, and that Jugurtha would have been easily reduced had Metellus been inclined to terminate the war. The ignorant and volatile multitude now scarcely spoke of the wise and admired commander with respect, while their unmeasured praises of the bravery of Marius filled the city. The traitor and calumniator of his friend knew well the state of the public mind, and resolved to seize the opportunity to apply for the office of consul, with a view to obtain the command of the army in Africa. Metellus had suspicions of his treacherous designs, and it required all his arts to deceive to procure leave to return to Rome. By bribery or intrigue he attained his object, although opposed by the senate. The Romans had already lost almost all sense of true honour; money could procure for any one the highest offices in the state, and the services of those who held them. Many who held these offices sold their power and influence to the enemies of their country. This is intimated by one of the sayings of Jugurtha. He had corresponded with many of the principal men by messengers or letters, and had personal intercourse with them when he was in Rome. His experience and observation convinced him that almost all of them were prepared to betray their country for riches. On leaving the city he exclaimed, "Here is a city to be sold, if any buyer can be found." The people ceased to respect either rank, character, office, law, or indeed any thing that imposed restraint on their appetites or passions. Marius, by reproaching the higher ranks, calumniating the most worthy, especially his friend Metellus, and flattering the prejudices of the people, obtained the office of consul, and the appointment to conduct the war against Jugurtha. In procuring a re-enforcement for the army, he preferred the lower class to the respectable, who alone had in past ages been admitted into the army. This violation of the laws and customs was overlooked, because those in honourable stations and comfortable circumstances were become averse to a soldier's life. The necessitous, the most depraved, and the outcasts of society

flocked to the standard of Marius ; and such were the persons who from this time formed the majority in the Roman army. When a general knew how to manage these, almost universally an unprincipled race, he could as easily lead them against their own countrymen as against the enemies of their country. This was soon proved by the civil wars, which threatened the entire dissolution of the state.

While Marius successfully prosecuted the war in Africa, he was joined by Sylla, whose services contributed greatly to the complete triumph of the Romans. This officer was of noble birth, and apparently resolutely determined to maintain the dignity and power of his order ; but hitherto he had not augmented the glory of the patricians, for he had degraded himself in the eyes of the few surviving patriots of Rome by pursuing Grecian literature, and in the eyes of all ranks by his profligacy. Having, however, secured the office of quæstor, he renounced licentious pleasures for the objects of ambition, and quickly showed that he possessed all the qualities of a great warrior and commander. He was the chief instrument in terminating the African war, by persuading the ally and relation of Jugurtha to betray and deliver him into his hand. Sylla quickly became the idol of the soldiers, and his name was associated with Marius in the exultation of the Romans, when they beheld the latter lead Jugurtha in chains, accompanied by his children. From this time Marius and Sylla were rivals for power, and each was regarded as the chief of a party.

Circumstances favoured the continued ascendancy of the rude and daring Marius. Myriads of barbarians had, like meteors, suddenly entered Europe, and, for some years, had spread, wherever they appeared, universal desolation. They covered Gaul, whose natives, from fear or inclination, agreed to unite with them in seizing or laying waste the fair fields and rich cities of Italy. The Roman armies, under two consuls, attacked them on the Rhone, and were defeated, with the loss of eighty thousand soldiers, besides forty thousand attendants, who were massacred without resistance. The report of this disaster filled Rome with amazement and terror ; the citizens imagined that they beheld the savage enemy at the gates. Every citizen was summoned to assume the military garb ; but their only hope of safety was Marius. He was called to place himself at the head of the army. His first great battle with one division of the barbarians and Gauls, terminated in their destruction ; two hundred thousand of

them were said to be slain, and ninety thousand, with one of their kings, were taken prisoners. The other division of their forces were opposed by a Roman army, under Catullus. Their number and terrible aspect terrified the Romans; they were seized with a panic, and many fled. Marius hastily raised troops and led them to the army, attacked and overcame the enemy. One hundred and fifty thousand fell on the field of battle; sixty thousand were made captives; and the remainder, a great number of whom were women and children, perished by their own hands. Marius returned in triumph to Rome, and was saluted and adored as a god.

The Romans escaped ruin from the whirlwinds which rushed on them through Gaul, only to be exposed to successive and tremendous earthquakes in their own country, in which it long seemed probable that all that was great or valuable in the republic would be altogether engulfed. On Marius' return to Rome he apparently determined to destroy all whom he regarded his rivals. Nothing short of the sovereignty of the empire appeared to be the object of his ambition. He associated with the popular leaders of the people, who sought, by every means, to subvert the power of the senate. He acted chiefly through the agency of the fierce and lawless tribune Apuleius Saturninus, and the not less desperate prætor Glaucia. The tribune was continually guarded by freemen of ruined fortune, who had served in the army, and were partners in the victories of Marius, and hoped, when the popular party prevailed, to obtain wealth and comfortable settlements. Dread of these sanguinary wretches deterred all the respectable and influential part of the people from frequenting the comitia, and none had courage in these assemblies to oppose the faction of Marius. They, therefore, carried every motion which they proposed, and among others, every senator was required to swear that he would confirm every act of the comitia within five days after it was passed. Marius, as consul, declaimed in the senate against the aged and the venerable Metellus, who declined to take the oath, and many other senators followed his example. But he soon deserted them, and beheld, with pleasure, Metellus forced to go into exile. Marius was equally treacherous to his principal emissaries; for when Saturninus and Glaucia raised a sedition in the city, he left them to suffer the just punishment of their crime. He, however, deplored their death, for his schemes were, for the time, baffled, and the senate recovered in some degree its power.

But the peace of Rome was transitory. The proposition to acknowledge all the Italian allies citizens, repeatedly brought before the public assemblies, was rejected. This produced the revolt of the mortified allies; and many of their cities formed an alliance, and assumed the lofty title of the *Italian Republic*, of which they proclaimed Confinum the capital. This city lay a considerable distance north-east from Rome, not far from Sulmo, the present Salmona, in Naples. Here the senate, consisting of five hundred members of the new republic, assembled, and "elected two consuls. The Romans took their first suspicion of a design in agitation among their allies, from observing that they were exchanging hostages among themselves. The proconsul Servilius, who commanded in the Picenum, having intelligence to this purpose from Asculum, repaired thither, in order, by his presence, to prevent any commotion; but his coming, in reality, hastened the revolt. His remonstrances and his threats made the inhabitants sensible that their designs were known, and that the execution of them could no longer in safety be delayed. They accordingly took arms, and put to the sword the proconsul Servilius, with his lieutenant and all the Roman citizens who happened to be in the place. The alarm immediately spread throughout all the towns that were concerned in the plot; and, as upon a signal agreed, the Marsi, Peligni, Vestini, Marcini, Picentes, Ferentanæ, Hirpini, Pompeiani, Venusini, Apuli, Lucani, and Samnites, took arms, and sent a joint deputation to Rome to demand a participation in the privileges of Roman citizens; of which they had, by their services, contributed so largely to increase the value. In answer to this demand, they were told by the senate, that they must discontinue their assemblies, and renounce their pretensions, otherwise, that they must not presume to send any other message to Rome. War being thus declared, both parties prepared for the contest. The allies mustered a hundred thousand men, in different bodies, and under different leaders. The Romans found themselves in an instant brought back to the condition in which they had been about three hundred years before; reduced to a few miles of territory round their walls, and beset with enemies more united, and more numerous than ever had assailed them at once on the same ground. But their city was likewise enlarged, their numbers increased, and every individual excellently formed to serve the state, as a warrior and a citizen. All of them assumed, upon this occasion, the sagum, or military dress; and being joined by such of the *Latins*

as remained in their allegiance, and by such of their colonies, from different parts of Italy, as continued to be faithful, together with some mercenaries from Gaul and Numidia, they assembled a force equal to that of the revolted subjects." The unnatural civil war which followed lasted three years. Although Marius, and especially Sylla, were victorious in the cause of Rome, several other generals were defeated. The result of this bloody contest was doubtful, till the Romans made such concessions as induced the allies to submit and dissolve their confederacy.

Notwithstanding this unexpected and happy termination of what in history is called the *social war*, the sufferings of the degenerate Romans accumulated, and few things are more astonishing in the annals of mankind than that their power was not crushed by their own wickedness. The leaders of the people learned to act on plans skilfully formed to annihilate the senate, and render law powerless. The most active of these ambitious and turbulent men, at this time was the tribune, P. Sulpicius. Besides a multitude armed and ready to obey his mandates, he retained in pay three thousand gladiators, whose trade was in human blood as well as in the blood of wild beasts. Supported by this lawless force, he usurped the entire power of government, and whatever he willed was law. Marius had the art to engage this instrument of confusion to humble his rival Sylla, whose rising glory provoked his envy and hatred. Sylla was now the idol of the soldiers, and the confidence of the senate. By their patronage he had been appointed to command the army destined for Pontus to oppose Mithridates. Before they left Campania, Sulpicius persuaded the comitium to revoke the decree in favour of Sylla, and to transfer his army to Marius. Sylla and his soldiers were indignant on receiving the information that he was ordered to give place to Marius. Commissioners sent to require their submission to the decree of the people, were slain in the camp. On the report of this outrage reaching Rome, some of Sylla's relations and friends were murdered. He resolved to be revenged, and immediately requested the army to march to the city. Marius summoned all ranks, slaves as well as free men, to oppose him. The senate entreated Sylla to encamp without the walls. To deceive his opponents, he ordered his army to halt, while he sent a detachment to seize the gates. The army soon followed and rushed into the city. They raised a conflagration, which confounded the people, and the Marian party were

dispersed. Passing along the streets, which flowed with blood, Sylla entered the senate-palace and assembled the senators, whom he persuaded to declare Marius and his principal adherents enemies of their country, and that they, or any one attempting to conceal them, should be seized and put to death, without form of law.

When Sylla conceived that he had re-established the authority of the senate, and the peace of the city, he departed with his army for Pontus. He, perhaps to conciliate the people, had unhappily permitted Cinna, a known enemy of the nobles, to be chosen one of the consuls, after he had pledged himself to pursue peaceful measures. Many of the Italians had not yet been admitted to the rights of citizens, and not a few who were, had been only enrolled in those tribes whose influence was scarcely felt in the state. Cinna moved in the senate that every inhabitant of Italy should participate in all the privileges of the most honoured and most respectable citizens; and that Marius and other exiles should be recalled. His colleague Octavius, with a majority of the senators, withstood him, and were so strongly supported by the people that, after fierce contention, in which some were slain, Cinna left the city, and placed himself at the head of a party, which rapidly became powerful, and re-kindled the flames of civil war. How improbable was it, judging from present appearances, that Italy should actually become the seat of universal empire, may be imagined, when, to preserve tranquillity, it was deemed necessary to maintain an immense army, divided into three detachments, stationed in different places under the command of three famed generals, Metellus, Cn. Strabo, and Ap. Claudius! And indeed, the appointed protectors were almost dreaded, as if they were destroyers; for the army, "consisting chiefly of indigent citizens, become soldiers of fortune, were very much at the disposal of their leaders, in whose name they had been levied, to whom they had sworn the military oath, and on whom they depended for the settlements and rewards which they were taught to expect at the end of their services. They were inclined to take part in the cause of any faction that was likely to be most successful."

The troops under Claudius joined the multitude, who armed to support Cinna; and the power of his party was greatly augmented by the arrival of Marius. This extraordinary man in his seventieth year had wandered over many countries, every where hunted by the adherents of the senate

and nobles. From the greatness of his name, and, as some say, by the dreadfulness of his aspect, no one had courage to seize him; he had escaped every snare; and on landing in Italy was welcomed by the great majority of the people. On arriving at Rome, he refused to enter until the decree against him was repealed. Having thus put his enemies off their guard, while the votes were collecting to restore him to the rights of a citizen, he suddenly entered the city with an armed band, ordered the gates to be shut, and proceeded to take vengeance on all who had procured his banishment. Many senators found means to escape; but the city, for five days, presented the most horrid scene. Cries of rage, terror, and agony, resounded in every direction. Sylla's house was demolished, and a number of his friends perished. No respect was paid to rank, office, age, or sex. Cinna and Sertorius, and other senators who were associates of Marius, were shocked at the sight of the carnage, but vain were their endeavours to restrain his wrath and revenge, till they employed military force, who drove all the agents of confusion and death into squares, inclosed places, or narrow streets, and murdered them in great numbers, without inquiry or distinction. Marius and Cinna were appointed consuls: but the former persisted in destroying, without form of law, all whom he deemed his enemies. Diabolical as was his nature, and habituated as he was to crime, he could not utterly eradicate or subdue in himself the capacity to judge, or the power of conscience to accuse and condemn, his dreadful deeds. Unable to endure reflection and remorse, "he passed from the agitation of fury, and gave signs of a distracted mind. Some one, he imagined, in the words of a poet, continually sounded in his ears, 'Horrible is the dying lion's den;' which being applied to himself, seemed to announce his approaching dissolution. He took to the excessive use of wine, contracted a pleurisy, and died on the seventh day of his illness, in the seventeenth day of his last or seventh consulate, and in the seventieth year of his age; leaving the tools he had employed in subverting the government of his country to pay the forfeit of his crimes."

Cinna alone held now the helm of the empire, and he called up all his energies and resources to conduct the vessel through the new storm which was visibly approaching, and which proved more destructive than any that had hitherto fallen on the republic. He was completely and irrevocably committed against the order of patricians and nobles as well



as Sylla, who had been proclaimed the enemy of his country; and he knew well the power and resoluteness of this chief enemy, who was not only at the head of a large and triumphant army, but had also a numerous and strong party in Rome and Italy in eager expectation of his return. Nor was it unknown to him that Sylla would appear to revenge the injury inflicted on his friends as soon as he had forced Mithridates to repair the wrongs which he had done the Romans and their allies. Cinna accordingly mustered a mighty force of more than two hundred thousand men to resist him. This force consisted of several armies stationed in different places to protect all Italy. None of them, however, ventured to prevent Sylla from landing, or even from marching through the country. He was accompanied by numbers of the principal persons who had, in the past season of danger, sought refuge in his army, and many others joined him on his march. On reaching Canusium, the modern Canosa, situated not far from Cannæ, famous for the defeat of the Romans by Hannibal, he was withstood by the division of the army commanded by the consul Norbanus and young Marius. His victory over them was complete; six thousand of them were slain. After several successful conflicts with other divisions of the army, he advanced on Rome, whose gates were thrown open to him; for the principal supporters of the popular party had withdrawn from the city. He assembled the citizens, and assured them that he would speedily deliver them from the disturbers of the peace and the enemies of the state. The property, however, which belonged to this class was either given up to his army or declared forfeited. A number of his principal supporters were shut up in Præneste, the present Palestrina, situated about twenty miles east of Rome. He left the city to join his troops that besieged that city. A large army ordered to support the besiegers immediately marched to oppose him. He no sooner learned this than he led his army against them, and after a desperate combat defeated them, leaving eighty thousand dead on the field of battle, and taking eight thousand prisoners. When this event was known in Præneste, the party then surrendered, and were all put to death. Sylla, victorious everywhere, was now master of Rome, and proceeded to kill every one who was known or suspected by him to belong to the Marian party. Six thousand were enclosed in the circus, and slain. Their cries made the senators start from their seats in the temple of Bel-

ona, where they had met. Many others were subjected to the most cruel and barbarous kinds of death.

This bloody scene filled all ranks with grief and terror ; but C. Metellus, a young man, alone had courage to appeal to the feelings of Sylla, whose gaiety and delight in every species of amusement seemed to increase in proportion to the greatness and universality of the miseries which he inflicted on others. "Make known," he said, "the extent of your designs, and how far these executions are to be carried. We intercede not for the condemned ; we only entreat that you would relieve out of this dreadful state of uncertainty all those whom in reality you mean to spare." Sylla, without being offended at this freedom, published a list of those he had doomed to destruction, offering a reward of two talents for the head of each, and denouncing severe penalties against every person who should harbour or conceal them. Hence arose the practice of publishing lists of the persons to be massacred, which, under the odious name of proscription, was afterwards imitated with such fatal effects in the subsequent convulsions of the state. The present proscription, although it promised some security to all who were not comprehended in the fatal list, opened a scene, in some respects more dreadful than that which had been formerly acted in this massacre. The hands of servants were hired against their masters, and even those of children against their parents. The mercenary of every denomination were encouraged, by a great premium, to commit what before only the ministers of public justice thought themselves entitled to perform ; and there followed a scene, in which human nature had full scope to exert all the evil of which it is susceptible, treachery, ingratitude, distrust, malice, and revenge ; and would have retained no claim to our esteem or commiseration, if its character had not been redeemed by contrary instances of fidelity, generosity, and courage, displayed by those who, to preserve their friends and benefactors, or even to preserve strangers who took refuge under their protection, hazarded all the dangers with which the proscribed themselves were threatened. In consequence of these measures, about five thousand persons of consideration were put to death, among whom were reckoned forty senators, and sixteen hundred of the equestrian order. All the ordinary offices of state were vacated by the desertion or death of those who had held them.

The character of Sylla was certainly singular, if not *inex-*  
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plicable. He is said to have been amiable, candid, and humane in his private life and general conduct; but who, possessed of power, ever indicated less compassion, or more pleasure in the infliction of just punishment, or in the unrestrained indulgence of revenge? Till he actually retired from public life, his ambition must have been viewed boundless, and nevertheless he voluntarily resigned absolute sovereignty. Was he ambitious of greatness rather than magnificence; to astonish and confound the conceptions of mankind rather than procure their admiration and applause? Or, it may be that he is to be regarded much more in the light of an enthusiastic patriot than that of an aspiring conqueror or enlightened statesman.

When every victim of his vengeance had perished, Sylla withdrew from the city, that the senate might assemble with apparent freedom, and proceed to restore the laws of the republic. In order to attain this great object, they chose Valerius Flaccus to the head of the government under the title of Interrex. Sylla quickly intimated to him that it was necessary to appoint a dictator for an indefinite period, and that he was ready to assume the awful office, which gave him who held it a discretionary power over the persons, fortunes, and lives of all ranks in the empire. This office, unknown in the state for more than a century, and which had originated in the total inefficiency of the constitution to avert the entire ruin of the republic, was at once conferred on Sylla, whose will was law. He presented himself in the city in all the terrible-ness of the dictator's office, preceded by twenty-four lictors armed with the axe and the rods, and accompanied with a numerous military guard. Satisfied that the people were sufficiently humbled and awed, he left the public assemblies to fill up the usual lists of office. Sylla, however, ceased not to exercise the despotic, uncontrolled power of his high office; but his object appears to have been to re-establish the constitution and laws of the republic. He, however, also instituted new laws which were calculated to strengthen and render the constitution permanent. But some of his measures had an opposite tendency. He distributed among the soldiers all the lands forfeited by the Marian party; and thus encouraged the military to consider the country as their own property; an opinion which the army generally acted on while the republic existed. Ten thousand slaves belonging to the condemned party received the entire privileges of citizens. The munificence of Sylla to his friends was only equalled by his ven-

geance on his opponents. It is calculated that he proscribed and put to death ninety senators, about two thousand Roman knights, and buried multitudes in the ruins of their cities. Believing his object accomplished, in less than two years he resigned the office of dictator, retired from public life, and two years later died at the age of sixty. He was buried at the public expense, regretted by all ranks. The inscription on his tomb, suggested by himself, was short and expressive: "Here lies Sylla, who never was outdone in good offices by his friends, nor in acts of hostility by his enemies."

The government of Rome was, B. C. 78, left by Sylla, not more adapted than in past ages for universal empire. The Romans were manifestly capable of conquering, but not of retaining in subjection, the world, by their republican institutions. It is questionable if from among their numerous citizens there could have been collected nobles or representatives qualified to maintain the union and peace of Italy alone. And those invested with the powers to select legislators, rulers, or military officers, had no intellectual or moral fitness to discharge with discernment and fidelity their important trust. The Roman people were at once remarkable for extreme ignorance and haughtiness, abject confidence in the grossest superstition, the strongest and vilest passions, the most profligate manners, and intense pleasure in the most barbarous and brutal customs. Were these proper electors of representatives distinguished by intelligence, integrity, and humanity? or who should even cordially unite to enforce any one system of rule, which assuredly was indispensable to preserve conquered nations, in subjection to the laws of their conquerors? Something more was obviously still required to consolidate the iron power of the fourth empire that its destiny might be fulfilled.

## CHAPTER VII.

### THE FOURTH, OR ROMAN EMPIRE, CONTINUED.

#### THE REVOLUTION.—POMPEY THE GREAT AND JULIUS CÆSAR.

THE comparatively small race of the Romans astonished mankind not more by their physical and intellectual vigour, than by their enthusiastic devotion to national fame. That their supremacy over all other races in Italy and the surrounding countries should have survived the frightful revolutions and convulsions of the state which we have briefly noticed, seems marvellous: and these were only a few of the many which attacked the state, several of which, from their violence or duration, were sufficient to destroy its energy and extinguish its vitality. How then must he who was only superficially acquainted with the Roman people, have been confounded to behold them, even in the most calamitous eras of the commonwealth, almost uninterruptedly extending their dominions, and enlarging their resources in every direction, hundreds and thousands of miles beyond their metropolis! Indeed, to such an one, the unparalleled circumstance of the power of Rome being felt irresistible throughout her numerous and most remote provinces, at the very times that her citizens were without a regular government, and struggling for continued existence, doubtless, was at once inexpressible, surprising, and inexplicable. History unveils this mystery, for it distinctly shows that all the principal authors of the unexampled series of sufferings endured by the Romans in their own country, were agreed in the unchanging purpose to promote and increase the national glory. They successively or contemporaneously strived for superiority in the state, and exulted in the slaughter of rivals or opponents; but if any other race presumed to dispute by force the unfounded claims of the Romans to the sovereignty of the world, the disturbers of the republic rushed on in one band to repel, overcome, and destroy them. It is, however, certain, that the entire acquisition, and especially the perma-

nent possession of universal empire, was incompatible with the frequent, and, it may be said, perpetual recurrence of tumult, sedition, and civil war in the seat of the empire. The recent bloody scenes in Rome and Italy had left comparatively few persons qualified to perform the functions of government, and were similar scenes to be often witnessed, every semblance of rule and law must inevitable disappear. That Rome should continue mistress of the most distinguished races of men, and the Romans the successors of the mighty rulers of Asia, an essential change, a complete revolution in their political institutions was evidently indispensable. And, to effect this, the most appropriate instruments were being prepared, and near at hand. The chief of these were Pompey the Great and Julius Cesar.

The ruling passion common to these far-famed men was ambition; the sovereignty of the globe would not have fully allayed their burning thirst for renown. Nor was the one distinguished from the other in the means employed to attain this object of their life, by the one discovering more than the other the least degree of sincere love, or even respect for truth, justice, or humanity. Nevertheless, a radical difference in their characters was manifest to intelligent observers of passing events. The record of these actions distinctly indicates that the grand stimulus of the ambition of Pompey, was vanity, and that of Cesar, pride; and from this opposite quality of their ambition resulted the greater appearance of moral excellence in the former than in the latter. Pompey could probably have enjoyed little pleasure on the throne of the world, unless all ranks appeared to concede that he alone was worthy of the dignity; Cesar ascended it as his right, for he imagined, or believed, that no man was his equal, and he held in low estimation the opinion of all. The first eagerly desired that the shadow, at least, of virtue might be visible in his proceedings, and sedulously concealed any of his schemes which exhibited the features of meanness, vice, or infamy: the last pursued any measures which circumstances suggested to be expedient or adapted to advance his object, unmoved by the feelings excited in spectators. The opposition of his actions to mankind's ideas of right, or their tendency to injure others, or even to reflect on himself disgrace, gave him no uneasiness, if he deemed them necessary to accomplish his fixed purpose. Dissimulation was one of the weapons which Pompey occasionally used; Cesar reckoned it common with all other which he could command or construct. He was unquestion-

ably far superior to his rival in every capacity and art which delude the human race. Exhaustless were his powers to devise plans, to anticipate favourable or unfavourable contingencies, to discern suitable agents and means, and to raise the resources required to command the agency of the one and the application of the other, for the execution of his projects. Forcibly was this illustrated and proved, by the fact, that he prevailed on Pompey to do almost whatever he pleased, long after each clearly showed himself resolved to occupy the first place in the state, or perish. Indeed, Pompey was perhaps as strongly fascinated by Cesar as the greater number of his emissaries; for he was persuaded by him to regard the acts which he performed for his aggrandizement actually necessary to advance and render permanent his own, till he found himself so ensnared that his utmost efforts failed to avert his utter destruction.

Pompey was the son of Pompeius Strabo, one of Rome's most eminent patricians, consuls, and military commanders. He was first noticed and admired for the intensity of his filial affection. Having accompanied his honoured father to the field of battle, he had the satisfaction of saving his life by risking his own. He was not more than nineteen years of age when Sylla returned from Asia to revenge himself on his enemies. By his rank, noble aspect, and agreeable manners, he already possessed considerable influence, by which he was enabled to collect a considerable body of soldiers, and perform such important services for Sylla as procured him strong proofs of the esteem of that great general, and from this time he rapidly rose to distinction in the state and the army. He was sent with an army to Sicily to rescue that island from the power of some of the Marian party, who had seized it. Having conquered them, his clemency to the vanquished increased his popularity more than the display of his great military talents. He was soon called to more important services. Jarbas, an African prince, having defeated the Romans, Pompey was sent against him, and speedily triumphed. Sylla, jealous of his growing glory, commanded him to disband his army. The soldiers were indignant, and urged him to conduct them to Rome, where they would make him master of the empire. He resisted the temptation to adopt a scheme which he knew would have been offensive to all ranks. His moderation was universally applauded. Sylla instantly decreed that he should return with his army to Italy. On his approaching Rome.

Sylla and many senators met him, and hailed him with the pompous title of Pompey the Great.

The splendid funeral pile of Sylla had been scarcely consumed, and his ashes deposited in its urn, when the consul Lepidus aspired to the lofty place from which the late dictator had chosen to descend, perhaps because he perceived that it was not safe to occupy it longer. Lepidus had previously awakened the suspicion of the senators, by proposing the repeal of all the laws which Sylla had enacted, with the obvious design of restraining the power and turbulence of the people; and, to remove him from the city, they had appointed him to the command of Transalpine Gaul. On his arriving there, he made preparations on such an extensive scale, that the senate called him to resign the command of the army and return to the city. Instead of obeying, he led the troops into Italy, and advanced to the gates of the capital, where he was repulsed by Catulus and Pompey, and his forces dispersed. While Rome had thus escaped the sword of her lawless and sanguinary soldiers, her chief men were agitated by apprehensions that the sovereignty of the world was to pass to Spain, and their dignity and honors, to the Lusitanian race.

No phenomenon connected with Roman history was probably more singular and extraordinary than that seen at this time in Lusitania,—a republic avowedly constituted to supersede that of Rome, and claiming right to all its authority and dominions. This was not the work of an enemy, or a rival, or a fool, but of one of the most illustrious of her citizens, Sertorius, who equalled, if he did not excel in patriotism and every pagan virtue, the most virtuous of pagans.

This illustrious man had joined Marius and Cinna, but when he could not restrain them in their sanguinary course, he willingly engaged to secure the Roman dominions in Spain. Sylla sent thither to oppose him a large army under the command of Caius Annius, who compelled him to withdraw from Spain. After various vain endeavours to find an asylum where he might find the comforts of a retired life, he joined the people of Mauritania, who had cast off the yoke of their king, one of the most tyrannical rulers. He succeeded in procuring them liberty, and left them to regulate their affairs according to their own pleasure, after receiving from them such honors and rewards as they were disposed to give. His fame had been carried across the sea to Spain, and the Lusitanians urged him to lead their armies against Annius,



who had rashly attempted to conquer their country. He gladly obeyed the call, for he delighted to support the cause of the oppressed. He was one of the most generous and affectionate of men; and this, it is said, he chiefly owed to his noble and enlightened mother. When he was a child, his father died, and his mother most tenderly watched over him, and employed every means which wealth could command to cultivate and improve his mind. Such was his love for her, that at the very time that he had completely defeated Pompey and Metellus, who were then the most celebrated generals of the Roman republic, he proposed to withdraw into private life, on condition that he was permitted to return to his paternal dwelling. The ardour of his filial love was still more affectingly manifested, sometime afterwards, when he was informed of his mother's death. For, though his affairs were most prosperous, yet he became inconsolable, wept bitterly, lay on the ground seven days, regardless of the most earnest entreaties and expostulations of his numerous friends, who included almost every officer of his army and persons of distinction, who surrounded his tent, to persuade him to resume the duties of his high office.

Having apparently established the independence of Lusitania, with the consent of the principal natives, and the concurrence of many senators and other citizens of Rome, who had fled to him for safety, he adopted the form of the Roman government, and proclaimed his state the legitimate Roman republic, and denounced Sylla and his party usurpers. In treating with Mithridates, who proposed an alliance, promising him the greatest advantages, he declined to accept any condition which derogated from the dignity of the Roman race.

During the brief period of the triumph of Sertorius, he showed that he merited the honor of the head of the republic. He civilized, to a considerable degree, the barbarous Lusitanians; formed a regular well disciplined army, prevailed on them to lay aside their own rude dress and assume the Roman toga or gown; established a school for the race of nobles, supplied it with able teachers of Roman and Grecian literature, and bestowed the most liberal rewards on the youth most distinguished for their progress in education.

Though he proved himself superior to Rome's ablest generals in war, yet he was destroyed by the treachery of his friends. His chief general Perperna, ambitious to supplant

him, succeeded in persuading a number of the officers of the state to conspire against the life of their general, and finally assassinated him during a public festival.

Perperna placed himself at the head of the army. He was soon conquered by Pompey, who boasted, without just cause, of having triumphantly terminated a war, in which he had suffered great disgrace, whenever he presumed to attack Sertorius. But he procured himself more justly the applause of the Romans, by burning a large list, without reading it, of citizens who had corresponded with that eminent warrior and statesman. That list with all the other papers of Sertorius, the base-minded Perperna had given Pompey, with the vain hope of having his life spared. This was one of the few noble acts of Pompey, for it doubtless saved many from terror, exile, and death.

Among the most instructive as well as amusing anecdotes of Sertorius, is that of his tamed deer. Though he highly valued intellectual knowledge, yet he had no desire to enlighten the multitude. Like almost all ancient rulers and legislators, he deemed that knowledge was one of the good things to which the men of rank alone had right to aspire. He accordingly cherished, rather than destroyed the ignorance and superstition of the Lusitanians; and employed all the common arts of divination to delude and fascinate them. His deer was one of the most effectual instruments of deception. It was a beautiful, milk white animal, and he had assiduously trained it, so that it followed him every where, in the city and the field of battle. This scene attracted the notice, and excited the wonder of the ignorant barbarians. Taking advantage of their credulity and superstitious temper, he made it to be circulated, with an air of mystery, that Diana had sent him the deer to discover to him important secrets. To confirm this report, on receiving private intelligence of the enemy's motions, or of victory gained by any of his officers, at a distance, he said that it was communicated to him by his deer, whom he sometimes crowned with flowers, and, presenting it to his soldiers, called them to thank the gods for having favoured him with an all-wise guide. By this, and other equally deceptive plans, he acquired a complete ascendancy over the multitude, who were more inclined to regard him a god than a mortal man.

Had Sertorius survived a few years, instead of his exploits being denominated a farce by historians, it would have been less wonderful had he raised his republic equal, if not supe-

rior to that of Rome, than that the latter should attain to the undisputed sovereignty of the world, an event necessary to confirm the sure word of prophecy. Though he failed in his object, yet he spread the fame of the Romans, and perhaps, contributed to strengthen their power, to extend the civilization of man, and prepare the races of Spain for the reception of divine knowledge, in the approaching age.

While the number of the foreign enemies of the Roman power had decreased, it had still great difficulties to contend with and surmount in Italy. In the centre of that country, Spartacus, a Thracian, and famous gladiator, raised an alarming insurrection among the slaves. His army, at one time, amounted to one hundred and twenty thousand men. They laid waste the greater part of Italy, and were not conquered by Crassus till many thousands of them were slain in battle. The few who escaped were destroyed or subdued by Pompey, who, with his usual vanity, boasted that he had restored peace to his country.

These two generals divided the army of Italy between them; and, as each was desirous to be the first person in the state, both declined to disband the troops. Pompey was the most popular; but Crassus was the richest citizen, and, to procure public favour, expended vast sums in providing amusements for the people. Though covetous, yet he prepared a splendid and rich feast, where, at ten thousand tables he entertained all who pleased to share of his bounty; and, at the same time, distributed corn sufficient to maintain the innumerable poor three months. Concealing their alienated feelings from one another, these great men proceeded to propitiate the citizens by attacking the power of the nobles. Pompey had till this time supported his order; but he was now most active to procure the repeal of the most valuable laws of Sylla, passed by him to arrest the people's efforts to subvert the authority of the senate. And in this violent and destructive proceeding they were soon apparently cordially united, and exceedingly encouraged, by the advice of Julius Cesar, who was rapidly rising in public favour, partly by his eloquence and military talents, but still more by his perseverance in undermining the influence of the senate and nobles. This great man, distinguished by insatiable ambition, versatility of genius, and destitution of moral excellence, boasted that his remote ancestors had descended from a god; and some events in his life were conclusive proof to many votaries of superstition that he was specially protected by the

gods. He had married the daughter of Cinna, and was nearly related to Marius, whose wife was his aunt. Sylla had commanded him to separate from his wife, as the condition of escaping the fatal lot of his friends. He refused, and would have suffered death, had not some friends of both parties prevailed on Sylla to spare him. In conceding to their wishes, he at once intimated the greatness of the favour, and showed that he knew well the character of Cesar; for he said, "Beware of that young man, for in him there are many a Marius." A few years later, Cesar, on his passage from Rome to Rhodes, where he purposed to improve in elocution, under a celebrated master of eloquence, was taken by pirates, whom, after threatening and amusing, he persuaded to liberate him for about ten thousand pounds. On landing at Miletus, he collected a few armed vessels, pursued and overcame his captors, and put them all to death by crucifixion. His preservation was perhaps still more remarkable at the time when he strongly insisted that those implicated in the Cataline conspiracy should be leniently treated; for, being suspected to have secretly encouraged Cataline the guards of the senate, on his leaving it, were prepared with naked swords to kill him, and only allowed him to escape in consequence of Cicero, who was then consul, showing his disapprobation of their conduct. Though Cesar, Crassus, and Pompey genally acted together for a time, yet each had a distinct party who sedulously laboured to promote the separate interest of their respective patron. The most illustrious orator of Rome, Cicero, favoured Pompey; and notwithstanding his attachment to the cause of the patricians, his desire to please all classes impelled him to support the lofty pretensions of his friend, and apologise for his dubious conduct by asserting that Pompey was to be less feared than Cesar.

The highest legitimate honours of the state were viewed by Pompey as not at all equal to his merits, or, at least, to the transcendant talents and virtues which he wished all to believe that he was possessed of; and that therefore he ought to be raised above the most exalted dignitaries of the state. But the time was not quite arrived that the Romans should voluntarily cast away their liberty and honour. These objects were now indeed slightly valued by the community. Riches, luxury, and licentious pleasures were the most popular gods; and except the celebrated Cato, and the small band who admired and imitated his stern virtue and unconquerable

fortitude, few even of the senators would have sacrificed personal aggrandisement or sensual gratifications to the shrine of rational liberty. But it was not in the nature of Pompey resolutely to pursue, without disguise, a scheme of illegitimate ambition in the presence and in defiance of the opinion of such men as Cato. Accordingly, on entering the consulate with Crassus, he singularised himself by taking an oath that he would not, at the expiration of his office, accept of any government in the provinces; and, after his year was finished, he spent nearly two years as a private citizen, seldom appearing in public; but when he did, it was always in great state. Probably by thus acting he wished the people to regard his conduct as a decisive evidence that he was a person whom they might safely trust with the greatest power and dignity; and that as they could not, as he supposed, do without his services, it would be their wisdom to intrust him with power unknown to the laws.

Two years was he allowed to keep his oath inviolate, and keenly to suffer for his vain presumption; for retirement had no real charms for him. To avoid the charge of perjury, and find an opportunity of adding to his glory, he suggested to his friends to procure him the authority to suppress and put an end to piracy. This was an office almost unknown in the state, and consequently the holding of it was apparently consistent with his oath. The crime of piracy had long prevailed; but it had recently become intolerable, producing incalculable sufferings in many countries. The pirates were so numerous that they seemed masters of the Mediterranean and its coasts. They spared no temple famed for its riches in Italy, Greece, or Asia. "They entered harbours, destroyed shipping, and pillaged the maritime towns. Ostia, the port of Rome, had been plundered by them. All the coasts of the empire were open to their depredations. The Roman magistrates were made prisoners in passing to and from their provinces; and citizens of every denomination, when taken by them, were forced to pay ransom, kept in captivity, or put to death. The supply of provisions to Italy was rendered extremely difficult, and the price in proportion enhanced. Every report on these subjects was exaggerated by the intrigues of Pompey, who perceived, in this occasion of public distress, the object of a new and extraordinary commission to himself." By the efforts of his numerous friends, he was commissioned and invested almost with sovereign and absolute power, under the unimposing title of pro-consul, to make war on the pirates.

To prevent this dangerous experiment, the senate indeed made the most strenuous exertions. The people, however, not only compelled the nobles to pass the resolutions of his friend Gabinus, the tribune, supported, it is said, by Cesar, but also to confer on him more than even his most zealous advocates were disposed to ask. He was intrusted with supreme command, for three years, over all the fleets and armies of the republic, in every sea, and on every coast, within fifty miles from land; and was authorised to equip five hundred ships, raise one hundred and twenty thousand men, and choose about twenty senators for his lieutenants, and two quæstors. Before he left Rome, he received a large sum of money for the public service. In his journey through Italy to Brundisium, he exhibited the magnificence and dignity of a monarch, and was every where received with acclamations by all ranks. In less than six months he cleared all the seas of the empire of pirates. "Seventy-two galleys were sunk, three hundred and six were taken, and a hundred and twenty piratical harbours or strongholds on shore were destroyed. Ten thousand of the pirates were killed in action, and twenty thousand, who had surrendered themselves, remained prisoners at the end of the war. These Pompey, having sufficiently deprived of the means of returning to their former way of life, transplanted to different parts of the continent, where the late or present troubles, by thinning the inhabitants, had made room for them. Upon this occasion he repeopled the city of Soli in Cilicia, which had been lately laid waste, and forcibly emptied of its inhabitants by Tigranes, to replenish his newly established capital of Tigranocerta in Armenia. After this re-establishment of Soli, the place, in honour of its restorer, came to be known by the name of Pompeiopolis." Many thousand Roman citizens, several of whom were of the highest rank, were rescued from the hands of the pirates, and restored to their country and families.

The report of his victories had no sooner reached Rome, than his friends, including Cesar and Cicero, in compliance with his known wishes, proposed to augment his power, and to commit to him the government of the provinces of the interior of Asia Minor, and the management of the war against Mithridates and Tigranes, whom the accomplished general Lucullus had overcome, but was prevented from completely conquering by the unexpected mutiny of his army. Pompey's progress in Asia and Syria was almost an uninterrupted triumph; and, for the three years that he had the entire direc-

tion of the affairs of these vast regions, his name was certainly the most celebrated in the Roman empire; and his glory and influence were increased when, instead of leading his army through Italy, after his return from Asia, he disbanded them at Brundisium, with instructions to attend him at his triumph, and advanced to Rome with the ordinary equipage of his proconsular rank. His request of a triumph was willingly granted; and his procession, which lasted two days, "was by far the most magnificent that had been seen in Rome. Before his chariot marched three hundred and twenty-four captives of great distinction, among whom were Aristobulus king of Judea, and his son Antigonus; Olthaces, king of Colchis; Tigranes, the son of Tigranes, king of Armenia, with his wife and daughter; five sons and two daughters of Mithridates, king of Pontus, and a queen of Scythia. The spoils carried before him were valued at above three millions sterling; and the gold and silver coin, which he delivered to the quaestors, amounted to thrice that sum, not reckoning the large donatives which he bestowed on his soldiers; for he ordered one thousand five hundred drachmas to each soldier of his army, that is, near fifty pounds sterling, and rewarded all the officers in proportion. He did not put any of the captives to death, according to the practice of other generals, neither did he keep them in prison; but sent them all, except Aristobulus and Tigranes, to their respective countries at the public expense." The ceremony being over, he resumed the manners of a private citizen; in hopes, it is supposed, that the sovereignty of the empire would be forced upon him by the community, from the consideration that he alone was capable to preserve the state from the calamities of new seditions and conspiracies.

The Romans had recently been rescued from one of the most alarming and dangerous confederacies which had been formed in Rome. Cataline, a man of noble birth, but one of the most profligate in a most degenerate age, had seduced a number of senators, all the youths of Rome who had by dissipation consumed their property, and many soldiers, to set fire to several parts of the city, on a certain day, and, in the confusion which would inevitably follow, to murder the chief men and subvert the government. Cicero, the timid but honest patriot, displayed much wisdom in the detection of this diabolical plot, and fortitude in the punishment of the conspirators. In revenge for his adherence to the cause of the senate, Clodius, instigated by Cesar, some time after procured his exile, which he had not courage to endure; and his grati

ude to those through whose influence he was restored to Rome led him to approve or sanction some of those measures which were subversive of the liberty of his country.

While Pompey was in Asia, Cesar laboured most assiduously to recommend himself to the lower classes of citizens, and to alienate them from the higher orders, who generally viewed him with suspicion, and endeavoured to defeat his various schemes to destroy the constitution of the republic. He had, by popular influence, risen to some of the most important offices, and had been intrusted with the government of Spain, where he enlarged the territories of Rome, by subduing several nations that had either not been attacked by former Roman commanders, or had successfully resisted them. He found, on returning to Rome, that the power was chiefly divided between Crassus and Pompey; and by his subtle policy, persuaded them to pass over past causes of alienation and jealousy, and unite with him; by which union they would be able to govern the whole empire, and dispose at pleasure of all its dignities, employments, riches, and honours. This alliance, formed B. C. 60, was denominated the *First Triumvirate*, the government of three men, the prelude of the overthrow of the republic, and of the establishment of that complete system of universal despotism, the government most appropriate for the mighty power of the terrible and nameless beast, whose pleasure consisted in rioting alone on his prey. The authors of this great political coalition, in order to conceal it from their respective opponents, continued to act before the public, each as the head of his party. But when those known to be rivals were observed mutually to promote one another's interests their connexion was more than suspected, and agitated the minds of the few who were sincerely attached to the republic; for what hope could they cherish of being able to resist the combined power of the triumvirate, each of whom seemed an invincible army? It is, however, questionable if any one of the three contemplated or desired the permanent division of power; and indeed none who knew Cesar believed that he would ever rest satisfied with any thing less than the exclusive possession of sovereign dominion. Each most probably regarded the coalition as a happy experiment by which he would be able more speedily to reach the ultimate object of his ambition; and Cesar found it most effective to carry him forward in his aspiring and finally victorious career. Had he not had at command the popularity of Pompey and the immense riches of Crassus, it is scarcely probable



that he would have successfully defied all the efforts of the senate to limit his means, and arrest his progress, to ascend far above the loftiest seat of the republic. He soon was appointed consul, and by carrying laws which were apparently most equitable in their nature, and beneficial in their tendency, to advance the happiness of all classes without benefitting himself, he became the idol of the people, and disposed them to view the nobles who opposed him as their common and determined enemies. And thus he was enabled more easily to attain what he considered a much more important object, and one which no Roman had in former times ever presumed to seek, or at least hope to obtain. This was no less than to place himself at the head of what may be called a standing army, stationed so as to overawe or control the proceedings of his powerful opponents.

Gaul was at this time in danger of being overrun by a race of barbarians named Helvetii. This afforded a favourable opportunity for Cesar to proceed with his plans. His friend Vatinius, a tribune, moved the comitium to commit to him the government of Cisalpine Gaul, or that region of modern Italy extending from the Rubico, the present Fiumesino, to the Alps, with the title of pro-consul, and the command of three legions for five years. This proposition of violating one of the most wise of the military laws, which limited the command of armies to one year, was most offensive to the senate. In vain they tried to set it aside. Probably to diminish the power of Cesar, by augmenting his labour and care, they inconsiderately produced the very opposite results, by committing to him also Transalpine Gaul, with the addition of only one legion. This decision of the senate is said to have made Cato exclaim, "Now you have taken to yourself a king, and have placed him with his guards in your citadel."

On the restoration of Cicero to Rome, he complied with the strongly expressed wishes of the people to move in the senate that Pompey should be commissioned with unlimited power, for five years, over all the ports of the Mediterranean, to supply Rome with provisions. To this motion the senate reluctantly agreed. This, however, could not prevent the diminution of Pompey's influence; for the recollection of his splendid deeds was almost effaced by the more recent extraordinary success of Cesar, in his two campaigns beyond the Alps. By the prodigious riches which he had collected, chiefly by robbing the temples of the nations whom he had conquered in Gaul, and which he lavishly dispersed in Italy,

he purchased the friendship or support of many persons of distinction, kept up constant intercourse with Rome, knew the state of every family ; and when he could not reach the master, he paid his court to the mistress, or to the favourite slave. When not engaged in prosecuting the war in Transalpine Gaul or Germany, he usually spent his time in Cisalpine Gaul, and formed a close connexion with the principal citizens of Rome. Accordingly, we are informed that he was surrounded with the splendour of a court in Lucca, one of the northern cities of Italy Proper, where he passed the winter. Not fewer than two hundred senators were present with him at one time ; and so many of them were members of government, that the lictors, who with the badges of office paraded the entrance into his quarters, amounted to one hundred and twenty.

Under the pretence of proceeding to Sicily and Sardinia for the purchase of corn, Pompey, accompanied with Crassus, visited Cesar at Lucca, where they renewed their confederacy, and resolved that Crassus and Pompey should secure for themselves the office of consuls ; and that, after the expiry of the terms, the former should assume the government of Syria, and the latter that of Spain and Africa, while Cesar should be continued in his present command, with an army sufficient to maintain and extend his power. He opened his next campaign with brilliant success, by subduing the Gauls, occupying the coasts opposite Britain ; and his partners in power took possession of the consulate by force, and filled all the subordinate offices with their own servile followers. Pompey sought by various ways to recommend himself to the people. One of the most acceptable to the debased Romans was "the opening of the magnificent theatre which he himself, or his freedman Demetrius, had erected for the accommodation of the people at their public shows. At this solemnity were exhibited many dramatic performances and entertainments of every sort. Among these, in the course of five days, no less than five hundred lions were let loose and killed by African huntsmen ; and the whole concluded with the baiting of eighteen elephants, animals that seemed to have sagacity enough to be conscious of the indignity and the wrong which they suffered. By their piteous cries they moved compassion in the breasts even of that barbarous rabble for whose entertainment they were slain."

Crassus and Pompey, notwithstanding the resistance of the friends of liberty, even to the loss of some lives, obtained the

appointments which they wished, for five years, and they immediately prevailed on the people to continue Cesar in his government an additional five years. On this occasion Cato said to Pompey, "You are preparing the burden for your own shoulders. It will one day fall on the republic, but not till after it has crushed you to the ground." Crassus seems to have attained pre-eminence in Rome by his profuse expenditure, much more than by his intellectual capacity. This may have made him suppose that wealth constitutes power. He is said to have been almost as remarkable for covetousness as for wealth, and love of power and fame. From the hope of acquiring great increase of riches in the East, he was not only gratified by his official appointment, but hasted to reach Syria. All the regions of the preceding three empires, except those held by the king of Parthia, were now subjected to Rome, and enjoyed comparative peace. Crassus nevertheless, made great preparations for war; exulted in the prospect of conquest, and vainly talked of his future disposal or sales of kingdoms and cities. Hence it was evident that he designed to attack the Parthians. How he failed in his schemes, exposed his army to disgrace, and perished in the conflict, we have slightly noticed in a former page.

Pompey was not less elated by his new honours, and flattered himself that the sovereignty of the empire lay at his feet; he had, in his imagination, only to express his will, and the whole army would hail him head of the empire. Presumptuously confident, he said, "In Italy I can raise forces with the stamp of my foot." In the meantime the measures which he pursued were, in relation to the soldiers, certainly, although not visibly, consuming the bonds by which they are usually held by their leaders. He raised a considerable army for the protection of Spain; but he placed them under the command of his officers. And, instead of proceeding to the seats of his government in Spain or Africa, he remained at Rome, and conducted himself as if he had the exclusive right to direct all her affairs, most careful at the same time to show the greatest deference for the authority of the senate and comitium.

Cesar exceedingly surpassed, as a politician, his partners in power. While Crassus indulged romantic expectations of enlarging his power by the accumulation of wealth, and Pompey assumed almost the dignity, and far more than the common magnificence, of a king, Cesar was diligently augmenting his army, strengthening their passion for war and

blood, and stimulating their vanity and pride, by leading them to combat and triumph in countries unknown to the Romans ; adding extensive territories and various nations to the empire ; and effectually laying under restraint the barbarous races who rushed from the north or east, and in their course desolated every land. But while Germany was drenched with the blood of her people, and part of Britain was conquered by the arms of Cesar, he was assiduous in his efforts, and expended incalculable riches to render his name either beloved, admired, or dreaded by every Roman citizen. Besides the sums sent his numerous emissaries, he caused some of the finest buildings at Rome to be erected at his expense, while he was engaged in war on the Rhine and on the Thames. And, in the lapse of a brief period, the internal state of the republic opened to him,—the near approach of what, it is believed, he had long desired and prepared for,—the great and final struggle for the sovereignty of the most mighty and most illustrious empire which had ever appeared on the globe.

Pompey, for a time, concentrated in himself the entire influence of the Triumvirate ; for the retainers of his colleagues were as ready as his own to support him. Hence, by the unreflecting, he was acknowledged the greatest man in the empire. And he actually assumed the majesty and magnificence becoming his apparent greatness. But his vanity could not be satiated while he was not publicly acknowledged by all ranks to be the sole head of the empire. That the time was come for him to lay hold on this grand prize was probably suggested to his buoyant mind by some recent events, which induced him, if we may credit the assertions of his opponents, to originate, or, at least, secretly sanction certain schemes tending to plunge the republic into seemingly inextricable difficulties, disorder, anarchy, tumult, and blood. The death of Crassus left him no powerful rival, except Cesar ; and the chief object by which his apparent union to him had been maintained had disappeared for ever. His wife, the sister of Cesar, and her only child, had lately died. And though he still publicly called Cesar his friend, yet he was no longer zealous to support his interests. Cesar, on the other hand, not only increased the number of his troops, but employed every art to attach them to his person. The senate justly viewed this as a strong confirmation of the suspicion, which they had long entertained, that he contemplated to effect by force what he had sometimes, inadvertently or with

design to intimidate, confessed to be his purpose,—the entire subversion of the republic. Pompey not only sympathised with the fears of the nobles, and avowed intentions to weaken the power of Cesar, but he resolved to raise an army sufficient to oppose him ; and in order that he might be able to command all the resources of the state, he stimulated his friends to demand that he should be appointed dictator. Accordingly, when the season arrived to elect consuls for the succeeding year, the community divided into parties, and fierce and bloody contentions prevailed, so that the time passed without any one being appointed to the office. Thus the republic was deprived of the principal ministers of government. The senate in vain proposed the only legitimate scheme, the appointment of an interrex, which was the title given him who was invested with authority to preside in the assembly which met to restore the supreme magistracy. The city became a scene of utter confusion ; the senate house and other public buildings were burnt ; and the lives of the chief men were exposed to the most imminent danger. For some days, armed multitudes of citizens and slaves traversed the streets and pillaged every place into which they could find entrance. The retainers of Pompey daily renewed their cries to name him dictator. The title recalled the most sanguinary days of Sylla, and, to avoid it, Bibulus moved the senate to elect Pompey sole consul, and empower him to choose, after the lapse of two months, a colleague. “Cato, to the surprise of every body, seconded this motion. He observed, that any magistracy was preferable to none, and that if the republic must be governed by a single person, none was so fit for the charge as the person now proposed. Pompey being present, thanked Cato for this declaration of his esteem, and said he would accept of the charge, in hopes of being aided by his counsel.” Cato is said to have answered that he deserved no thanks from Pompey, for he had only done what the times allowed for the good of the republic.

Pompey was not accustomed to ingraft tyranny on power committed to him ; and in accordance with his general conduct, he executed his high trust with fidelity, and was approved by his constituents, especially by those of the higher classes. They probably, from this time, looked to him as their chief strength against Cesar. But the former violated in some instances, the first principles of the constitution, which he always pretended to respect, and supplied the latter with most plausible arguments to justify his claims to autho

rity and power, incompatible with the national liberty. Indeed, Pompey procured for himself privileges which he instituted laws to prevent any one else from legitimately enjoying. Thus, at his suggestion, it was decreed that no consul, prætor, or quæstor could receive a lucrative appointment in the provinces, till five years after he had served the term of his office. Before, however, this law was proposed, he had secured his continuance in the government of Spain for five years longer.

It is not, therefore, surprising that Cesar demanded that he should, contrary to law, be admitted to the consulate, while he remained at the head of his army. This was no more than had been granted Pompey; and he insisted that his services for the republic merited equal honour. His boldness in claiming, as his right, that which the senate alone had authority to bestow according as they, in their collective wisdom, judged expedient or proper, provoked their indignation, and roused their fears; and led on by Cato, they resolved to call on him to resign his command of the army, before standing candidate for consul. Having declined this, they ordered him to disband his troops, because they were not now needed, and his time to hold the provinces of Gaul was near its termination. His friends replied that he would obey, when Pompey disbanded his army; for, unless this condition was complied with, he could not consider himself safe. Their opinion was corroborated by his letter to the senate, in which he stated, "That Cesar should be allowed to retain the honours which the Roman people had bestowed upon him; that he should be left upon a footing of equality with other officers, who were allowed to join civil office at Rome with military establishments in the provinces; and that he should not be singled out as the sole object of their distrust and severity." This language was regarded as presumptuous, for he plainly prescribed to the senators, and many of them considered it a declaration of war. After seven days disputing, it was decreed to order Cesar to dismiss his army, and by a certain day to retire from his provinces, or in case of disobedience, declaring him an enemy to his country. The tribunes, Mark Antony and Quintus Cassius, interposed with their negative. The hands of the senate being thus tied up by the prohibition or interdict of the tribunes, it was moved that the members should put on mourning, in order to impress the people with a deeper sense of the calamity which was likely to ensue from the continu-

macy of these factious officers. This likewise the tribunes forbade; but the senate being adjourned, all the members, as of their own accord, returned to their next meeting in habits of mourning, and proceeded to consider in what manner they might remove the difficulty which arose from this factious interposition of the tribunes. In the conclusion of this deliberation, it was determined to give to the consuls and other magistrates, together with Pompey, in the character of proconsul, the charge usual in the most dangerous conjunctures; to preserve the commonwealth by such means as to their discretion should appear to be necessary."

The tribunes, who had advocated the cause of Cesar, and the profligate young patricians whom he had bribed by an immense sum to betray the senate, pretending that their lives were in danger, disguised themselves in the habit of slaves, and fled in the night to Cesar, who, with a small number of troops, was fixed at Ravenna, at that time a seaport of Cisalpine Gaul, on the Adriatic. He presented his friends to his soldiers, informed them of the wrong done him by the senate, and asked them if they would desert him, who had for nine years led them to conquest for the honour of their country. They loudly proclaimed that they were ready to revenge the injuries inflicted on him and his friends. Two days after, he occupied Ariminum, a strong fortress near the Rubicon, the celebrated stream that divided Italy Proper from Cisalpine Gaul. History represents Cesar hesitating how to act, when he reached the Rubicon. This is not probable, considering his fearless spirit; but the most selfish and inhuman sometimes feel for human woe. And he may have said, "If I do not cross the river, I am undone: and if I do cross it, how many calamities shall I bring on Rome." The consuls C. C. Marcellus, and L. C. Lentulus went to Pompey, who was in the vicinity of the city, delivered to him the decision of the senate, and committed to him the supreme command over the treasury and all the forces of the republic, in every quarter of the empire. Thus civil war became obviously inevitable; and the result was the abolition of the Roman republic, and the establishment of the Roman dominion in the whole empire.

Cesar assumed henceforth extreme moderation, lamented the probable calamities of a civil war, and made repeated proposals of peace, while he urged his military operations with even more than his usual rapidity. He summoned his army to join him in Italy; but immediately proceeded with

his small band to take possession of various places necessary to procure supplies for his forces, and open his way to Rome. His movements terrified the inhabitants of the country lying between him and the metropolis; and multitudes fled thither to escape his vengeance, for they apprehended a repetition of the dreadful deeds of Marius, Cinna, and Sylla. They knew not the character of the man to whom they were now called to submit. Courtesy, clemency, and generosity accompanied his steps. Human life he indeed valued not; but he knew how to gain the confidence of man. The authority of the senate, and the influence of Pompey failed to collect an army adequate, in the opinion of the latter, to defend Rome. Indeed, many of the troops whom he levied joined the standard of his popular rival. And as Pompey seldom risked a battle when he had not strong reason to expect victory, he resolved to desert the city. He therefore summoned the senate, and called on all who chose not to be implicated in the bloody acts which he said Cesar might commit, to depart from Rome, and fix the seat of government at Capua, where he proposed to assemble the forces of the republic.

Cesar continued to advance on Rome, and he found the gates of all the cities and towns open to admit him. Peace was still on his lips; and war the delight of his heart. He spared those of his opponents who became his prisoners, dismissed them with all the honours belonging to their rank, and touched neither personal property nor the public money. The fame of his mild and disinterested conduct spread over Italy, and he would have been gladly received at Rome. But Pompey had left Capua, and rapidly marched to Brundisium, having sent before him confidential persons, to provide vessels in which he purposed to embark with his army. On his progress, he was forsaken by not a few of his officers, who hastened to enter the service of Cesar. That enterprising general pursued him, prepared to besiege the city, and published an address, expressive of his solicitude for peace. His efforts to take the city were unsuccessful, until Pompey, the greater part of the senate, officers of state, and army, had sailed for Epirus. Thus Cesar auspiciously reached in sixty days the first post on the course, at the termination of which was conspicuous in his view the most splendid of all prizes to his aspiring spirit,—the sovereignty of the world. Few of his own troops had arrived to aid him in his enterprise; but many of those raised to oppose him daily joined him, and transformed his daring race al-



most into a triumphant procession. And every Roman, whose bosom was animated with any benevolence or compassion, must have looked on the insurrection which Cesar conducted with some degree of pleasing astonishment, when he compared it with the least sanguinary and destructive of the many insurrections recorded in the annals of Rome. All former actors resembled so many lions rioting among a large flock of feeble animals. Such was the consummate policy of Cesar that, utterly destitute as he was of humanity, his words and deeds were those of one who could not look on human blood without horror, and who detested every form and species of cruelty. He evidently wished to induce all to exclaim, Who would not willingly have this man for his ruler? He continued to assume the character of the man of peace, and showed more respect for the form of the republic than he had been accustomed to do, especially in relation to the senate. Believing that he had less reason to apprehend danger from those who had fled, and left him as entire master of all Italy as he had been for some time of all Gaul, than from their friends in Spain, before pursuing the former, he determined to acquire possession of that country. In the meantime, he adopted measures, by which he obtained possession of Sardinia and Sicily, and secured the tranquillity of Italy. Leaving his victorious troops to rest a short time, and having ordered ships to be collected to convey them to Spain, he proceeded to Rome, and summoned all the senators, who had not deserted their country to meet him, to consult on the affairs of the republic. They obeyed, but none of high rank had courage to welcome his approach. His father-in-law, Calpurnius Piso, did not even countenance him. The only important officers of state who remained at Rome, besides those tribunes who were his own agents, were M. Marcus Lepidus, prætor, the tribune C. Metellus, who wished to preserve the public peace. Under pretence of veneration for ancient customs, Cesar declined to enter the city, and selected the suburbs for his own residence, and that of the band who had accompanied him. Thither the citizens crowded to behold the conqueror, after an absence of almost ten years. Marc Antony, his most able and active emissary, proposed that the senators should assemble without the city, that they might afford him an opportunity to plead his own cause in their presence. He opened the meeting by enumerating the wrongs which had been done him, and by loading his opponents with the guilt of the civil war. He portrayed, with

his usual eloquence, his moderation in having offered to resign his command, while his rival officers resolutely retained theirs, or at least insisted that he should submit to conditions, which would have made him dependent on their pleasure; they had thus chosen to throw the state into confusion rather than acknowledge him their equal, notwithstanding of his zealous and numerous services to advance the interests and honours of the republic. Instead of expressing resentment, he strenuously endeavoured to reconcile all classes to his cause, and affected kindness for those who were in arms against him. He earnestly exhorted the senators not to desert the commonwealth, nor to oppose such as, in concert with him, might endeavour to restore the government; but if they should shrink in this arduous task, he should not press it upon them. He knew how to act for himself. If his opinion were followed, deputies should be now sent from the senate to Pompey, with entreaties that he would spare the republic. He knew that Pompey had formerly objected to his having any such deputation sent to himself, considering such advances as a concession of right in him to whom they were made, or of fear in those who made them. "These," he said, "were the reflections of a narrow mind; for his own part, as he wished to overcome his enemies in the field, so he wished to excel them in acts of generosity and candour."

This profound dissimulation increased his fame, and many contrasted, much to his advantage, what they regarded his generous and noble conduct, with that exemplified by Pompey, who, considering himself intrusted with the government and laws, had announced his purpose to vindicate the honours of his office, and enforce reverence for the laws, by inflicting the severest punishment on all who refused to follow him from Rome. "Proscription and massacre of every one who adhered not to the senate and his party, were familiar terms at his head quarters."

Cesar was manifestly solicitous to accomplish all his designs without so violating the laws of the state as to rouse the passions of the multitude. He assembled what he called the senate, to procure their sanction to any plans which, whether they approved or not, he was resolved to adopt. Accordingly, when they dissented, he acted independent of them, and by force he speedily obtained what the most persuasive or artful arguments could not prevail on them to grant. "Pompey had been authorised to draw from the treasures of the commonwealth whatever money he wanted

for the service. At his departure, he ordered the whole to be removed; and the consul Lentulus was about to execute this order, when a sudden alarm of Cesar's approach obliged him to desist, and left him time only to carry away the keys of the public repositories. Cesar now moved the senate, that the treasury doors should be opened, and that the public money should be issued from thence to defray the expense of the war. To this motion the tribune Metellus Celer opposed his negative; and Cesar, disdaining any longer to wear a mask which subjected him to the observance of insignificant forms, proceeded to the treasury, and ordered the doors to be forced. The tribune had the boldness to place himself in the way, and was about to reduce Cesar to the disagreeable alternative of being disappointed of his purpose, or of rendering himself the object of popular detestation, by violating the sacred person of a tribune, from a veneration to which he himself professed to have undertaken the war. On this occasion, contrary to his usual character, he appeared to have lost his temper, and threatened Metellus with immediate death. "This," he said, "is easier for me to execute than to utter." It was thought, that if the tribune had persisted, not only this officer, but numbers of the senators, and many of the more respectable citizens, whom he considered as enemies and promoters of the tribune's contumacy, would have been involved in a general massacre. "Think not," said Curio, in relating these particulars to Cicero, "that his clemency proceeds from temper, or is secured to you by any real disposition of his mind. It is a mere effect of his policy: he is naturally indifferent to blood, and, if he is provoked, will make it to run in the kennels." The tribune Metellus, however, when matters were coming to this extremity, suffered himself to be removed. The doors were forced open, all the money was taken from thence, even the sacred deposit supposed to have remained from the time of the rebuilding of Rome after its destruction by the Gauls, and still kept as a resource for the utmost exigency of public affairs, was now carried off. I have subdued the Gauls, said Cesar, and there is no longer any need of such provision against them. He is said, on this occasion, to have carried off in bars, 25,000lb. of gold, 35,000lb. of silver, and in coin, 40,000,000 Roman money; or about one million sterling.

Provoked by the obduracy of the principal men in the city, he dreaded to make an appeal to the multitude, and after a few days, left Rome apparently exceedingly offended. From

this time intelligent observers of passing events regarded the republic abolished, and Cesar the head of the empire. And as no one of her great generals had ever extended its dominion over so many regions unknown to the Romans, so no one had hitherto showed himself capable of thoroughly establishing the Roman power over the numerous conquered kingdoms, nations, and provinces. The ages of military prowess and enthusiastic admiration of liberty which characterised the Romans were indeed past; and their enervated, sensual, and licentious descendants were prepared to carry the yoke of despotism: it became them well; and Cesar was fitted to make them submit to it with all the visible signs of joy which their ancestors discovered when emancipated from the tyranny of their ancient kings.

The governors of all the provinces owed their appointments to Pompey, and might be expected to support him. But Spain was his favourite province; and he had sent there three officers, with a large army, to act as his deputy governors. Till they were subdued, Cesar justly concluded that his power was uncertain in Gaul or Italy; for they might carry their armies, with Pompey, perhaps, at their head, into these countries, and overcome his forces. Having intrusted the government of Rome to the prætor Lepidus, and the army necessary to preserve peace in Italy, to M. Antony, he marched into Cisalpine Gaul, passed the Alps, and reached the important city of Marseilles. The citizens had voluntarily placed themselves under the protection of Rome, and retained their own laws, and exemption from all the burdens imposed on conquered countries. To Cesar's request to be admitted into their city, they replied that they esteemed alike both parties into which the Romans were divided, and could not therefore show more respect for him than for his opponents. But their conduct soon proved their partiality for Pompey and the republican party, for they received some of Pompey's adherents: Cesar therefore resolved to reduce the city. This enterprise he, however, soon left to subordinate officers, proceeded to Spain, and joined the army under Fabius, whom he had sent before him. He found his army stationed not far from that of the enemy, near Ilerda, the modern Lerida, a considerable town seated on the river Segra, in Catalonia. During some months, his affairs presented the most gloomy aspect; for the contests of his troops secured him no advantage, and scarcity of provisions threatened to destroy them. The report of these things was rapidly circulated every

where, and induced many, who were undecided in mind, to declare for Pompey. But he speedily surmounted all his difficulties, and his skilful manœuvres, and the success of his plans, confounded the opposing army, and excited the admiration and wonder of the Spaniards. Not a few of the former joined him; and the latter readily supplied him with provisions. He, at length, succeeded in placing the army commanded by Afranius and Petreius, the lieutenants of Pompey, in a position the most dangerous and distressing, from which it seemed impossible that they should extricate themselves. After passing four days without water and food, they were compelled to implore his clemency. He received them rather as his friends than enemies, and declared "that he demanded nothing else but peace; that they should suffer no injury, provided they left the province, and became bound not to serve his enemies for the future against him; that no one should be forced to take any active part on his side; that all who committed no injury against him should be considered as his friends; and that every man now in his power should be at liberty." He supplied them with provisions, and ordered their effects, if any were found in his camp, to be restored to them. He paid his own soldiers a high price for what they were in this manner desired to restore. By this measure he gained several advantages; he lightened his baggage; he made a gratification to his own men, without the imputation of bribery; and he gained his late enemies by an act of generosity. The vanquished army accordingly came to Cesar with all their complaints, and appealed to him even from their own officers. It was impossible for mankind to resist so much ability, insinuation, and courage."

The only troops of Pompey not subdued, were stationed at Gades, now Cadiz, under Varro. Cesar proceeded thither, and received, on his progress the submission of the natives. One of the legions at Gades met him at Hispalis, the present Seville, and offered him their services. At Corduba, or Gordova, Varro resigned to him all the forces on land or sea, which were under his command. And in this city Cesar held a general convention for the settlement of Spain. He thanked the people for the favours which he had received from them, remitted the contributions, and withdrew the burdens which had been imposed on them by the lieutenants of Pompey, and appointed Quintus Cassius governor, with five legions raised by Varro. Immediately after he went on board the fleet, which had been prepared also by Varro, sailed to

Tarraco, or Terragona, and thence proceeded by land to Narbonne and Marseilles. The latter city, which resembled one of the small Grecian republics, had nobly resisted the most arduous efforts of the officers of Cesar to reduce it; and though they had lost a number of their fleet, and had otherwise suffered much, yet they boldly repelled the besiegers, till Cesar arrived, covered with the glory of a conqueror, who seemed to delight in generous deeds. He augmented his fame by receiving the submission of Marseilles, without showing the least inclination to resentment or revenge. While he was in this city the news arrived that the citizens of Rome had proclaimed him dictator of the republic, and he hasted thither to be invested with the ensigns of this high office. On his journey he found the troops stationed at Placentia, alarming the inhabitants by their violent and outrageous conduct. He soon quelled their mutinous spirit, and acquired much praise for his avowed determination to protect the rights of the community. And he gained the confidence and applause of all ranks by the prudent use he made of the authority conferred on him in Rome, and especially by his resigning the office of dictator as soon as he had passed some laws suited to advance the public good, and seen the government intrusted to legitimate officers. He and S. Isauricus were chosen consuls for the succeeding year. To increase the number of his friends, he obtained an act of indemnity for all offences committed against him from the commencement of the civil war, and a vote that all the inhabitants of Cisalpine Gaul should enjoy the immunities of Roman citizens. In less than two weeks he left Rome for Brundisium, where he had ordered his troops to meet him, in order to embark in pursuit of Pompey. That general had now under his command a powerful army of more than seventy thousand men, and a large fleet of eight hundred ships. He had likewise "found magazines of provisions collected from Thessaly, Asia, Egypt, Crete, and Cyrene. The principal resort of his land forces was at Berrhœa, on the fertile plains between the Axius and Haliacmon, that run into the bay of Thermæ. The Roman senate was represented at Thessalonica by two hundred of that body, who, together with the two consuls, held their assemblies, and assumed all the functions of the Roman state. The Roman people were likewise represented by the course of respectable citizens, who repaired to the army or to this place." Pompey proposed, as early as convenient to invade Italy, and hoped, by his mighty army, to establish the

high reputation which his military talents and success had procured him, and completely subdue his opponents. But while he supposed Cesar to be occupied with the affairs of Rome and Italy, that enterprising general had sailed with only seven legions, succeeded in escaping the notice of Pompey's fleet, and reached a very dangerous part of the coast of Epirus, where he was least expected, under the lofty promontory named Acroceranus. Though the army under his personal command were generally victorious, yet the officers whom he had sent to Illyricum and Africa to take possession of these countries, had been defeated. In these circumstances, he pretended to be desirous of peace. Accordingly, before he landed his troops, he sent V. Rufus, an officer of Pompey, whom he had taken captive, to his general, with proposals to "refer all their differences to the senate, in Rome; and that each of them should, in the meantime, swear, at the head of their respective armies, that, in three days, they should disband all their forces, in order that, being disarmed, they might severally be under a necessity to submit to the legal government of their country; that he himself, to remove all difficulties on the part of Pompey, should begin with dismissing all the troops that were under his command whether in garrison or in the field."

By thus acting he expected to throw the whole blame of the continuance of the war on his opponents. He well knew that they would not listen to his proposals; and he, therefore, immediately landed his troops, and advanced to Oricum, which was occupied by a garrison commanded by L. Torquatus. He presented himself as one of the consuls of Rome, preceded by the ensigns of this office. The garrison instantly surrendered. Thence he proceeded to Apollonia, whose inhabitants, disregarding the authority of their Roman governor, at once received him. These examples were followed by all the towns of Epirus; so that he was at liberty to march rapidly on to Dyrrachium, the present Dyrizzo, a good seaport on the coast, almost opposite Brundisium, in Italy. This place contained the principal military stores and magazines of Pompey. Cesar was exceedingly disappointed on approaching the port, to find that, notwithstanding the rapidity of his movements, Pompey was encamped under its walls; and had sent some vessels to retake or block up the harbour of Oricum, and ordered the rest of his fleet to be so arranged as to prevent the passage of any more troops from Italy. If we credit the most eminent historians, Cesar felt

his situation now most critical, from the apparent inability or indisposition of his friends to send him re-enforcements. When he could no longer endure his anxiety and suspense, he adopted the extraordinary resolution of proceeding alone, and without the knowledge of any one, to Brundisium. He procured a fishing boat, and put to sea in the night. The rise of a sudden storm rendered unavailable all the labours of the boatmen. He had in silence witnessed their conduct, and, to encourage them, he surprised them by discovering himself to the master, and, seizing his hand, said, "Go on boldly, my friend, and fear nothing; thou carriest Cesar and his fortune with thee." The mariners, encouraged by Cesar's presence, used extraordinary efforts, and got out to sea; but the storm was so violent that Cesar, despairing of being able to reach Italy, suffered the pilot to return to the coast, where his soldiers met him, and expressed, with tenderness and respect, their concern to see him so uneasy for want of more troops, as if he could not gain a victory with those who were present." He, however, soon obtained assistance from Italy; for the scarcity of provisions having forced the fleet of Pompey to withdraw from the shores of Brundisium, M. Antony and Calenus immediately seized the opportunity of the first favourable wind to sail with four legions and eight hundred horse. M. Antony successfully avoided the opposing fleet, safely landed the greater number of the forces, and formed a junction with Cesar, who now eagerly desired to hasten on a general battle. This, however, accorded not with the policy of Pompey, who had resolved to prolong the contest, in the full confidence that the strength of Cesar would speedily be wasted, from the want of means of subsistence for his army. After various partial actions, Pompey's camp, situated on the sea shore, was almost cut off by Cesar, from the surrounding country; and he felt compelled to attack his opponents, whom he completely defeated.

Many considered the cause of Cesar now lost, but his courage and fortitude never failed. Nevertheless, he found it expedient to retire from the coast; and such was his activity, that as soon as it was dark, the sick, wounded, and baggage, and one legion, were sent to Apollonia, a distance of thirty miles; and at three in the morning the whole army, in profound silence, left the camp, and followed them. They were pursued some time by Pompey, but after the fourth day they were allowed to proceed. Cesar's reputation was much lessened by his late losses, and he found it difficult to procure



provisions on his march. On arriving at Gomphi, the first town of Thessaly, although the citizens had been formerly favourable to his cause, he was not admitted. In a few hours he compelled the garrison to surrender, and in a short time all the towns submitted to him, except Larissa the capital, which was possessed by Scipio Metellus, the father-in-law of Pompey. In the centre of Thessaly was seated the city of Pharsalia, in a rich plain watered by the Enipeus. Here Cesar encamped his troops, and waited to learn the movements of his opponents. They flattered themselves that victory was theirs, and assembled to decide whether they should, being masters of the sea and triumphant on land, instantly return to Rome, or pursue and totally destroy him. They determined the latter, and Pompey followed him into Thessaly. He was every where on his march hailed as victor; and, on approaching Larissa, was met by his father-in-law, who, with his army, accompanied him to Pharsalia. Their united armies, amounting to forty-five thousand men and seven thousand horse, encamped on an eminence about three miles distant from Cesar's army, which consisted of not more than twenty-two thousand men, and one thousand horse. But many of the soldiers of the former were Asiatics, and few were accustomed to war, whereas the latter were veterans, who had fought and conquered in many battles. Pompey therefore wisely judged that he would more easily and effectually accomplish his object by harassing and wearing out his enemy than by encountering them in battle. And this policy pressed so hard on Cesar, that to save his troops from famine he determined to change his position, and move where he could procure subsistence, and, if possible, compel Pompey to fight. His plan would certainly have failed, had his rival been permitted to act according to his own enlightened judgment and enlarged experience in war. Being unhappily surrounded with many Roman senators and others of rank, who were incapable of comprehending the wisdom of his policy, and suspicious that love of power actuated him more than zeal for the public good, he was not always at liberty to regulate his conduct by his knowledge. They were constantly urging him to attack the enemy and finish the contest, which they maintained was completely in his power. His officers and troops were not less urgent to engage in battle, being confident of success. How reluctantly he yielded to their wishes, is manifest from his brief address to his army before the general engagement, which may be said to have

finally dissolved the republic, and established the despotic government and the iron power of Rome over all nations. "As I have been induced by your ardour to venture a battle, contrary to my own judgment, let me see you behave in it with bravery. As you surpass the enemy in numbers, strive to do so in courage and resolution. Look back with pleasure on the glorious battle of Dyrrachium; maintain the glory you there acquired, and suffer not the best cause to sink under the desperate attempts of one whose intention is to deprive you of your liberty, and change the republic into a monarchy. Remember that Pompey leads you, that the authority of the senate supports you, and the gods protect you." The very day fixed by Pompey for battle was that on which Cesar had purposed to remove from his camp. His tents were taken down, and the signal for marching given, when he observed signs in his rival's army indicating an inclination to fight. He instantly gave orders to halt, exclaiming, "The time that we have so earnestly wished for is come, now let it be seen how we are to acquit ourselves." Both parties presented similar standards, dress, and armour. When the trumpets gave the signal to advance, the sounds were the same, and many are said to have wept. Fierce was the onset, and sanguinary the combat; but the army of the republic were speedily vanquished, and fled in the utmost disorder and confusion. Those who could not escape offered to capitulate, and many of all ranks voluntarily surrendered to the conqueror. Of those who had been formerly his prisoners, some were put to death, and others spared at the intercession of their friends in his army, to each of whom was granted one prisoner. The soldiers swore fidelity to Cesar, and were admitted into his service. The principal nobles in Rome had fallen in the conflict, and with them perished, in almost every one who survived, the hope of restoring the republic. Pompey is reported to have withdrawn to his camp in utter despair, as soon as he saw his cavalry flee; his mental energy departed from him, and from this time he appears to have been concerned for the safety of his friends and family, rather than of his own honour or life. In a disguised dress, he rode to the coast of the beautiful valley of Tempe, whence he sailed with a few attendants to Amphipolis, a city seated at the mouth of the river Strymon, which separated Macedon from Thrace. His proclamation here requiring new levies to be made, and all the youth in Macedon to rise in defence of the republic, was probably issued to induce his enemy to pause ere he pur-

sued him; for he evidently had no design, or perhaps hope, of raising a new army in this region. He remained here only one night; in the morning he proceeded to Mitylene, in the island of Lesbos, to protect his wife Cornelia and his youngest son. After visiting the coast of Cilicia, he sailed to Cyprus, where he seized all the public money, and vessels sufficient to carry two thousand soldiers, whom he had collected. With these he departed for Egypt, where he was treacherously murdered by the ministers of king Ptolemy Auletes, who had obtained the kingdom chiefly by his influence. His head was preserved for Cesar, and his naked body thrown ignominiously on the beach.

While he lived, Cesar considered his ultimate triumph doubtful, and accordingly, three days after the battle of Pharsalia, he set out for Asia in pursuit of him. Learning there that Pompey had gone to Egypt with a band of only about four thousand men, he followed him, and was apparently or really grieved on receiving information of his miserable end. He immediately procured liberty for his followers, who had been taken captive, and these in gratitude entered his service. This gave him an opportunity of boasting, as was his custom in his letters to Rome, that the greatest pleasure he enjoyed was every day to save the lives of some Romans who had taken up arms against him. He ordered Pompey's head, which had been brought to him, to be buried with great ceremony, and erected a temple to Nemesis, the goddess of revenge. The ashes of Pompey's burnt body were afterwards sent to Italy, and delivered to his wife, who deposited them at his house in the vicinity of the city of Alba.

Cesar was early chained to Egypt, and risked his rising glory, reputation, and life, by involving himself in tumults and war to gratify the vanity and ambition of the infamous and undeservedly celebrated Cleopatra. This princess had claimed the right, derived from the will of her father, to share the kingdom with her brother. Instigated by his ministers, he not only refused her request, but expelled her from Egypt. She retired into Syria, raised an army, and led them against her brother. As the kingdom was under the protection of Rome, Cesar summoned them before him, and, as the chief of the empire, he heard their respective complaints, and decided that they should reign jointly; and granted Cyprus to their younger brother, called also Ptolemy, and their sister Arsinoe. This decision pleased the Egyptians; but they were easily persuaded by Pathinus, an eunuch, the

minister who chiefly governed their king, to believe that Cesar designed to deliver them wholly over to Cleopatra. He persuaded his colleague Achilles to lead an army of twenty thousand men to Alexandria. Thus originated a sanguinary war with Cesar, who, notwithstanding the smallness of his army, maintained his position till he obtained the assistance of a fleet and army, more than sufficient to destroy his opponents, and enable him to reduce the Egyptians into subjection. He conferred the kingdom on Cleopatra; and to please the people, who were averse to female rule, compelled her to marry her surviving brother, who was only eleven years old.

The Jews having efficiently aided Cesar in Egypt, were highly honoured by him; for he restored them to the full enjoyment of the peculiar privileges which had been granted them by the first kings of the Grecian dynasty. And to their brethren in Judea he was not less generous and courteous, when he passed through Syria to Asia to put an end to the commotions which were excited in the provinces by Pharnaces, son of Mithridates the Great. He so speedily and completely put an end to the attempt of this prince to recover Pontus and other regions over which his father had reigned, that in a letter to a friend he thus briefly describes his success: "*Veni, vidi, vici.*" I came, I saw, I conquered.

"When the news of Cesar's triumph and Pompey's death reached Rome, the senate and people strove who should bestow most honours on the conqueror, now absolute master of their liberties, lives, and fortunes. He was, by the unanimous consent of all the orders of the republic, proclaimed consul for five years; named dictator, contrary to the ancient custom, not for six months only, but for a whole year; declared tribune of the people, and head of that college for his life; empowered to make peace and war with whom he pleased, and to levy what forces he thought necessary; so that all the dignities and power of the republic now centred in Cesar, who, without any violence or proscriptions, was raised to a higher pitch of power and authority than Sylla had acquired by the death and banishment of so many citizens. As the new dictator could not then go in person to Rome, to take possession of the many dignities conferred upon him, he appointed Marc Antony his general of the horse, and sent him with a detachment of troops to the capital, committing to him the government of Italy during his absence."

Having, in two years, settled the affairs of Egypt, Syria, Asia, and Greece, he suddenly returned to Rome, laden with wealth and the trophies of many victories. The news of his arrival at Tarentum brought him many Roman citizens to congratulate him on his triumphs, and not a few to implore his clemency. Among the latter was Cicero, whom he received with strong expressions of pleasure. His presence was longed for in Rome, whose citizens were kept in a state of continual agitation, alarm, and terror, by the arbitrary and despotic rule of M. Antony, and the violent and dissolute conduct of him and his soldiers; and not less by the ambitious and turbulent spirit of the tribune Dolabella, who, in opposition to Antony, assiduously laboured to persuade the comitium to pass a decree remitting all debts. Cesar entered the city without any parade, accompanied by a small number of his soldiers. Peace was instantly restored; his will was law, "though he affected to govern according to the ancient laws of the republic, and pretended to leave the senate and people in possession of their former privileges. Thus no change, in appearance, was visible in Rome; yet all orders of men were subjected to the sovereign will of the dictator." Neither the assembly of the senators nor that of the people presumed to dispose of any appointments for the government of the city and provinces, except as he dictated. While, however, he was thus, in reality, the absolute sovereign of the empire, a powerful party remained, and was daily acquiring strength, to render uncertain the permanence of his power. He chose not to leave the subduing of these to his officers; for his army rarely triumphed when he was not at their head. Having therefore restored tranquillity to Italy, he ordered his troops to assemble, and ships to be prepared for their embarkation, at Lillybæum, the modern Marsala, a city seated on the western extremity of Sicily, nearly opposite Carthage in Africa, where almost all the surviving friends of Pompey and of the liberty of the republic had taken refuge. "Three hundred citizens, many of them senators, and exiles from Italy, as well as settlers in that province, had assembled at Utica, and considering every other part of the empire as under the influence of a violent usurpation, stated themselves as the only free remains of the Roman republic; held their meetings in the capacity of senate and people; authorised, under these titles, the levies that were made in the province, and contributed largely to supply the expense of the war. Many officers of name and of rank,

Labienus, Afranius, Petreius, as well as Scipio and Cato, with all the remains they had saved from the wreck at Pharsalia, were now ready to renew the war on this ground. The name of Scipio was reckoned ominous of success in Africa, and that of Cato, even if the origin or occasion of the present contest were unknown, was held a sufficient mark to distinguish the side of justice, and the cause of the republic. These leaders of the republican party having a considerable force at sea, and having access to all the ports, not only of Africa, but likewise of Sicily, Sardinia, and Spain, had furnished themselves plentifully with all the necessaries for war. They had mustered ten legions, which, according to the establishment of that time, may have amounted to fifty thousand Roman foot. They had twenty thousand African horse, a great body of archers and slingers, with a hundred and twenty elephants." They expected to be joined by Juba, king of Numidia, whose military talents had been displayed by his signal victory over the army commanded by Curio, whom Cesar had sent to take possession of Africa. The republican army were extremely desirous to be commanded by Cato; but this enthusiastic votary of the republic, and most generous and just philosopher, declined to violate the law of his country by accepting an honour which was expressly limited to the highest officers of the state. He therefore proposed that Scipio, father-in-law of Pompey, and of consular rank, should be appointed general.

Cesar owed much of the success of his greatest enterprises to his studied care to take his enemies by surprise. To effect this, he had sailed in the stormy season against Pompey, and came on him unexpectedly. In like manner, it was after the republican fleet, under the command of Varus, had been laid up at Utica for the stormy season, that Cesar braved the dangers of the ocean to encounter his opponents in Africa. He reached Sicily before many ships or troops were collected. Leaving orders for them to follow, he put to sea with the first fair wind, and landed at Adrumetum with not more than three thousand men, although he knew that a force greatly superior, under Considius, an able officer, was ready to oppose him. His boldness imposed on Considius, who had no idea that he would have ventured on shore with a small band; and his sudden appearance alarmed and perplexed the garrison. The gates were shut, and the troops placed to defend themselves, when they ought to have attacked the intruder. Cesar having in vain attempted, by threatening and

flattery, to induce the faithful officer to submit, marched southwards to the cities of Ruspina and Leptis, where he was at once admitted. Becoming impatient for his fleet, he had gone on board of a ship in the evening, with intention to set sail early on the next morning. On the return of light, some of the vessels were seen, and he had soon the gratification of receiving the greater number of his troops, whom he led in a kind of triumph to Ruspina, and stationed between the town and the shore. He repelled one attack of his opponents, but their number in a short period placed him in a critical position; for he was shut up in his entrenchments, and prevented from obtaining supplies from the country. He, however, was relieved by procuring provisions from the island of Cercina, to which he had sent Sallust the historian, with a few soldiers; and at the same time a considerable number of troops arrived, with a large supply of food. Thus strengthened, he advanced on the adjacent fortified town of Utica. After besieging it a short time, he resolved to search for a situation more favourable for meeting the enemy in a general battle. At length he posted his army at Thapsus, the principal seaport and garrison in the southern boundaries of the Roman province. The republican general Scipio, and Juba, with their respective armies, continued to follow and harass him, in hope of wearing him out; but unhappily they adhered not to this wise policy, to which they had been strongly urged by Cato, who was left in charge of Utica. The importance of Thapsus determined them to give Cesar battle rather than permit him to reduce it. The conflict was short, but dreadfully murderous; for though the routed army of Scipio cast away their arms, and saluted their victorious countrymen, yet these, like so many beasts of prey thirsting for blood, were deaf to the cry of the vanquished, and even contrary to the orders of their own general, put the whole defenceless multitude to the sword. So furious and uncontrollable was their rage and revenge, that they fell on those of their own officers who had at any former time offended them; insomuch that not a few of the highest rank fled and concealed themselves till the fierce passions of the maniac troops subsided. On the following day, C. Rebellius was appointed with three legions to continue the siege of Thapsus; and M. Messala, with a party of cavalry, was ordered to march on Utica, to which Cesar was quickly to conduct the other divisions of his army.

The report of his victory preceded him, and carried terror

and despair into the hearts of the Romans, and consternation seized all the citizens; but the distress of the former was exceedingly augmented from the knowledge that the latter favoured the cause of the conqueror. Cato called his friends together, and sought to tranquillize their spirits and reanimate their hopes, by entreating them to reflect that the melancholy news might be exaggerated; that the republic was not to be considered utterly ruined by the loss of one battle; that Spain was even then possessed by Pompey's son, and that the place was strong, their number considerable, and that they had abundance of arms and provisions. Hope was momentarily excited, but it was speedily expelled by reflection, and complete despondency filled every heart. While deliberating how to act, a band of Scipio's cavalry, who had escaped the sword, presented themselves at the gates, and threatened to kill every Roman who proposed submission to Cesar. Cato, with difficulty, turned them from their barbarous purpose, and consented that his friends should make their peace with Cesar; but many senators, who either determined to persevere in their resistance, or who had no hopes of his favour, escaped by sea, and sailed to seek refuge with the sons of Pompey. Many of those who remained were put to death by Messala, who entered the city before his great general, who was, however, now little disposed to restrain his followers from revenge; for he no longer deemed it expedient to seek popularity by showing generosity and compassion, which were aliens from his bosom. Cato, cherishing his patriotic and stoical sentiments, disdained to owe his life to the enemy of his country, and refused to survive its liberty. He deliberately killed himself, for his spurious philosophy taught him to believe that man has the right to dispose of his life in the manner which he judges proper. Juba, king of Numidia, with Petreius, fled to Zama, a strong fortress, containing his family and wealth, with the avowed purpose of consuming himself and the whole by fire. Not being admitted, he retired to one of his palaces, and after a splendid entertainment, the desperate fugitives fell on their swords and perished. Numidia and Mauritania were quickly conquered and constituted a Roman province, and placed under the dissipated bold soldier, and able historian, Sallust.

Thus Providence was preparing Northern Africa for the introduction of Christianity, which at no very distant period exhibited there, on an extensive scale, some of its greatest conflicts and noblest trophies; and these were particularly seen in



Carthage, which was rebuilt about this time by the order of Cesar, who had also, early the same year, when passing through Greece, caused Corinth to be restored, a city celebrated in future times for its numerous converts to Christ.

The most unprincipled politician, the most sanguinary warrior, the most cruel tyrant, in common with the robber, assassinator, and prostitute, on certain occasions, assume extreme reverence for the ceremonies of religion, and appear the devoutest worshippers. Accordingly, Cesar, on returning to Rome, accompanied by the entire multitude of citizens, who had met him at a little distance from the city, immediately proceeded to the capitol to give thanks to Jupiter for the success of his arms. Now the senate and comitium emulated who should most zealously load him with honours. "Supplications were appointed, and sacrifices ordered to be offered daily in the temples, for forty days, in thanksgiving to the gods for the victories he had gained in Africa. His dictatorship was prolonged for ten years, and the dignity of censor, which had been hitherto divided between two magistrates, conferred on him alone, under the title of præfect, or reformer of manners. His person was declared sacred and inviolable; and, to raise him above the level of his fellow-citizens, it was decreed, that he should sit, during his life, next to the consuls; that he should give his opinion first in all public deliberations; that he should sit at public shows in a curule chair; and that, even after his death, the chair should be placed as usual at the shows, to render his memory immortal; lastly, they placed his statue in the capitol next to that of Jupiter, with this inscription on the pedestal, "To Cesar, a demigod." Cesar had too much penetration not to know that this profusion of honours was the effect of fear, and not of any sincere affection for him; and therefore, in accepting such marks of distinction, he declared, that he would make no other use of his authority than to prevent any farther disturbances in the republic, and to render all the members of it happy. His speech, and the pardon he granted a few days after to M. Claudius Marcellus, one of his most inveterate enemies, calmed the fears both of the senate and the people. The dictator having, by his clemency, delivered the senators from their fears, summoned the people, and appearing in the assembly more like a common citizen than a victorious general, returned them thanks, in a most obliging manner, for their attachment to his person: he then entertained them with a particular account of his victories, observing, that he had, by his last victory, subdued a

country so rich, and of such extent, that it would yearly supply the city with two hundred thousand bushels of corn, and three millions of measures of oil. In consideration of the many conquests he had made, four triumphs were decreed him by the senate and people. He triumphed four times in one month, for his victories over the Gauls, Egypt, Pharnaces, and Juba. In the first triumph, were carried before his chariot the names of three hundred nations, and eight hundred cities, which he had reduced by the death of a million of enemies. Among the prisoners appeared Vercingetorix, who had excited all Gaul against Cesar, and attempted to relieve Alecia, at the head of three hundred thousand men. His soldiers followed, crowned with laurel, and the whole city attended him with loud acclamations. He mounted the steps of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, on his knees, and having sacrificed to that god, cancelled the fulsome inscription which had been engraved on the pedestal of his statue. The second triumph was over Egypt, when the pictures of Ptolemy, Photinus, and Achillas, were carried before the triumphal chariot, with representations of the cities of Pelusium and Alexandria, of the palace of the Egyptian kings, and of the tower of Pharos. Before the chariot walked many prisoners of distinction; among the rest, Arsinoe, the sister of Cleopatra, loaded with chains: but, after the show, she was set at liberty, and only banished from Egypt, that she might not create new disturbances in that kingdom, to the prejudice of Cleopatra. The third triumph exhibited the defeat of Pharnaces, king of Pontus. In the midst of the spoils, which the conqueror had brought from Pontus, Bithynia, and Galatia, the famous words, "Veni, vidi, vici," were carried on a table in large characters, to show rather the dispatch than the difficulty or importance of that victory. The subject of the fourth triumph was, the conquest of Africa and Numidia, with the defeat of Juba and his allies. In this triumph, Juba, the son of king Juba, who was then very young, walked among the other captives before the triumphal chariot; but, when the show was over, Cesar set him at liberty, and gave him an education suitable to his rank, appointing masters to teach him the Greek and Latin tongues, and such sciences as the young noblemen of Rome studied in those days. The vessels of gold and silver, which in these triumphs were carried before the conqueror, amounted to the value of sixty-five thousand talents, above twelve millions of our money, besides eighteen hundred and twenty-two crowns of gold; weighing fifteen thou

sand and thirty-three pounds, which were presents made to him by princes and cities after his victories. With these sums he paid his soldiers their arrears, and, besides a hundred and fifty pounds of our money to every private man, gave as much more to each centurion, and thrice the sum to each tribune and commander of the cavalry. As to the Roman people, whose favour he courted, he gave to each person ten bushels of corn, ten measures of oil, and added a hundred denarii, by way of interest, to the three hundred he had promised them before he set out for Africa. He afterwards entertained the people at twenty-two thousand tables with six thousand murenas, and an incredible profusion of other dainties and rich wines; and, that nothing might be wanting to the pomp and magnificence of these feasts, he entertained the city with a combat of two thousand gladiators, with representations of sea and land fights, in which were three or four thousand combatants on a side, and with all sorts of plays, farces, and mimic performances. The entertainments lasted several days, and drew such numbers of people to Rome, that many of them were forced to lie in the open air, and some were stifled in the crowd.

Cesar having, by his largesses, entertainments, and shows, secured the affections of the soldiery and people, made it his study to reform the government, and establish order in the city. As many of the inhabitants had lost their lives in the civil war, and many had abandoned their native country, he appointed great privileges and exemptions for such as had numerous families; recalled all those who had settled in foreign countries, and invited to Rome, from all parts of the world, such persons as were in repute for their learning and knowledge; granting them, for their encouragement, all the rights and privileges of Roman citizens. At the same time he published a law, forbidding all citizens, above twenty years of age, and under forty, to absent themselves from the capital more than three years, on any pretence whatever. By other laws, he restrained the profuse way of living which at that time prevailed in Rome and all over Italy; he confined the use of litters and embroidered robes and jewels to persons of the first rank, or of large estates; he limited the expense of feasts by many sumptuary laws, which he caused to be put in execution with the utmost rigour, his officers often breaking into the houses of the rich citizens, and snatching from their tables such dishes as had been served up contrary to his prohibition. All the markets swarmed with informers, so that

nothing could be carried thither, or sold, without his knowledge; and he never failed to punish with heavy fines such as he found guilty of the least breach of the laws he had enacted. As for the management of the public money, he reserved that entirely to himself; but committed the administration of justice to the senators and knights, choosing from them such persons as were remarkable for their integrity and probity. As his long command in Gaul had given him an opportunity of usurping an absolute power, to prevent others from treading in his footsteps, he ordained, by a law, that no prætor should be continued in his government above a year, and no consular above two. All the magistrates in Rome, as well as in the provinces, were appointed by him, the people whom he suffered to assemble in the comitium, to maintain at least some appearance of a republican state, not daring to choose any but such as he proposed or recommended; by which means all the places and governments were filled with his creatures. The tribunes, the prætors, the quæstors, and even the consuls, were all persons who had served under him, inviolably attached to his interest. The government of the countries subject to the republic was committed to such only as the dictator thought he could confide in. Thus Sicily was allotted to A. Allienus, Cisalpine Gaul to M. Junius Brutus, Transalpine Gaul to another Junius Brutus, surnamed Albinus, Achaia to Servius Sulpitius, Numidia to Crispus Salustius, Illyricum to P. Vatinius, Syria to Q. Cornificius, and Spain to Q. Cassius Longinus," so that the authority of Cesar seemed equally established in the metropolis and in the most distant provinces of the vast empire.

Such was the reception given Cesar on his return from Africa; and from this time may be dated the commencement of the triumphant reign of pure despotism throughout all the dominions of Rome. No future event of the citizens was effectual to restore even the shadow of liberty; it was for ever buried, according to the computation of those who had most accurate knowledge of the contest of Cesar for sovereignty, in the blood of 400,000 Romans. He virtually obtained the wish of his heart, but could neither, by his own policy nor by the assistance of his friends, prevail on the people publicly to confer on him the title of a king. He felt compelled, in consequence of the marked disapprobation of the people, to decline accepting of it, when, on his triumphant return from Spain, Antony, with the authority of consul, in a festival assembly presented him a crown, saying, "This crown the Ro-

man people confer on Cesar by my hands." To flatter his vanity, his refusal was inserted in the public records, in language conveying equal honour, "That the consul, having, by order of the people, presented a crown, and offered to confer the majesty of king on Caius Julius Cesar, perpetual dictator, he had declined to receive it."

Among the acts of Cesar which justly claimed for him the applause of posterity, we may notice the reform of the Roman calendar. This he effected before he departed for Spain. It was a most necessary work; for by the errors of the former calendar, consisting of 355 days only, the festivals of the Romans were removed by degrees, and put out of their due time, till at last they came to fall in with seasons quite opposite to those of their primitive institution. Cesar, guided by the principles established by the astronomers of Egypt, undertook, and happily completed that reformation which the world, in all succeeding ages, have found most important.

Either confident that he was exalted far above all opponents, or fascinated by Cleopatra, queen of Egypt who, on his invitation, had visited Rome, and taken up her residence in his palace, Cesar remained so long in Italy that the two sons of Pompey had raised a most powerful force to oppose him. These brothers, regarded as soldiers, were worthy of their father's name, and preferred his honour to their own life. After his fall they took refuge in Spain, encouraged by the fact that the Roman legions stationed there had declared against Cesar. They soon found themselves at the head of many troops, were favoured by many Romans settled in Spain; and joined by not a few officers of rank, who had escaped from the sword of Cesar, in Thessaly and Africa. Numerous nations also supported them, from respect to the memory of their father. Their army consisted of thirteen legions, and they had taken possession of the principal towns. It was with difficulty that the officers sent by Cesar could act even on the defensive. Hence he saw the necessity of placing himself at the head of his soldiers in Spain; and, contrary to his calculations and hopes, he found that, notwithstanding the celebrity and dread of his name, he had not in all his former enterprises run an equal risk of being cast down from his high place, or of perishing on the field of battle. Several skirmishes of the opposing armies in the province of Bætica, the modern Andalusia, terminated in a great battle near Munda, a town a little east of Malacca, the present Malaga. Thousands were slain in this fierce and obstinate combat, and though Cesar obtained

the victory, yet he confessed that hitherto he had only fought for victory, but at this time for his life. Thirty thousand of his opponents were slain before their army were overcome; and multitudes who fled were overtaken and put to death by the victors. Cesar, after settling Spain, returned to Rome, and demanded a triumph, not only for himself but also for two of his principal officers. This was a new scene to the Romans, for it was the first triumph on account of victory obtained over fellow citizens, and it provoked the wrath of all ranks. But they saw it expedient to conceal their displeasure and sorrow; and meanly devised how they might most expressively honour the man, who had enslaved them. "A thanksgiving was appointed to be continued for fifty days: and the anniversary of the twentieth of April, B. C. 49, the day on which the news of the victory at Munda reached Rome, was ordered to be for ever celebrated with the most splendid games of the circus." Cesar now assumed all the dignity and magnificence of a great monarch. He received the senate, when they presented their decrees, seated on a royal seat, and stretched out his hand to each senator as he approached. He showed little respect for the dignities or customs of the senate; increased its numbers at pleasure, by inserting in the rolls persons of every description, to the amount of nine hundred. He augmented the number of prætors to fourteen, and that of quæstors to forty; and even, without requiring that his friends should pass through these offices, rewarded them at pleasure with the titular honours of consular, prætorian, patrician, &c.; and extended his munificence likewise to the provinces, by admitting aliens separately, or in collective bodies, to the privilege or appellation of Roman citizens. He named himself and M. Antony consuls for the following year; and persevered in appearing with all the ensigns, and in exercising all the powers of dictator. While this extraordinary man was devising plans, to accomplish which would have required more than the longest life, his days were numbered, and his last hour was on the wing. Success imparted to his boundless ambition inexpressible intensity; he projected whatever appeared calculated to perpetuate his fame. He purposed to render Rome the most magnificent city, and Italy the finest country on the globe; next to these objects he sought to restore all the splendid works which had been injured or destroyed by the dreadful and destructive wars of many former generations. Thus he intimated, among other things, his design to drain the great marshes which rendered the air so unhealthy, and so much

land unserviceable in the neighbourhood of Rome; to cut across the isthmus of Corinth, to erect moles, and form harbours on the coast of Italy; to make highways across the Apennines; to build a new theatre that should exceed that of Pompey; to erect public libraries, and make a navigable canal from the Anio and the Tiber to the sea at Teracina; to build a magnificent temple to Mars. He sent Roman colonies to Corinth and Carthage. He resolved to revenge the death of Crassus by conquering Parthia; and to advance to Hyrcania, and the coasts of the Caspian sea into Scythia; from thence, by the shores of the Euxine Sea, into Sarmatia, Decia, and Germany; and from thence, by his own late conquests in Gaul, to return into Italy; for this purpose he had already sent forward into Macedonia seventeen legions and ten thousand horse.

In the prospect of proceeding to the East, he assiduously laboured to conciliate the people, and to secure the tranquillity of Rome, Italy, and the provinces. He proclaimed a general amnesty, and conferred the most honourable and lucrative appointments on the most eminent Romans, including not a few of those who had been among the principal defenders of the republic. He placed Caius Cassius and Marcus, for this year, on the list of prætors, and intrusted them with the higher jurisdiction of the city. To the widows of many who died in opposition to himself, he restored their portions, and gave their children part of their patrimony. He replaced the statues of Sylla and of Pompey, which the populace, in flattery to himself, had thrown down; "and by this means," says Cicero, "he firmly established his own."

But his boldness, generosity, and munificence, failed to conquer the envy and revenge of many of the highest rank, who contemplated with suspicion and fear his greatness and power. And some who had most largely shared of his favours basely veiled their malignant purpose to destroy him, by joining in the unbounded homage and adulation which he received from the multitude. Thus the senate decreed that one of the months should be called by his name; and that his statue should be set up in all the cities of the empire, and ordered money to be stamped with his image, sacrifices to be offered on his birthday, and debated on the propriety of enrolling him instantly in the number of the gods; while, at the same time, not fewer than sixty senators entered into a conspiracy to cut him off. At the head of these were C. Cassius, who had long consulted to kill him, and M. Brutus, who boasted of his descent from

Junius Brutus, the great deliverer of the Romans from the tyranny of her ancient kings.

Cesar having fixed on March, B. C. 44, for his departure, the senate were summoned to assemble on the fifteenth of the month to decide whether it was expedient or necessary to assist in the fulfilment, in the person of Cesar, of a response or prediction, which had been announced by the college of augurs, denoting that the Parthians could only be conquered by a king. The conspirators determined to delay no longer their treacherous deed. Cesar was warned, but he braved the danger, acting on the principle which he had openly avowed, that he would sooner perish by treason than live in perpetual apprehension of death. The senate met in Pompey's theatre, and the chair of state was placed near the statue of that great man. Around it Cesar's enemies were seated. While one engaged him in conversation, another raised his sword; their associates enclosed him; resistance was vain, and while their swords clashed as they rushed on him, he is reported to have wrapped himself up in his splendid robe, falling without a struggle; and thus, as he had studied to appear through life the model of elegance and politeness, so he gracefully resigned his life. Thus vanity, which some considered his ruling passion, retained its sovereignty over him till the last moment. His friends and dependants were struck with a panic; they ran into the street, so terrified that they could give no account of the horrid scene. Their confusion and cries alarmed the citizens; and imagining that a general massacre had commenced, all retired to their houses, and prepared to defend themselves and their families. No magistrate or military officer was visible. The conspirators took refuge in the capitol, and waited for an opportunity to glory in their crime, and call on the Romans to accept of their liberty and re-establish the institutions of the republic. But the patriotic zeal for liberty was quenched; and Antony, who was now the only consul, and Lepidus, the chief of the guards of the city and of the forces in Italy, were in a short time able to tranquillize the minds of the people, without restoring to them their former power or privileges. The conspirators were pardoned, and the funeral of Cesar was celebrated with great solemnity. The public oration to his memory by Antony was evidently designed by the speaker to provoke the indignation of the multitude against the conspirators, and actually produced a tumult which threatened the ruin of the city. The houses of Brutus, Cassius, and other conspirators,



were set on fire, and many suffered death. Antony speedily assumed more than legitimate authority, and greatly strengthened himself by procuring from Calpurnia, the widow of Cesar, all his writings; by seizing an immense sum of public money, deposited in the temple of Ops; and by gaining the confidence and assistance of Lepidus. Considering himself the only one worthy to succeed Cesar, and determined to maintain the system of government which he had adopted, he expressed the highest veneration for the senate, and the humblest respect for the assemblies of the people, till he had prevailed on them to confirm the will of Cesar, and all his public and private acts, and to cancel the appointments which Brutus and Cassius had received, for others which were far less important. By the first, he undesignedly provided for the Romans an accomplished statesman and absolute sovereign; and by the second brought on the last struggle and agonies of the republic, and plunged all ranks into the fearful calamities of civil war, throughout the principal parts of the empire. Under the pretence of executing the purposes of Cesar, which he said were recorded in memorials, which he however declined to produce to the senate, Antony, disregarding all forms of law, now governed with all the power of a military despot, and exceedingly oppressed all ranks. In Lepidus and Octavius he found able coadjutors in the work of devastation; and the latter, with consummate policy, employed the former to raise him far above them, by engaging them in measures which each of them thought calculated to render himself the entire sovereign of the empire.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

#### OCTAVIUS AND ANTONY.

LEPIDUS was neither distinguished for talents nor virtue. He was one of the prætors of Rome when Cesar assumed the sovereignty of the empire, and was intrusted by him with command of the army of Italy, because every other magistrate of rank declined to sanction his usurpation. Marcus or Marc Antony was the grandson of a celebrated Roman orator of the same name. He was eloquent, bold, and active, but notorious for his profligacy, insomuch that his father expelled him from the family. Curio supplied him with money, and introduced him to Cesar, who found him the most efficient instrument in promoting his designs. He served him with equal success at the head of his troops, in the meetings of the senate and comitium, and in the social assemblies of Rome. Antony was colleague with Cesar in the consulate, and hence perhaps had no doubt that, with the command of an army, he should find little difficulty to succeed to his power. In order to this, and to secure the services of Lepidus, he promised to put him in possession of the highest honours which he desired. Among others, he procured for him the office of pontifex maximus. Supported by the Italian army, he ceased to consult in public affairs the will of the senate, and persuaded the assembly of the people to give him the government of Cisalpine Gaul, which Decimus Brutus, one of the conspirators, held by the appointment of Cesar, notwithstanding that he had strenuously and successfully laboured to procure the public confirmation of all the official, and even private acts of that ruler. This exceedingly strengthened the suspicions entertained of the illegitimacy of his views and designs; and the friends of the republic therefore rejoiced on learning that he had offended Octavius, who had demanded him to deliver up Cesar's papers and money.

He, doubtless, presumed that he had not much to apprehend from a youth of eighteen, who now for the first time presented himself to the public. But Caius Octavius, known better by his lofty title, Augustus, possessed the talents of his family; and though he never discovered the qualities most necessary for a soldier, yet he was one of the most accomplished politicians, and rarely or never failed to devise the most appropriate means, and select the most able associates or agents, to attain his ends. He was the grand-nephew and adopted son of Cesar; his mother, Attia, was daughter of Julia, the beloved sister of Cesar. He early lost his father, Octavius, who died on his return from the government of Macedon; but he experienced all a father's affection and care in Philippus, whom his mother married. He received the most perfect education which Italy could afford, or wealth command, and early appeared endowed with mental superiority, and personal beauty and dignity. Report makes him, at nine years of age, harangue the people with astonishing boldness, and in his twelfth year pronounce the funeral oration of his grandmother Julia. Cesar admired and loved him as a son, and carried him to Spain that he might acquire the military art; and as he wished Octavius to accompany him in his expedition against Parthia, he had sent him to Greece that he might improve under the best instructors in eloquence and the art of war, and be ready to join him at Apollonia, on his progress to the East. The letters of his relations, which informed him of the melancholy death of Cesar, admonished him to return in the most private manner to Rome, lest he should be killed by the republicans, who had gained the temporary ascendancy. He was indisposed to follow their advice, for he instantly determined to revenge the death of his grand-uncle, and, if possible, to succeed him in power. On landing at Lupia, a harbour not far from Brundisium, he sent an officer to ascertain the disposition of the troops. Having learned that they were prepared to punish the conspirators, he proceeded to the city, and was received with all the honours which could gratify him as the adopted son and representative of Cesar. Antony had caused the will of Cesar to be publicly read, by which it became universally known that he had declared Octavius his principal heir, and required him to take his name, and to be adopted into the Julian family. In consequence of this, Octavius soon gathered around him multitudes of all ranks, who were attached to his uncle, and found himself at the

head of an army of ten thousand men. Thus encouraged, he advanced to Rome, and called on Antony to join with him in revenging the death of the conspirators. That aspiring officer treated him with insolence and contempt, and prepared to resist his claims. Antony had already alienated the senate by his haughty and despotic conduct, and particularly by procuring from the people the government of Cisalpine Gaul. Octavius at once perceived that it was his interest to seek the countenance and support of the senate; and they readily accepted his services, being persuaded by Cicero to consider him a sincere friend of the republic. When Antony marched to subdue D. Brutus, and take possession of Gaul, the senate denounced him the enemy of the republic, and appointed the two consuls and Octavius, whom they raised to the rank of proprætor, to lead their armies against him, and support D. Brutus, who was shut up in Mutina, the modern Modena, by the troops of Antony. He was rescued by the combined armies of the republic, who, after repeated battles, completely defeated Antony. The two consuls lost their lives; one was mortally wounded, and the other fell on the field.

Octavius, left sole commander of the troops, discovered his hatred of D. Brutus, and was extremely offended with the senate when they appointed him to the entire command of all their armies in Gaul and Italy, and ordered him to pursue Antony as an enemy of the republic. To this circumstance is traced the alliance which was almost immediately formed between Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus, who were named the *Second Triumvirate*. Before this event, Octavius had effectually humbled the senate, and exposed the weakness of Cicero, who had pledged himself for the fidelity of his young friend. He withdrew from the contest against Antony, and intimated his design to stand candidate for the consulate. This being, on account of his age, contrary to law, the senate put off the election for consuls, and appointed ten commissioners to investigate the abuses committed during the administration of Antony, and called on Octavius to join D. Brutus in the defence of Italy. Instead of obeying, he sent some of his officers to call on the senate to elect consuls, and permit him to appear a candidate. And when no answer was returned, he led his army to Rome, and threw the citizens into consternation. But imitating his uncle, he carefully kept his troops from doing any injury, and retired after he had compelled the senate and comitium to grant whatever

he conceived it expedient to demand. A far more dreadful scene was very soon witnessed by the citizens. Octavius and Q. Pedius, one of his most servile friends, were chosen or rather, self-elected consuls. The former left the government of the city to the latter, and departed at the head of the army, avowedly to aid D. Brutus in his enterprise against the enemies of the republic, but in reality to join them in effecting his destruction. Accordingly, when the army of Octavius met that of Antony and Lepidus, on the banks of Scultemnis, not far from Mutina, the leaders had an interview on a small island in the river, when they adopted the following arrangement: "That Octavius, in order to divest himself of every legal advantage over his associates, should resign the consulate; that the three military leaders, then upon an equal footing, should hold or share among them, during five years, the supreme administration of affairs in the empire; that they should name all the officers of state, magistrates, and governors of provinces; that Octavius should have the exclusive command in Africa, Sardinia, and Sicily, Lepidus in Spain, and Antony in Gaul; that Lepidus should be substituted for Decimus Brutus in the succession to the consulate for the following year, and should have the administration at Rome, while Octavius and Antony pursued the war against Brutus and Cassius in the East; that the army, at the end of the war, should have settlements assigned to them in the richest districts and best situations of Italy. Among the last were specified Capua, Rhegium, Venusia, Beneventum, Nuceria, Ariminum, and Vibona. To ratify this agreement, the daughter of Fulvia, the wife of Antony, by Clodius her former husband, was betrothed to Octavius. He was said to have already made a different choice, and consequently to have had no intention to fulfil this part of the treaty; but the passions, as well as the professions, of this young man, were already sufficiently subservient to his interest. While the army was amused by the publication of these several articles, the circumstances which chiefly distinguished this famous coalition, was the secret resolution, then taken, to extinguish at once all future opposition to the Cesarian party, by massacring all their private and public enemies. They drew up a list, of which the numbers are variously reported, comprehending all those who had given them private or public offence, and in which they mutually sacrificed their respective friends to each other's resentment. Antony sacrificed his uncle Lucius Cesar to the resentment of Octavius;

who, in his turn, sacrificed to that of Antony, Cicero, with Thoranius, his own guardian, and his father's colleague in the office of prætor. Lepidus gave up his own brother L. Paulus; and all of them agreed to join with these private enemies every person supposed to be attached to the republic government, amounting in all to three hundred senators and two thousand of the equestrian order, besides many persons of inferior note, whose names they deferred entering in the list until their arrival at Rome. They meant, as soon as they should be in possession of the capital, to publish the whole list for the direction of those who were to be employed in the execution of the massacre. But as there were a few whose escape they were particularly anxious to prevent, they agreed that the murders should begin, without any warning, by the death of twelve or seventeen of their most considerable enemies, and among these by the death of Marcus Tullius Cicero. They ratified the whole by mutual oaths; and having published all the articles, except that which related to the massacre, the plan of reconciliation between the leaders was received by the armies with shouts of applause, and was supposed to be the beginning of a period in which military men were to rest from their labours, and to enjoy undisturbed the most ample reward of their services. This celebrated cabal having thus planned the division or joint administration of an empire which each of them hoped in time to engross for himself, they proceeded to Rome with an aspect which, to those who composed the civil establishment of the commonwealth, was more terrible than that of any faction which had been hitherto formed for its destruction."

Far different were the feelings excited in the city, when it was known that they approached it, and the orders of the triumvirs had been received to execute immediately seventeen of the chief senators. Several of these were surprised and murdered, and others in vain sought safety by flight; among whom were Cicero and his brother Quintus. At the head of their armies the hateful usurpers marched in divisions, and entered Rome separately on three several days. As they arrived in succession, they occupied every quarter with guards and attendants, and filled every public place with armed men, and with military standards and ensigns. In order to ratify the powers they had devised for themselves, they put the articles of their agreement into the hands of the tribune Publius Titius, with instructions, that they should be proposed and enacted in the public assembly of the Roman people; and

put in the form of a legal commission, or warrant, for the government they had usurped. By the act which passed on this occasion, the supreme power or sovereignty of the republic, during five years, without any reserve or limitation, was conferred on Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus; and a solemn thanksgiving being ordered for the events already passed, which led to this termination, the citizens in general, under the deepest impressions of terror and sorrow, were obliged to assume appearances of satisfaction and joy. As the first act of this government, two lists or proscriptions were delivered to the proper officers of the army, and posted in different parts of the city; one a list of senators, the other a list of the persons of inferior rank, on whom the troops were directed to perform immediate execution. In consequence of these orders, all the streets, temples, and private houses, instantly became scenes of blood. At the same time, there appeared on the part of the triumvirs a manifesto, in which, having stated the ingratitude of many whom César had spared, of many whom he had promoted to high office, and whom he had even destined to inherit his fortunes, and who, nevertheless, conspired against his life, they alleged the necessity they were under of preventing the designs of their enemies, and of extirpating a dangerous faction, whom no benefits could bind, and whom no considerations, sacred or profane, could restrain. "Under the influence of this faction," they said "the perpetrators of a horrid murder, instead of being called to an account, are intrusted with the command of provinces, and furnished with resources of men and money to support them against the efforts of public justice, and against the indignation of the Roman people. Some of these murderers," they continued, "we have already chastised; others, being at the head of powerful armies, threaten to frustrate the effects of our just resentment. Having such a conflict to maintain in the provinces, it would be absurd to leave an enemy in possession of the city, and ready to take advantage of any unfavourable accident that may befall us in defence of the commonwealth. For this reason, we have determined to cut off every person who is likely to abet their designs at Rome, and to make this desperate faction feel the effects of that war which they were so ready to declare against us and our friends. We mean no harm to the innocent, and shall molest no citizen, in order to seize his property. We shall not insist on destroying even all those whom we know to be our enemies: but the most guilty, it is the interest of the Roman people, as well as ours, to have re-

moved, that the republic may no longer be torn and agitated by the quarrels of parties who cannot be reconciled. Some atonement is likewise due to the army insulted by the late decrees, in which they were declared enemies to the commonwealth. We might," they continued, "have surprised and taken all our enemies without any warning or explanation of our conduct; but we chose to make an open declaration of our purpose, that the innocent may not, by mistake, be involved with the guilty, nor even be unnecessarily alarmed." They concluded this fatal proclamation, with a prohibition to conceal, rescue, or protect any person whose name was proscribed; and they declared, that whoever acted in opposition to this order, should be considered as one of the number, and involved in the same ruin. They declared, that whoever produced the head of a person proscribed, if a freeman, should receive twenty five thousand Attic drachms or denarii, and if a slave, should have his liberty, with ten thousand of the same money; and that every slave killing his master in execution of this proscription, should have his freedom, and be put on the rolls of the people, in the place of the person he had slain. At the time that this proclamation and the preceding lists were published, armed parties had already seized on the gates of the city, and were prepared to intercept all who attempted to escape. Others began to ransack the houses, and took their way to the villas and gardens in the suburbs, where it was likely that any of the proscribed had retired. By the disposition they made, the execution began in many places at once, and those who knew or suspected their own destination, like the inhabitants of a city taken by storm, were on every side surrounded by enemies, from whom they were to receive no quarter. To many, it is observed by historians, their own nearest relations were objects of terror, no less than the mercenary hands that were armed against them. The husband and the father did not think himself secure in his concealment, when he supposed it to be known to his wife or to his children. The slaves and freedmen of a family were become its most terrible enemies. The debtor had an interest in circumventing his creditor, and neighbours in the country mutually dreaded each other as informers and spies. The money which the master of a family was supposed to have in his house, was considered as an additional reward to the treachery of his domestics. The first citizens of Rome were prostrate at the feet of their own slaves, imploring protection and mercy, or perished in the wells or common sewers, where



they attempted to conceal themselves. Persons having any private grudge or secret malice, took this opportunity to accomplish their ends. Even they who were inclined to protect or conceal the unhappy, were terrified with the prospect of being involved in their ruin. Many, who themselves, contrary to expectation, were not in the list of the proscribed, enjoyed their own safety, in perfect indifference to the distress of their neighbours; or, that they might distinguish themselves by their zeal for the prevailing cause, joined the executioners, assisted in the slaughter, or plundered the houses of the slain."

While treachery and cruelty were fearfully exemplified by nearest relations, confidants, and servants, remarkable instances occurred of fidelity, generosity, and courage. Many women gave illustrious proofs of conjugal and relative love, voluntarily sacrificing their own lives to save their dearest kindred; and several slaves made similar sacrifices for the safety of their masters. Many attached to the republic, or conscious that they had private enemies, or that, from their talents, influence, or wealth, they were particular objects of envy, fled to the countries occupied by the surviving commanders who adhered to the cause of the republic. The chief of these were Sextus Pompey, son of Pompey the Great, in Sicily, Cornificius in Africa, Marcus Brutus in Macedon, and Cassius in Syria. To prosecute the war against them, the triumvirs confiscated the estates of all whom they chose to denominate their enemies, and imposed the most oppressive taxes on all ranks, men or women, the latter of whom had hitherto been exempted from taxation. The towns were, at the same time, obliged to find subsistence for the soldiers, who were dispersed everywhere, under pretence of searching for the persons and property of the proscribed, and permitted to pillage the country, to prevent them from becoming mutinous, in consequence of not being regularly paid by their leaders. The army, in Italy, amounted to forty legions, one half of which Octavius proposed to conduct to the East, and the other half were left to defend the country against any attempt of Pompey or Cornificius to invade it. Previously to their separation, the triumvirs fixed the succession of all the principal officers of state for some years.

In the meantime, Octavius sent Sextus to Africa and Salvidienus to Sicily, to take possession of these countries, as part of his division of the empire. Africa speedily submitted, and, in a battle near Utica, the republican general was killed and

his army dispersed. All who could possibly escape by sea sailed to Sicily, and strengthened the forces of Pompey. His fleet repelled the attack of Salvidienus, and Octavius had no time to assist him, for Antony urged him to proceed with him to Macedon, where Brutus was said to be preparing an army for the invasion of Italy. Brutus no sooner received information of the proceedings of the triumvirate than he sent a message to Cassius entreating him to delay the execution of his purpose to subdue Egypt, and instantly join him with his army to revenge the innocent blood which had drenched their native land. Cassius was not slow in his march westward. On his progress, he collected by force vast sums, especially from those who had received the officers of Cesar. Brutus had treated all in the same manner; and hence, when they met in Smyrna, they were possessed of considerable wealth, and commanded large armies. Brutus proposed to transport their troops to Europe to prevent Octavius and Antony from taking possession of Greece and Macedon. He was, however, over-ruled by Cassius, and agreed to advance against Lycia, whose chief men refused to acknowledge his authority, while Cassius determined to conquer Rhodes. These enterprises were certainly of little importance compared to that of employing all their energies against the great enemies of the republic. It appears that their sea forces were scarcely more wisely engaged. On the report that Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, had sent a numerous fleet to join Octavius and Antony, Marcus, commander of the republican ships, received orders to watch her progress, and intercept her. While he was thus employed, almost the whole army of the triumvirate had passed from Italy to Macedon. Cassius and Brutus having accomplished their respective enterprise, led their armies into Ionia, and met on the banks of the Meander. They were now masters of the whole eastern division of the empire, possessed an immense revenue, and commanded scarcely less than one hundred thousand men. Several of their legions had indeed been trained under Cesar, but they had ample means to secure their services; and they were careful to gratify the wish of every individual in their service. With a combined army, animated by the fiery and all-devouring spirit of war, they marched to the Hellespont; and crossing it, advanced, by an exhausting route, through the mountainous region of Thrace, and rested near Philippi, the ancient Crenides, properly a city of Macedon, on the borders of Thrace, and inhabited by a Roman colony. Their fleet,

under Cinber, was stationed in the adjacent port of Neapolis, and secured for them abundance of provisions from Asia and the coast of the Ægean Sea. Antony soon removed his equally numerous army from Amphipolis, where they had been stationed, and took post within a mile of his opponents. He was afterwards joined by Octavius, whom sickness had detained at Dyrrachium. Their position was most unfavourable; for they had no communication with the sea, and their supplies from the interior of the country were uncertain. In these circumstances, the able and experienced general Cassius was not less solicitous to avoid a general engagement than Antony was to bring it on; for it was manifest that time alone would, through the instrumentality of want, and consequent disease, completely destroy the army of the triumvirate. But Brutus, it is said, influenced by regard to justice or humanity, and especially by the interests of the empire, was extremely desirous that the contest should be terminated; the general officers soon adopted his opinion, on observing, that aversion in their troops to prolong the war occasioned many of them to desert to the enemy. It was, therefore, determined, in the second council which they held, to give battle on the following day. The division under Brutus defeated that led against him by Antony; but the army of Cassius was overcome, and he was found dead in his tent, to which he had retired, having been put to death, in compliance with his own request, as it was conjectured, by his confidential servant, who was never afterwards seen. Brutus, on beholding the dead body of his noble friend, was overwhelmed in sorrow, and exclaimed, "This is the last of the Romans." The success of Octavius and Antony was partial, and their danger was imminent, for Brutus was not only able to maintain his position, but also to shut them up in their camp from all resources necessary to support their army. This he represented to his army in glowing language, and urged them to exercise a little patience and their triumph was certain. To cheer them under their present disappointment, information reached them that the fleet of their general had obtained a great victory over a number of vessels which were conveying a large re-enforcement to the enemy. But no arguments were sufficient to reconcile the army of Brutus to his apparently dilatory, but most judicious plans. The second battle was most fierce and sanguinary, and in its field, at Philippi, was buried for ever the liberty of the Romans: a number of its votaries, who escaped the sword of their enemies, proudly took their own

life, for they scorned to submit to tyranny. Thus it was with Brutus, Cato, son of the celebrated Cato, and Livius Drusus, the father of Livia, the future famed wife of Octavius. Others escaped by sea, and joined Pompey in Sicily, the last and almost only asylum of the republicans. The rest of the vanquished not slain in battle, consisting of many thousands, unconditionally surrendered themselves to the conquerors, who now congratulated themselves as the uncontrolled sovereigns of the empire; for they scarcely viewed Lepidus a rival or partner, and in their future arrangement showed no respect to his inclinations. They proceeded immediately to make a new division of the empire; and, by mutual agreement, Antony received, in addition to his former dominions, Transalpine Gaul and the province of Carthage; and Octavius, Spain and Numidia. The former proposed to remain in the East to raise money to pay his own and his colleague's armies; while the latter returned to Italy to settle the affairs in the West, which equally concerned both.

If Octavius was not the first, he was certainly the most extraordinary example of a captain and sovereign attaining the highest celebrity from the illustrious schemes and actions of the officers whom he selected for his chief counsellors, rather than from his own. The very selection, however, is decisive evidence that he was no common man; it indicated great power to discriminate character, and much wisdom, prudence, and resolution to adopt the counsels and measures suggested as the most calculated to put him in possession of the splendid objects of his almost insatiable ambition. While their able and faithful services most fully justified his choice, his continued unsuspecting confidence in them, and the high honours and generous rewards which he conferred on them, showed him to surpass the majority of princes as much in an uncommon strength of mind, which repressed envy and jealousy, as he was raised above them in power and magnificence. Nevertheless, impartial history sufficiently attests that he was, comparatively speaking, not among the first order of intellectual capacity or virtuous disposition. As a warrior, he preferred his life to his honour, and as a man, he esteemed the meanest or most detestable device or act, as if it were the result of wisdom, when he deemed it expedient or indispensable to promote his designs or accomplish his ends. The principal officers in whom he trusted were Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa, and Caius Cilnius Mæcenas. They both probably had joined him on his first appearance in public life, and they

never deserted him, and to them he was chiefly, if not wholly, indebted for his triumph over all rivals, the high popularity of his administration, and the establishment and splendour of his reign. Mæcenas was of noble descent, and had been the companion of Octavius in youth. He was distinguished as a soldier, but much more as a statesman; and though, perhaps, not eminent for scientific or literary acquirements, yet he was the most enthusiastic admirer and zealous patron of all persons endowed with genius, or eminent for the successful cultivation of philosophy, literature, poetry, and the kindred arts. He was, in a remarkable degree, qualified to please all men, to subdue their prejudices, allay their passions, and win their confidence and esteem; and, by consequence, no one could be more fitted to perform the duties of the chief civil minister of the empire, who must study to dispose all classes to acquiesce in his schemes, and assist in the prosecution of them. On all occasions of general discontent, or public agitation, in Rome, he was uniformly employed to represent Octavius, in order to conciliate the disaffected, and secure the active services of doubtful or real friends. Agrippa had a much more vigorous frame of body and mind, and was far more masculine in his habits and manners than Mæcenas. The presence of Antony for a time veiled the military defects of Octavius; but this was still more effectually and unceasingly done by Agrippa, after his chief and friend engaged in the final contest for the exclusive possession of the supreme power.

When the report of the total overthrow of the republicans reached Rome, grief and fear overwhelmed their friends; but being the minority, they felt compelled to unite with their fellow-citizens in expressions of great joy, by appearing to participate with them in the festival of thanksgiving to the gods which the public authorities decreed to be observed for an entire year. But before the lapse of a much shorter period, the soil of all Italy was watered by the tears of its most wretched inhabitants, who were destined to witness the first exercise of the despotic rule of Octavius. At the time of his return to Rome, the senate and comitium were equally stripped of power. The strong minded, bold, and imperious Fulvia, the wife of Antony, directed all the affairs of government, without showing almost any deference to the will of the legitimate rulers, the chief of whom were L. Antony, the brother of M. Antony, and P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus, the consuls for the passing year. This state of things suited not the views of Octavius. He hesitated not a moment to assume

the supreme direction and control of every department of the state. He probably sincerely desired to characterise his administration by equity and clemency, as he respectfully announced to the senate; but this was rendered impossible by the first decree which he hastened to perform to satisfy the wishes and expectations of the soldiers, to whom he was indebted for the possession of power. The triumvirate had promised certain of the richest cities and finest lands in Italy to their troops at the end of the war; and Octavius published an order for the legal possessors to give them up to the veterans, who had been relieved from service immediately after the battles of Philippi, and had returned to receive the possessions pledged to them. The soldiers were not slow to execute this most unrighteous and oppressive injunction. Multitudes were at once reduced from wealth or competence to poverty and destitution. They repaired to Rome in whole families; "persons of every sex, age, and condition, crowded the streets, took shelter in the temples, and other public places, and filled the city with their complaints and lamentations." Who could relieve them? The instruments of their misery had either no inclination to aid them, or dared not attempt to arrest the strong arm raised to destroy them. Octavius was himself the slave of the army; their will was law.

Confusion, anarchy, and crime prevailed; the most violent outrages were suffered to pass with impunity, when the soldiers were supposed to be the actors. "Robbery and murders became frequent, and the city of Rome, as well as the provincial towns, was infested by persons who, either from necessity, or from the license of the times, subsisted by rapine. No property was safe, and the condition of persons of all parties equally insecure. At Rome the rent of houses fell to a fourth, and whole streets appeared to be deserted." The government of Octavius could not, in these circumstances, be popular, and his enemies hoped to humble him. He had unquestionably triumphed over the republic more by the valour of Antony than his own; and it was justly deemed presumptuous in him to exclude the friends of that general from the administration. These, therefore, with Fulvia at their head, resolved to oppose him, and appealed to the soldiers, who favoured the interests of Antony, for support. They withdrew to Præneste, collected around them several legions, and called on Lepidus to join them, in defence of what they pretended to be the rights of the republic. Their conduct provoked Octavius, and while he prepared to resist by force their pretensions, he

summoned a council of military officers to investigate and decide on the quarrel which he had with Fulvia. To obtain the apparent sanction of law to his proceedings, he, at the same time, invited many senators and knights to assemble, and consult on what measures were necessary to be adopted for the prevention of civil war. They sent commissioners to the opposite party to prevail on them to be reconciled to Octavius. This plan, and that afterwards resorted to,—the proposal that a congress of the chief officers should meet to settle all public affairs, failed to restore tranquillity; and both parties actively gathered forces to contend for victory. Lepidus declared for Octavius; and the troops of the latter in Spain, commanded by Salvidienus, hastened to enter Italy. Two armies of the Antonian party marched to arrest their progress through Cisalpine Gaul, but were successfully opposed by Agrippa, who formed a junction with Salvidienus, and their combined forces compelled L. Antony, who had placed himself at the head of one division, to seek an asylum in the strong fortress of Perugia, the present Perugia, seated at the south-eastern extremity of the lake of the same name, anciently named *Lacus Thrasimenus*. The place was, after a tedious siege, reduced by famine, and Octavius discovered, on this occasion, the extreme malignity and cruelty of his nature, which he satiated under the pretence of revenging the death of his father Julius Cesar. He would not have spared one prisoner, had not his army rescued the soldiers, who had followed Cesar. Every private Roman citizen was put to death, not excepting the tribune who first introduced the subtle savage Octavius to the public assembly in Rome. The greater part were executed in the presence of the murderer, “and, in the manner of sacrifices, offered in form to the manes, or to the divinity, of Julius Cesar. In this form, however detestable, they were supposed, in that age, to carry an aspect of piety, which sanctified the cruelty with which they were ordered, and with which Octavius himself witnessed the scene. Four hundred of the senatorian and equestrian order are said, by Dion Cassius and Suetonius, to have perished in this manner. The magistrates and council of Perugia, being separately ordered to execution, implored for mercy, but had one general answer, ‘You must die.’ The place itself, whether by the desperation of its inhabitants, or by the outrage of those who were now become masters of it, was set on fire, and burnt to the ground. The country around being deserted, or laid waste with fire and sword, and cleared of its former pos-

sessors, became a prey to such followers of the army as chose to occupy it. At the date of this odious transaction, Octavius was not more than twenty-three years of age; and though, in former examples of cruelty, his youth may have been overruled or misled by the party-rage of his colleagues, yet, in this instance, he himself betrayed a merciless nature, in the effects of which he had no man to share, or to divide the blame." On the fall of Perusia, the chief opponents of Cesar, who had not fallen into his hands, fled, among whom were Fulvia, the wife, and Julia, the aged mother of Antony, and Tiberius Claudius, with his wife Livia Drusilla, and their infant son, who were destined to share in the honours of him who was the author of their present ruin and exile.

While Octavius rapidly advanced in the path to the summit of his ambition, M. Antony was deeply immersed in sensual pleasure. The East afforded him all that suited his luxurious appetites and dissipated habits. From the scene of the victory at Phillippi, he proceeded first to Greece, and thence passed through Asia Minor, raising every where heavy contributions to defray the expenses of the late war, and disposing of palaces and lands to his favourite followers. Having summoned Cleopatra to answer before him in Cilicia for her conduct in ordering, according to public rumour, her fleet to assist the republicans, she entered the Cydnus in a splendid galley with a numerous retinue, and at Tarsus dazzled his vain and giddy mind with the charms of her person, the profusion of her ornaments, and the elegance of her equipage. "She was now about nine-and twenty years of age, and being acquainted with the languages and manners of different nations, particularly instructed in the literature of the Greeks, and being in the maturity of wit and beauty, she joined the arts of a coquette with all the accomplishments which became the birth and the high condition of a queen. Being invited to sup with Antony, she pleaded that he should begin with accepting her invitation. At their first entertainment, observing that his raillery savoured of the camp, she humoured him in this manner, and even surpassed him in the freedom of her conversation." Fascinated by this unprincipled female, he accompanied her into Egypt, and passed months, wholly governed by her caprice, indulging in every species of voluptuous pleasure, to the utter neglect of public business. It was with extreme reluctance that he renounced this contemptible mode of life to repel the Parthians, who had overrun Syria, and advanced upon Cilicia. When



he had reached Phenicia, he learned the true state of Italy and resolved to sail thither with his entire fleet of two hundred vessels, and leave the defence of Asia to Ventidius, who completely defeated the Parthians, and set final limits to their power; for from this time they were never able to make any impression on the Roman empire. On arriving at Athens, he met his wife Fulvia. He left her sick at Sicyon, and hastened on to Italy. He was joined at sea by the fleet commanded by Ænobarbus, who still adhered to the cause of the republic, and believed that Antony now entertained the same views. Being opposed by the troops of Octavius when he reached Brundisium, he immediately formed an alliance with Pompey, whose fleet continued to lay waste the coast of Italy; but Antony had not been long possessed of Brundisium, when it decame manifest, both to him and his rival, that their respective armies were not disposed to enter on a new, and to them unprofitable contest. What then remained for the leaders but to procure peace? Negotiations were greatly facilitated by the death of Fulvia, an account of which had been received by Antony; for Octavius proposed to confirm their reconciliation; which was effected by the agency of Mæcenæ, Cocceius, and Pollis, by giving him in marriage his sister Octavia, widow of Marcellus. "Upon this basis a treaty was framed, including a new partition of the empire, by which all the East, from the Euphrates to Codropolis on the coast of Illyricum, was assigned to Antony. The West, from thence to the ocean and the British channel, was assigned to Octavius. Italy as the seat of government, and the principal nursery of soldiers for the supply of their armies, was to be equally open to both. Lepidus was suffered to remain in the possession of Africa. Ænobarbus was included in this treaty, and declared at peace with the heads of the empire; but Sextus Pompeius, notwithstanding his late confederacy with Antony, and his newly contracted relation with Octavius, was still to be treated as an enemy. He was to be opposed by Octavius, while the war with the Parthians was supposed sufficient to occupy the forces of Antony."

The two chiefs continued almost two years at Rome, and lived and acted cordially as friends, and by their united counsels governed the empire. During this period Italy suffered much from scarcity, without any prospect of relief, in consequence of Pompey retaining the sovereignty of the seas, and successfully preventing the inhabitants of Rome from procuring sufficient foreign supplies of provision. Fam-

ine at length drove the citizens to despair, and notwithstanding of the suppression of one frightful and bloody tumult, the rulers had ample reason to dread a general insurrection throughout Italy. This induced them to use means to prevail on Pompey to enter into a treaty of peace, which was with some difficulty agreed to on the following conditions:— That he should receive, in addition to Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica, the Peloponnesus, and a large sum of money, in compensation for the losses of his family; that all the exiles under his protection, except those actually concerned in the death of Cesar, should be restored to their homes, and to the possession of one-fourth of their estates; and that the seas of Italy and the neighbouring countries should be free, and commerce carried on without any restrictions. The public announcement of this peace diffused universal gladness, and, according to historians, great joy beyond the power of language to describe. It was ratified by the parties at Puteoli, and the ratification was transmitted to Rome, and committed to the keeping of the vestal virgins. Splendid entertainments followed; the guests of which comprised the principal citizens of Rome. Sextus Pompey gave the first on board his ship. The first officer, during the feast, whispered to him that now was the time to revenge himself on the enemies of his house. "Let me," he said, "cut the cable, and put to sea; I promise you that none of them shall escape." "This might have been done by Menas, without consulting me," said Sextus, "but my faith is sacred, and must not be broken." The guests separated without reflecting on the danger which they had escaped, and several feasts followed. To strengthen the coalition, the daughter of Pompey was betrothed to Marcellus, the son of Octavia by her former husband. All exulted in the peace, and few dreamed that its permanence was incompatible with the views and schemes of Octavius. No one, perhaps, ever surpassed him in dissimulation, or in the use of the most appropriate arts of seduction, and in discernment of the season, opportunity, instruments, and means most proper to execute his deepest and most studiously concealed designs and plans. This his conduct illustrated and proved from his youth, but especially after his intellectual capacities were fully developed and cultivated. The highest in rank, the most eminent for political or military talents and acquirements, had fallen in the race of ambition, strife, and revenge, and the few survivors had become resigned to the loss of liberty and national honour; while the

mixed or undistinguished multitude groaned in silence under the irresistible yoke of absolute despotism, which controlled and oppressed the whole empire. Octavius discerned that the time was arrived for him to secure for himself the exclusive possession of the grand and noble prize of sovereignty; and, accordingly, he seemed to have called up all his energies and resources to remove from the course the only individuals with whom, by dividing with them the power, he had hitherto appeared companion in the race.

Antony having departed for the East, Octavius sent Agrippa to Transalpine Gaul to reduce a revolt, while he most actively employed his own time in providing a fleet to contend with Pompey, whom he accused of having violated the late treaty, a crime of which he was himself equally guilty. In the war which soon followed, Pompey had at first the advantage by sea, notwithstanding that Menas, his principal sea-officer had treacherously gone over to Octavius, with sixty of his ships. This state of the war occasioned inexpressible sufferings in Italy, from the scarcity of provisions, for which it was chiefly dependent on Sicily. In this emergency, Octavius sent messengers to Antony to request his assistance. He returned with about three hundred vessels, almost one half of which he exchanged for twenty thousand soldiers, whom he conducted to the East, where he went with a view of placing himself at the head of his army, then fighting against the Parthians. Octavius was still more strengthened by the return of Agrippa from a triumphant campaign, during which he extended the Roman power in Germany farther than even Cesar had done. Sicily was now invaded, and Lepidus led thither from Africa an army to co-operate with that of Octavius. Pompey, defeated on sea and land, fled with a few ships, and was, after attempting to persuade Antony to join him in opposing Octavius, seized and put to death by order of the former, in Nicomedia, a harbour on the east of Bithynia. Lepidus acting independent of his colleague, and indicating a disposition to take possession of Sicily on his own account, was forced to maintain his pretensions by arms. His soldiers disapproved of his views, and declared themselves ready to serve his colleague. Thus deserted, he laid aside his robes of dignity, and, in the ordinary dress of a citizen, proceeded to the camp and tent of Octavius. "Multitudes followed him, to gratify their curiosity in seeing what was to pass in so new a scene. A person who, the moment before, had been at the head of a great army, and reputed a third in

he sovereignty of the empire, was now, by the sudden desertion of his own troops, reduced to the condition of a private man, and was to appear as a suppliant before an antagonist whom he had recently set at defiance. To complete the scene of his humiliation, in entering the presence of Octavius, he would have thrown himself on the ground, but was prevented by the courtesy of his rival, who, content to strip him of his command, and of his personal consequence, would not accept this mark of abasement, and gave him leave to return into Italy, where he lived afterwards equally unobserved by those against whom he had been made the instrument of injustice, and by those who had made him their tool."

Two of the three rivals of Octavius being thus overcome he found extreme difficulty to prevent a mutiny in the immense number of troops with whom he was surrounded. His fleet, it is said, consisted of six hundred galleys, exclusive of numerous transports and store ships; and his land army amounted to more than two hundred thousand men, and fifteen thousand cavalry. They became clamorous for the rewards of money and lands, and treated with contempt the small sums which he distributed among them, and the promises which he gave them. By the exercise of great liberality to those who were chiefly to be dreaded, he prevailed on them to separate from the rest; and these he succeeded, by various prudent measures, to appease. The citizens at Rome celebrated his triumphs with the most conspicuous and striking tokens of joy, and, on his approach to the city, multitudes, adorned with chaplets, went forth to meet him, and formed a magnificent procession which conducted him to the temple where he proposed to offer sacrifices of thanksgiving to the gods. He now used every effort to establish tranquillity, and conciliate all ranks to the administration of justice and the peaceful exercise of the functions of all the offices of state. He remitted oppressive taxes, repressed many disorders, the dregs of the civil wars which still afflicted the city and the contiguous provinces. He had brought his armies under tolerable discipline, and the people to bear not impatiently the loss of their political consequence, and of their liberties. He took care to destroy, with much ostentation, all papers and records from which those who had acted against himself, might fear being drawn into trouble. He retained the usual names and the forms of office; and wherever he himself was to exercise any uncommon power, he talked of it as a mere tem-

porary expedient to obviate the disorders of the times, and spoke of his intention, in concert with Antony, to discontinue every irregular mode of administration, as soon as the war with the Parthians should be brought to a period. He even sent Bibulus into the East, with open and public instructions to concert with his colleague the manner and time of their resignation."

The irregular habits and ungovernable passions of Antony had been for a time subjected to a salutary restraint by the presence of his incomparable wife Octavia, who accompanied him from the time he had left Rome till he returned in compliance with the entreaty of her brother. But her personal state prevented her attending him on his last journey to the East; and the fatal consequence of this was that he allowed all his former passion for Cleopatra to resume entire power over him: so that he at once diminished his reputation, and afforded a plausible reason for Octavius to put forth all his strength to destroy him. In Asia he assumed all the authority, majesty, and grandeur of a mighty Oriental sovereign; and exhibited the most extravagant scenes of vanity, dissipation, and folly. While he made preparations in Syria to invade Parthia, he was visited, at his earnest request, by Cleopatra. Charmed by her presence, instead of jewels or fine dresses, he bestowed on her several kingdoms, and dismissed her with the assurance that after he had chastised, in their own dominions, the Parthians, whom his general Ventidius had recently expelled from Syria, and forced to retire east of the Euphrates, he would pass the winter in Egypt. His campaign at the head of a great army was disastrous, for the only result of contending with the enemy was the destruction of his own troops, to whom their retreat was still more fatal. Nevertheless, while he wasted his time in Egypt, in every imaginable scene of intemperance and licentious pleasure, he ordered his officers to prepare for an invasion of Armenia, whose king he accused of having treacherously failed to fulfil his engagements to assist him in his war with the Parthians.

The reports of his behaviour provoked the Romans, and rendered Octavia impatient to reclaim him, and enjoy his society. She proceeded to Greece, carrying valuable presents to him from her brother. There she received letters from Antony, positively prohibiting her from advancing into Egypt, and declining to accept the gifts of Octavius. The Romans, who loved and admired her, were indignant at the base treat-

ment which she had suffered ; and their indignation was exceedingly augmented, on learning that Antony had subdued Armenia, carried its king captive into Egypt, and made a triumphal entry into Alexandria, as if it were the capital of the Roman empire. In the accompanying festival he acted more like a maniac than a ruler of nations. He not only put on the Oriental dress and badges of royalty, but likewise the attire and designation of a god ; wore the buskins, the golden crown, and the chaplet of ivy belonging to Bacchus, held the thyrsus in his hand, and was drawn through the streets of Alexandria on a car like those which were employed in the processions of the gods. It was said, that Cleopatra at the same time assumed the dress of Isis : that being seated together on thrones of gold, elevated on a lofty platform, Antony presented Cleopatra to the people, as queen not only of Egypt and Cyprus, but likewise of Africa and Celosyria, and that he associated with her in these titles Cesarion, her supposed son by Julius Cesar. To his own sons, by this prostitute queen, he also allotted kingdoms, some of which he had not even conquered. This foolish and vain distribution of the eastern provinces of the empire was formally executed, and copies of his deeds were ordered to be deposited with the most public records of the Romans in the Temple of Vesta, in Rome.

In the meantime, Octavius, aided or directed by his able friends Mæcenas and Agrippa, pursued a course most fitted to gain the approbation of the intelligent, and dazzle the eyes, excite the wonder, and flatter the passions and prejudices of the ignorant and giddy multitude. In order to this, he restored the office of ædile, and conferred it on Agrippa, who discharged its duties with consummate skill and diligence. He constructed roads, cleansed the ancient and much admired common sewers which had been constructed at immense labour and expense in past ages, repaired the circus, exhibited magnificent shows, and gratified the populace by the erection of public baths, bestowment of money and presents, and the providing of a variety of amusements.

It soon became evident that war between Antony and Octavius was inevitable. They continued to correspond by messengers and letters, but it was only to accuse each other of violations of the terms of their alliance, and both prepared for the final contest for the supreme power. The two consuls for the years, C. D. Ahenobarbus and C. Sosius, friends of Antony, having accused Octavius of many acts of injustice done him, believed that they could not safely remain in Rome

They fled to Asia, and left Octavius master of the city. Antony, who was then in Armenia, no sooner learned the state of affairs in Italy than he summoned a council of the senators, who were with him, enumerated to them the injuries inflicted on him by his rival, divorced in form Octavia, declared war against her brother, and solemnly swore that six months after he had relieved Rome from his tyranny, he would restore entire the ancient constitution of the republic. He then ordered Canidius to advance with the army to Ephesus, where he proposed to proceed, after he had conducted Cleopatra, who was with him, into Egypt. She, however, resolved to accompany him to Greece and Asia, and on their departure for Ephesus gave him twenty thousand talents and two hundred ships, which increased his fleet to eight hundred. But her imperious conduct, and his own levity and dissoluteness alienated from him many of his ablest friends, whose reports, on their arrival in Italy, highly exasperated the Romans against him, and led them to believe that he intended to transfer the seat of empire to Alexandria. These reports the party of Octavius most widely and industriously circulated, to expose Antony to general ridicule and scorn : and, at the same time, highly honoured their principal authors, Placus and Titius, who had ranked among Antony's chief officers. They were introduced into the senate, that their testimony might justify the resolution proposed, that Antony should be divested of the office and dignity which had been apparently legitimately conferred on him, and declared incapable of being consul, to which office he had been destined by the same authority. War, at the same time, was proclaimed against the queen of Egypt, and all Roman citizens were required "to withdraw from Antony, as being abandoned to the caprices of a stranger, and a woman who, by a kind of fascination, led him in her train, and prevailed upon him to countenance, against his own country, a war which was to be conducted by the eunuchs Mardio and Pothinus, keepers of the palace of Alexandria ; and by Ira and Charmion, the waiting women of Cleopatra, who hoped soon to reign in the capital of the Roman empire, as absolutely as they had for some time governed in the provinces of the East."

Antony consumed his time on his voyage at several places, particularly in the island of Samos and Athens, in scenes of extreme dissipation ; and instead of invading Italy, and surprising his rival unprepared, permitted him both time and

opportunity to collect and convey to Epirus a sufficient force to oppose him. Antony had under his command all the provinces from the Euphrates and Armenia to the Ionian Sea and Illyricum, and from Cyrene to Ethiopia. Octavius' government extended from Illyricum to the ocean, and comprehended all the coast of Africa that was opposite to Italy, Gaul, and Spain. Many kings followed Antony's fortune, and attended him in this war; namely, Bocchus king of Mauritania, Tarcondemus or Tarcondimotus of Upper Cilicia, Archelaus of Cappadocia, Philadelphus, of Paphlagonia, Mithridates of Comagene, and Adallas of Thrace. These attended him in person; but Polemon king of Pontus, Malchus king of Arabia, Herod king of Judea, Amyntas king of Lycaonia and Galatia, only sent their quotas of forces. All these together composed an army of a hundred thousand foot and twelve thousand horse. His navy consisted of five hundred ships of war, some whereof had eight, and some ten, banks of oars. Octavius had no foreign princes in his army, which amounted only to eighty thousand foot, but was as strong in cavalry as the enemy. He had no more than two hundred and fifty ships, but those light, and well manned with sailors, rowers, and soldiers; whereas Antony's seemed built for ostentation, and, besides, were very indifferently manned, his officers having been obliged, for want of mariners, to press in Greece, which had been exhausted long before, carriers, labourers, and even boys: and, notwithstanding this expedient, his vessels had not their full complement.

Antony took possession of the gulf of Ambracia, at the head of which stood the ancient capital of the celebrated Pyrrhus, king of Epirus. This gulf, now named Arta, is narrow at its entrance, but within is more capacious, stretching into the interior, eastward from twenty to thirty miles.—Actium, on the southern coast, commanded the navigation of the gulf. This was the station of Antony's army; that of Octavius was posted on the opposite shore, a TORYNE, the present Prevesa, which occupies the site of Nicopolis, one of the cities erected by Octavius, and so named to commemorate his victories. Successive months were spent by both parties in harassing each other. Agrippi, equally distinguished as the commander of a fleet, a general of an army, and a counsellor of state, by numerous vessels with which the land troops co-operated, ravaged the towns and coasts whence Antony procured provisions. The result was, that his army at length were so distressed, from want and disease, that deser-



tions were numerous, and distrust and dissatisfaction general ; and he became convinced of the necessity of attempting a retreat or risking a general battle. The former opinion was that of Cleopatra, who longed to escape from danger, and, therefore, urged him to withdraw to Egypt, assemble all the forces of Asia, in that kingdom, and there combat for the empire of the world.

Deceived by her policy, as he had been enervated by her enchantments, he listened to her counsels, and ordered his fleet to prepare to encounter the enemy. They sailed, and began to form in the straits, but his ships being heavier, loftier, and less active than those of his antagonist, " he hesitated for some time whether he should not remain in close order, and endeavour to bring on the action in the narrow entrance of the gulf, where his antagonists, for want of room, could not derive any great advantage from the superior agility of their vessels, or quickness of their motions. While Antony deliberated on this matter, Octavius got under sail, turned the headland of Toryne, and formed in a line before the entry of the straits, about a mile from the enemy. The right division was commanded by M. Larius, the left by Aruntius, the whole by Agrippa. Both armies, at the same time, were drawn out on the shore to behold the event ; but the fleets, for some time did not make any movement, and it continued uncertain whether Antony, being still in the road, might not return to his anchors ; but about noon his ships began to clear the straits, and came forward where the sea-room was sufficient for their line. As in this movement the fleets came closer together, Agrippa began to extend his front, in order to turn the enemy's flank ; but Poplicola, on the other side, stretching to the same place to keep pace with him, the centre of both fleets was equally opened, and they engaged soon after, without any apparent advantage on either side. The contest, for some time, remained undecided. In the beginning of the action, the queen of Egypt's yacht had been near to the line, and she herself continued to look on the battle, till, overcome with anxiety, affright, and horror, she gave orders to remove her galley to a greater distance, and being once in motion, fled with all the sail she could make. Her vessel being distinguished by a gilded poop and purple sails, made her flight be conspicuous to the whole fleet, and drew away from the line about sixty ships of the Egyptian squadron, who, under pretence of attending their mistress, withdrew from the action. Antony, apprehending the consequence of

this defection, whether in despair of his fortunes, or in some hopes to rally those who fled, went on board of a quick sailing vessel, and endeavoured to overtake them. Being observed from Cleopatra's galley, he was taken on board; but, no longer capable of any vigorous or rational purpose, he became the companion of her flight, without any attempt to rally her fleet. Although he quitted the chance of a victory to follow the object of his passions, he could not endure to behold her, turned his eyes aside, threw himself upon the deck, and continued in the deepest anguish of shame and despair. The flight of Antony, joined to that of Cleopatra, an event so little expected, was not for some time observed, and the fleet, notwithstanding the desertion of their leader, continued the action till four in the afternoon, when they were overpowered; and many of them being greatly damaged in their oars and rigging, were not in condition either to resist or to escape, and fell an easy prey to the enemy. Three hundred ships were taken or sunk, and about five thousand men were killed. The strand was covered with wrecks and dead bodies. Octavius detached a squadron in pursuit of such of the enemy's ships as had got to sea from the engagement, and himself continued in the channel during the remainder of the day and the following night, to gather the fruits of his victory. The land army of Antony, having, from the heights on shore, beheld the ruin of their fleet, retired to their camp, as with an intention to maintain it to the last extremity. They flattered themselves that their general, though forced to yield to his enemy at sea, would make for the nearest port, and again show himself at the head of his legions. These, they said, he never should have left, to commit his fortunes to an uncertain element and a treacherous ally. In these hopes they remained for seven days unshaken in their duty, and rejected all the offers which Octavius made to induce them to change their party. Being satisfied, however, at last, that their hopes were vain, they consulted their safety in different ways. Some laid down their arms; Canidius himself, who commanded them, withdrew in the night; others, remaining together in small parties, took the route to Macedonia; but, being pursued by the enemy, were separately overtaken, and forced or persuaded to surrender. All the Roman citizens, who had taken refuge in the eastern provinces, all the foreign allies and princes, who made a part of the vanquished army, successively made their peace; and the empire itself now seemed to be reduced under a single head."

Octavius proposed to pass the approaching winter in the island of Samos, and afterwards to pursue Antony. The government of Rome he committed to Mæcenas and Agrippa. But when these able men reported to him that disaffection prevailed among the troops whom they had conducted into Italy, he hastened to join them, and by the practice of the arts of conciliation, for which he was justly celebrated, he calmed the passions of the soldiers, and by large promises flattered their hopes. He remained only a short time in Rome, for he was solicitous to invade Egypt before the queen and Antony could retrieve their affairs. The latter, however, never properly recovered his native energy, and was generally either overwhelmed in melancholy or deranged by debauchery; and the former was either engaged on the one hand in the invention of means to prevent him from suspecting her fidelity, and on the other in meditating how she might save herself from death or degradation, without any sincere concern for his honour or life. Truly her ways led down to the chambers of the invisible world of darkness and despair. Antony showed on one occasion the determination to make one great effort to resist his opponent, but finding that the army and fleet of Cleopatra were alike treacherous, he seems to have for a moment become convinced that she had given them secret instructions, and purposed, if possible, by taking his life, to purchase the favour of Octavius. Inexpressibly mortified by the conscious imbecility and meanness of spirit by which he had given himself up for a prey to a cunning female, and overpowered by anguish and utter hopelessness, he inflicted on himself a fatal wound, and died in the arms of her who had, to gratify her vanity and passion, completed his disgrace and ruin. She also poisoned herself, after she perceived that the many and various devices and efforts to which she had resorted, in hopes of making a favourable impression on the mind of Octavius, could not avert from her the indignity of being carried captive by him, to add to the lustre of his triumphal processions in the capital of the world. With her perished the Ptolemean or Grecian dynasty in Egypt, which immediately was made a Roman province, the government of which was committed to the Roman officer and poet, Cornelius Gallus.

Thus, B. C. 30, Octavius found himself the sovereign of the Roman empire, and speedily manifested that he was not less qualified for the duties of his exalted dignity than he had proved himself able to triumph over every rival. Un-

like every one who had aspired to this loftiest object of human ambition, the nearer he approached it the more fully he displayed the consummate policy of restraining his malignant passions, so that his vengeance fell on fewer after his complete and final victory than at any former period of his life, which afforded him opportunity to punish his enemies. On his return to Rome, every mode which ingenuity could devise to express the joy and gratitude of all ranks, was adopted; and he was most careful to employ all his prudence and wisdom, and cunning, to impose on the senses, and to win the applause of all. He provided whatever could amuse the people, laid aside the title of triumvir, and pretended to re-establish the institutions of the republic, while he accepted all the titles and offices which comprised the supreme government of the state. Thus he was invested with the dignity and power of imperator, consul, censor, and tribune. Notwithstanding the existence of revolt in some of the provinces, he was proclaimed the restorer of peace to the world, and in token of this the gates of the temple of Janus were shut. He was honoured by three triumphal processions, the anniversaries of his birth and victory were decreed to be celebrated for ever as days of thanksgiving, and his name was inserted in the daily public prayers for the safety and prosperity of the commonwealth. He terminated the processions by depositing in the temple of Jupiter "sixteen thousand pondo, or a hundred and sixty thousand ounces of gold, with fifty millions in Roman money, or above four hundred thousand pounds sterling; and at the close of the ceremony distributed a thousand sestertii, or above eight pounds of our money, to each man of the troops; which, to an army consisting of one hundred and twenty thousand men, amounted to a sum of near a million sterling. To the officers, besides his pecuniary bounty, he gave honorary rewards. To Agrippa, in particular, he gave a blue ensign in token of his naval victories; to the people he made a donation of four hundred sestertii, or about three pounds five shillings a man, and doubled the usual allowance of corn from the public granaries; discharged all that he owed, remitted all the debts that were due to himself, and refused all the presents which were offered to him from the different towns and districts of Italy. The accumulations and distributions of foreign spoils at Rome, or the general expectations of prosperous times, produced great or very sensible effects in raising the price of houses, lands, and other articles of sale, whether in Italy or

in the contiguous provinces; a circumstance which, joined to the new and strange appearance of the gates of the temple of Janus being shut, as a signal of universal peace, made these triumphs of Octavius appear an era of felicity and hope to the empire. They were followed by other magnificent ceremonies; the dedicating of a temple which had been erected to Minerva, and the opening of a great hall which had been inscribed with the name of Julius Cesar. In that hall was placed a noted statue of Victory which had been brought from Tarentum, and there too were hung up the trophies which had been collected in Egypt. The statue of Cleopatra in gold was placed in the temple of Venus, and at the same time the shrine of Julius Cesar, as well as those of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, were decorated with many ensigns or badges of victory. On occasion of these solemnities, a variety of games were exhibited; that of Troy, in particular, was now instituted, being a procession formed by youth of high rank, mounted on horseback, and led by Marcellus and Tiberius, the nephew and the stepson of Octavius. Races were run in chariots and on horseback, by persons of high rank; and fights of gladiators were exhibited, in which, to the supposed disgrace of the times, it is remarked that a Roman senator, of the name of Quintus Ventelius, was one of the combatants. Numerous parties of captives from the Daci and Suevi, in a form that might pass for real battles, were made to fight for their liberty, that was proposed as the prize for the victors. Many exhibitions were made of hunting and baiting of wild beasts, in which were presented a rhinoceros and hippopotamus or sea-horse, animals till the unknown at Rome. In the time of these entertainments, which continued many days, Octavius either really was, or pretended to be taken ill, and left the honour of presiding at the shows to some private senators, who, together with many other members of their body, to increase the solemnity, feasted the people in their turns."

While he unquestionably meditated the assumption of all the power and majesty of the absolute sovereignty of the empire, without any greater disguise than circumstances indicated to be expedient, he is reported to have, about this time, consulted Mæcenas and Agrippa whether he ought not publicly to resign all authority, and restore the ancient forms of the republic. The latter is said first to have recommended this scheme, but was persuaded by the former to urge Octavius to retain and exercise power uncontrolled, except by

the opinions of those whom he conceived to be qualified to serve him. That this advice corresponded with his inclination, his future life demonstrated; for, from this period, he established a military despotism, which rendered all who seemed to share with him in the administration, the mere slaves of his will. Nevertheless, he was solicitous to procure the sanction of the senate to all his measures: and that he might not be disappointed in this, his first care was that no one should sit in that assembly who was not prepared to obey his dictates. Accordingly, on assuming the office of consul for the sixth time, he chose Agrippa for his colleague. They commenced their labours, as usual, by taking a census or review of all the different orders of the state. From the past public disorders and confusions, it was understood that many members in the senate had no legitimate title to the dignity. To avoid unnecessary offence, the consuls recommended that all conscious of any disqualification should voluntarily withdraw. Fifty regarded the advice, and, on the rolls being examined, one hundred and forty men were struck off. All these, although excluded from the senate, were permitted to retain the dress of senators in all public places. By raising the money qualification of a senator, Octavius excluded some objectionable persons, whose other qualifications were complete; and to obtain the assistance of others he supplied them with the requisite wealth. This mode of depriving those of power whom he suspected of disaffection to his person, or disapprobation of his plans, he resorted to at a future period of his reign. While he thus annihilated the small portion of political power remaining in the senate, and showed little respect to the comitium, he employed every art to please, amuse, or flatter the populace. He ordered the construction of magnificent temples and other public works, and celebrated the dedication or completion of them with pompous shows and processions. "He furnished, at his own expense the circus and theatres with continual entertainments, with the fights of gladiators, and the baiting or hunting of wild beasts. While he thus encouraged the people in their usual vices of idleness and dissipation, he avoided laying any new burdens, cancelled all arrears due to the treasury within the city, and increased fourfold the gratuitous distributions of corn. To these popular arts he joined a species of amnesty of all past offences and differences; repealed all the acts which, during the late violent times, the spirit of party had dictated; and, to quiet

the apprehensions of many, who were conscious of having taken part with his enemies, he gave out that all papers or records seized in Egypt, upon the final reduction of Antony's party, were destroyed; though in this Dion Cassius contradicts him, and alleges that such papers were preserved, and afterwards employed in evidence against persons whom he thought proper to oppress."

On the return of the season for the appointment of new consuls, Octavius resumed the ensigns of office, and exhibited the farce which he had premeditated, either for the gratification of his vanity, or to impose on the unreflecting multitude: he publicly resigned, in an eloquent address, all the extraordinary powers which he had exercised, well knowing that neither senate nor comitium would presume to accept his resignation. The senate, doubtless, were not ignorant of his design, and they completed the farce by entreating him to desist from his purpose, and allay the fearful apprehensions which had seized all ranks by condescending to remain at the head of the government. He complied with their request, but only on the condition that the senators should divide with him the burden of the administration. He was, however, careful to retain the entire authority over the army, by which means the senate was put in possession of nothing more than a nominal power. He undertook the charge of all the provinces on the frontier and those most disposed to revolt, while the Senate should regulate the affairs of the provinces which were reconciled to the dominion of Rome.—Thus he was to choose officers of military rank, with the title of *proprætor*, to govern the provinces assigned to him; and the senate were to nominate to their provinces civil officers, with the title of *pro-consul*, without either military rank or the power of the sword. The former governors were to hold their appointments during his pleasure; the latter were to hold their governments no longer than a year. Hitherto governors of provinces received no salary; but they were authorised to demand whatever supplies they deemed necessary from those whom they were appointed to rule. The consequence was, that many of them amassed immense wealth at the expense of the provinces, and, on their return, acquired great and dangerous influence in the state. To remedy these intolerable grievances, the provincial governments were reduced to their "proper state of subordination and dependence. The duties they were to levy, and their own emoluments, were clearly ascertained. The greater pro-

vinces were divided, and separate officers appointed to each division. Neither men nor money were to be levied without authority from the emperor and the senate, nor was any officer, to whom a successor was appointed, to remain in his command, or to absent himself from Rome above three months. To secure the observance of these regulations, and to accelerate communication from every part of the empire, an institution resembling that of the modern posts was for the first time introduced in the ancient world. Couriers were placed at convenient stages, with orders to forward from one to the other the public despatches. It was afterwards thought more effectual, for the purpose of intelligence, to transport the original messenger to Rome."

To express the gratitude of the Roman people to Octavius for his services, the senate conferred on him the new title of August, or the Awful, expressive of the highest dignity, and decreed that the "court of his palaces should be forever hung with laurel, the badge of victories that were ever fresh in the minds of the people, and with wreaths of oak, the usual distinction of those who had saved a fellow-citizen: in token that the Roman people were continually preserved by his acceptance of the sovereignty, and by the wisdom of his administration. Octavius from henceforward came to be known by the name of Augustus. He had been some time the object of fear, and consequently of adulation to the people, and was now probably become the object of that fond admiration with which the bulk of mankind regard those who are greatly elevated by fortune. Under the effect of this sentiment, or supported by the prevalence of it, citizens of high rank devoted themselves to Augustus, as they were told that the vassal devoted himself to his lord in some of the barbarous cantons of Spain and Gaul. They took an oath to interpose their persons in all his dangers, and if he must die, to perish with him. The dying, under pretence of bequeathing some legacy to Augustus, introduced his name in their wills, with a lavish encomium or flattering character. Many appointed him sole heir, or, together with their children, the joint heir of all their fortunes. Some, on their death-bed, bequeathed particular sums to defray the expense of sacrifices to the gods for this signal blessing, *that Augustus was still living when they expired.*"

Octavius had actually swayed the sceptre of Rome with absolute power from the time of the final victory over Antony; but the universal acknowledgment of his imperial



dominion may be dated B. C. 27, when he received the imperial title of Augustus. The republic was now extinguished, and the Roman monarchy fully established, which far surpassed in extent, power, and riches, all preceding monarchies. It extended in length about four thousand miles, and two thousand in breadth, and comprised the territories of many famous republics and extensive empires, and many regions which had never been favoured with the arts of civilization. This vast empire comprehended those parts of the globe occupied by the races of men who have been most distinguished by vigour of mind, enterprise, and perseverance in the acquisition and practical improvement of knowledge of every kind that contributes to the welfare of man. It embraced a variety of climates and territories, "diversified in respect to situation and soil, distributing the productions of nature and art, so as to render its different divisions mutually useful and subservient to each other. The communication between these parts, though remote, was easy, and by a sea which, with the species of shipping then in use, and with the measure of skill which the mariner then possessed, could be easily navigated. The Mediterranean being received into the bosom of this empire, gave to the whole a greater extent of coast, and to the inland parts an easier access to navigation, than could be obtained by any different distribution of its land and water. In consequence of this circumstance, the coasts of the Roman empire, without measuring minutely round the indentures of creeks and promontories, and even without including the outline of some considerable as well as many smaller islands, may be computed at thirteen thousand miles; an extent which, if stretched into a single line, would exceed half the circumference of the earth. Over this extensive coast, the empire was furnished with numerous seaports, and the frequent openings of gulfs and navigable rivers; so that, notwithstanding the great extent of its territory, the distance of any inland place, the most remote from the sea, does not appear to exceed two hundred miles."

Augustus obtained the Roman sceptre in his thirty-third year; two years later, it was conceded to him by the Roman people, and he reigned prosperously till his death, in his seventy-sixth year, and A. D. 14. The possession of supreme power during such a long period was a rare phenomenon in ancient times in any country, and especially in Europe, whose most illustrious rulers resembled the meteors of the sky, rather than the fixed stars in the heavens. And happily for

the world, the principal objects of the policy of his prolonged reign were scarcely less novel than its duration ; for he desired not, like former conquerors, the extension of his dominions, nor the glory of conquest, but the maintenance of peace, and the fame of having consolidated and aggrandised the empire, and civilised its numerous nations. He was a warrior from expediency, but a statesman from taste. He was fitted to direct the movements of an army, rather than to lead them on to victory. But in the arts of peace he was at once the example, the patron, and the rewarder of all who promoted them.

The revenue of Augustus, derived from the provinces, must have been for a considerable time extremely little, compared with the accumulated revenues which had been raised by their rulers previously to their subjection to Rome. Many causes had operated to waste, if not wholly exhaust, all the resources of the richest of the conquered countries ; and none perhaps, except the most barbarous, was immediately enriched in consequence of their connexion with the Romans. All the money and movable articles of value in every country, had been generally seized by the conquerors, and carried to Italy ; and whatever was immovable was damaged by the rude hands of the foreign soldiers and baser classes of the respective communities. The number of persons in Italy and the provinces had increased to four millions one hundred and sixty-four thousand men fit to carry arms. These, by a law adopted soon after by the Romans, who ceased to boast that they were the emancipators of mankind from slavery and tyranny, would have claimed exemption from taxation ; but that law was not long observed, and by a new decree all the subjects of the empire, Roman citizens in common with others, were called to support the state by money or goods. Still, however, the yoke of Rome pressed most severely on those whom she had reduced, and not admitted to the privilege of citizens. After her power was dreaded and felt to be irresistible, her officers took possession of conquered countries " without any capitulation, and considered not only the sovereignty, but the property likewise of the land and of its inhabitants, as devolving upon themselves. They, in some instances, seized on the persons as well as the effects of the vanquished, and set both to sale. They leased the lands at considerable quit-rents, or, leaving them in the hands of the original proprietors, exacted, under the appellation of tithes, or fifths of corn, fruit, and cattle, a proportion of the produce.

By diversifying the tax, the burden was made to fall upon different subjects, or was exacted from different persons, and by these means the whole amount was less easily computed or less sensibly felt. The Romans, in continuing the taxes which they found already established in the countries they had conquered, or by imposing such new ones as suited their own character as conquerors, set examples of almost every kind that is known in the history of mankind. They levied customs at seaports, excises on many articles of consumption, and a considerable capitation or poll tax, in which they made no distinction of rank or fortune. Those modes of taxation already known under the republic, and various in different provinces, now began to be regulated upon the maxims of a general policy, extending over the whole empire. Some of the burdens laid by Octavius, as that which was imposed on the value of goods exposed to sale, were charged directly for the benefit of the army, as a fund for the discharge of their pay, or an immediate supply for their subsistence or clothing, and by this sort of impropriation were unalterably fixed. The country where any troops were quartered, was charged for their use with supplies of straw, forage, carriages, corn, bread, provisions, and even clothing."

The immense wealth of the great commercial cities, Alexandria, Tyre, and Carthage, had disappeared with their independence, liberty, and naval power. Commerce was more equally distributed, but it scarcely could be said to have a chief seat in the Roman empire. The spirit of enterprise was more universally diffused than in former times, and countries acquired distinction which had during all past ages never escaped from the lowest state of barbarism. The language, the literature, and arts of Greece, had been for two or three generations encouraged by many Romans; but Augustus stimulated all ranks not only to imitate, but, if possible, to excel the Grecian race in all intellectual accomplishments, and in every art tending to the attainment of national greatness. The professors of every science, and practitioners of every art, flocked to Rome in the hope of distinction or wealth; and the most eminent found ample honours and rewards. The emperor recommended the introduction into all the provinces of all the inventions and improvements of his age, and with how much success it is unnecessary to say; for where is the country formerly subject to Rome, which contains not traces of the skill, wisdom, and nobleness of the Roman mind? During a number of centuries, the science, the literature, the

laws, the arts, the customs and manners of Rome, were every where admired and approved by all who occupied the principal stations and offices of influence, in all the provinces of the empire. The salutary change on the face of society, during the reign of Augustus, in the most remote regions of the state, was probably not less than that of Rome, which he is said emphatically to have described by a single sentence uttered when he was dying; "I found a city of brick, and changed it into marble."

Though Augustus was not ambitious to enlarge the dominions of the empire which he ruled, yet he resolutely maintained its integrity. He permitted not any of the provinces to cast off the yoke with impunity. And though he preferred the sceptre of government to the sword of the warrior, yet he repeatedly placed himself at the head of his armies, even after he had ascended the throne. On his return to Rome from the conquest of Egypt, he sent an army to Germany, another to the borders of Macedon, and a third into Spain, to quell some commotions, which disturbed these countries. Having settled the affairs of Italy, he proceeded to Gaul, and arranged the government. Then he advanced into Spain, the interior of which was not wholly subdued. During his residence here he was gratified by receiving an embassy from the Parthians, requesting him to judge and decide on the claims of two competitors, Phrates and Tiridates, to the throne; in return for which favour all the Roman captives and trophies taken in the war with Crassus and Antony, were to be restored without any compensation. He left the decision to the senate, but regarded the circumstance with pleasure equal almost to what he would have felt had he actually conquered Parthia. All the empire being reduced to obedience, Augustus returned in triumph to Rome; and to express the joy occasioned by the attainment of peace every where, the gates of Janus were once more shut, and a column erected on the summit of the Alps, on which were inscribed the names of forty nations or cantons who had submitted to the Great Augustus.

The principal, if not the only remarkable attempt to conquer a powerful people, in this reign, was the commission given to *Ælius Gallus*, proprætor of Egypt, to invade Arabia Felix, a region celebrated for its treasures of gold, silver, and precious productions, partly indigenous and partly imported from India. This expedition procured not even authentic information concerning the state of the country and people.

against whom it was sent. Gallus lost many ships and men in the gulf of Arabia ; and the greater part of the army perished in the deserts from want of water and by disease.

The Roman forces being thus exceedingly weakened in Egypt, Candace, queen of the Ethiopians, conceived that she could easily conquer that country, and accordingly invaded it with a large army. Augustus, on receiving information of this event, left Rome for the East. But the Ethiopians being repulsed by Petronius, the successor of Gallus, the emperor passed a considerable time in Sicily, Greece, Samos, and Syria, where he restored order, punished the refractory, and rewarded the most zealous advocates and adherents of his government. While in Syria, he sent ambassadors to the Parthian king to demand the fulfilment of the terms of the late treaty, and the compliance of that monarch gave Augustus the opportunity of wiping away, as he pretended, the repeated failures of the Romans to conquer Parthia. His pride was still more flattered when, resting some time at Samos, on his return to Italy, he was honoured by ambassadors from many remote nations, who were commissioned to congratulate him on his signal prosperity, and express the solicitude of their respective monarchs to enjoy his friendship. The most distinguished of these seems to have been Porus, king of India, who, in a letter written in the Greek language, pledged to support him in his rights and dignities. Of his three ambassadors, one of them, an aged Brahmin, accompanied the emperor to Athens, where he procured the applause of the learned and the admiration of the multitude, by displaying the perfection of his Brahminical philosophy, by voluntarily destroying his life by fire in the presence of the Roman court. He prepared a funeral pile, set it on fire and threw himself into the flames. The following inscription was engraved on his tomb: "Here lies Tamarus or Tarmanohegas, an Indian of Burgosa, who, in the manner of his country, ended his days by a voluntary death." Than this act, the proud philosopher and priest could have scarcely resorted to any method by which he might more certainly acquire fame in that age ; for suicide was universally practised by those who boasted of philosophy, patriotism or heroism, when they despaired of liberty or preservation from slavery. They had no principle capable of sustaining their minds in adversity, nor any correct apprehension of their relation to God and an invisible world. Nor did the multitude entertain more honourable ideas of the Creator, or more

just views of their own nature. No generation of the human race had ever appeared more destitute of enlightened religious moral principles, or more demoralized in conduct, than that of Augustus. History largely illustrates and confirms the awful statements in the sacred writings of the New Testament respecting the moral degeneracy and degradation of Jews, Greeks, and Romans. To preserve such a race from entire destruction, the most perfect system of despotic government was indispensable; and happily it was provided by Divine providence.

The coercive power established by Augustus was probably the greatest that mankind had ever witnessed. Three fleets were appointed to protect the coast, that piracy might be prevented, the supply of provisions for Italy secured, and freedom of commerce maintained. "One fleet was stationed at Ravenna, near the bottom of the Adriatic Gulf; one at Forum Julii, on the opposite side of the peninsula; and a third at Misenum, the principal promontory or headland of Campania. Besides these, there were numbers of armed vessels destined to ply in all the gulfs and navigable rivers throughout the empire. The ordinary military establishment consisted of about five-and-forty legions, besides cavalry and city and provincial troops. The whole, reckoning each legion, with its attendants and officers, at six thousand men, and making a reasonable allowance for cavalry, may have amounted to three hundred thousand. Of the manner in which this army was distributed, the following particulars only are mentioned: on the Rhine, there were stationed eight legions; on the Danube, two; on the frontiers of Syria, four; in Spain, three; in Africa, in Egypt, in Mysia, and Dalmatia, each two legions; in the city were nine, or, according to others, ten cohorts, in the capacity of guards, or prætorian bands to attend the person of the emperor; and, together with these, three cohorts of a thousand men each, intended as a city watch, to be employed in preserving the peace, in extinguishing fires, and in suppressing any other occasional disorder.

For the further security of the empire, considerable territories on the frontier, which might have been easily occupied by the Roman arms were suffered to remain in the possession of allies, dependant princes, or free cities and republican states, who, owing their safety to the support of the Roman power, formed a kind of barrier against its enemies, were vigilant to observe, and ready to oppose every attempt of invasion, and were prepared to co-operate with the Roman ar

mies, and to support them with stores and provisions as oft as they had occasion to act in their neighbourhood. The republic had ever cultivated such alliances with powers that were contiguous to the place of their operations; and frequently, after having made the defence of their ally the pretence of a war, and after having availed themselves of his assistance, they, upon occasion of some breach or quarrel, added the ally himself to the conquest which he had assisted them to make. The same policy which had been useful in acquiring the dominion of so great an empire, was still employed for its safety. In pursuance of this policy, the kings of Mauritania, of the Bosphorus, of the Lesser and Greater Armenia, of Cappadocia, Commagné, Galatia, and Pamphilia, with Paphlagonia, Colchis, and Judea, together with the republican states of Rhodes, Cyrene, Pisidia, and Lycia, acted, under the denomination of allies, as advanced parties on the frontiers of the empire, and, encouraged by the prospect of a powerful support, were ready to withstand every enemy by whom their own peace, or that of the Romans, was likely to be disturbed."

Augustus assumed every title of office to which power, civil or ecclesiastical, was attached. He declined the title of pontifex maximus, or chief priest, till the death of the deposed triumvir Lepidus, on whom it had been conferred. But having received it, he, as in all similar cases, immediately exercised the functions of the office. One of these was attention to the calendar. He corrected a gross mistake which had been permitted for more than thirty years, or from the date of the reformation of the calendar by Julius Cesar. Every third year, instead of every fourth, had been reckoned a leap year, and twelve days had been inserted instead of nine, so that the Roman year had advanced three days more than it ought. To correct this error, the emperor "ordered first, that for the twelve ensuing years there should be no leap-year; and secondly, that, after the expiration of the said twelve years, the leap-years should thenceforth be made every fourth year; by which means, the three superadded days being thrown out, and the leap-years fixed in their true terms, according to Julius Cesar's institution, the form of this year has ever since been regularly observed, and was long, under the name of the *old style*, in use among us." The month of August received its name at this time in honour of Augustus, perhaps in imitation of Julius Cesar, who gave his name to the month of July.

Augustus survived not only his able confidential friends, Agrippa and Mæcenas. but also almost every individual

whom he sincerely or tenderly loved, except his wife Livia, who was the secret instrument of his most intense sufferings, and more undisguisedly the principal author of inexpressible misery to the whole empire. She captivated his affections at the time that he had attained the supremacy in Rome; and though she was then wife of Claudius Tiberius Nero, one of the most deserving nobles of Italy, and had borne him a son, and was in a state of pregnancy with a second, yet, from choice or compulsion, she left her husband, and was married to Augustus, whose will no one dared resist. That he might enjoy her, he divorced his second wife, a relation of Pompey, whom he had taken merely to promote his ambitious schemes. Livia had no children to the emperor. He treated her two sons, named Tiberius and Drusus, as if they were his own. The eldest was the mother's favourite, and she seems to have spent her life in a series of intrigues to secure him the throne; and to her skilful devices or diabolical arts, history traces the death of every individual who had any plausible pretensions to succeed Augustus, by either exposure of them to the danger of war, or by assassination or poison. And, indeed, the dread that the emperor during his last illness should designate another to succeed him, is said to have impelled her to hasten his death by poison. If ever he loved Tiberius, it is certain that he alternately hated or feared him from the time that he reached manhood, and that justly, for scarcely could any one discover himself more destitute of moral excellence, or more regardless of the welfare of the human race, than he did through life, and especially after he ascended the throne of Rome, on the exit of Augustus, A. D. 14.

We deem it inexpedient to relate many events in the reign of the first emperor of Rome, dignified by the senate, *Pater Patriæ*, the father of his country; because they apparently neither affected the relative position or extent of the empire, nor produced any material or conspicuous change on the moral or religious aspect of society. Peace prevailed generally in all the provinces; and the few insurrections which disturbed the public repose brought tenfold vengeance on the authors. Thus the characteristics of the "fourth kingdom" appeared equally distinct and prominent under its imperial, as under its republican form of administration; the nameless beast was still "dreadful and terrible, and strong exceedingly; and it had great teeth: it devoured and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with the feet of it." This is illustrated by the deeds of war by Drusus and Tiberius, still to be adverted



to, although the most interesting of them were performed in the time of Augustus. The Roman beast still trode in the paths and adopted the habits, manners and customs of all the beasts which were before it. Accordingly, though the policy of Augustus led him, till he had crushed all opposers under his feet, to retain all the simplicity of dress and manners of the ancient republican great officers of state, insomuch that he lived in the common edifice of a senator, was addressed by the simple name of Cesar, mixed freely with the senators and citizens, and encouraged the females of his family to affect the virtue of admired matrons, and to fabricate with their own hands his dress, yet he latterly assumed almost all the magnificence, grandeur, and dignity of Oriental despots. He, at the same time, established the entire apparatus of Asiatic and Grecian idolatry, and gloried in being the priest of Jupiter. Nor was he slow to patronise the language, literature, arts, and customs, for which Greece was celebrated above all nations.

All the large and numerous provinces, not excepting the most remote, were so effectually united under one head, that the empire appeared as if it were but a small kingdom, whose extremities felt the presence of its monarch almost as sensibly as it was felt at the seat of royalty. Compared with all past ages, the intercourse between all the countries of the ancient world may be said to have been now fully opened. The seas could be traversed without dread of the fierceness and savage barbarity of lawless mariners; and the finest and noblest roads conducted the traveller into the interior regions not only of the civilized, but also of the rudest kingdoms. Ruined towns were restored to more than their former beauty and comfort; and many new towns rose to excel them in grandeur. Everywhere fortresses appeared to protect the inhabitants and their property. The agriculturist cultivated his lands in hope; the shepherd cheered his spirits by the melody of his pipe; and the poor peasant gladly shared of the abundance of earth's varied fruits. Every man sat in peace under his vine or fig tree; or if oppressed by unreasonable and wicked men, he could appeal to laws, which were, on the whole, just and equitable; and if he was one of the millions of Roman citizens, when he had no confidence in the ordinary judges, he was privileged to carry his cause to the tribunal of the great Cesar, whose highest boast was to execute justice without partiality. Interchange of thought, sentiments, and customs, were not subjected to more restrictions

than the productions of the soil, or those of human ingenuity and labour. Augustus was not the enemy of freedom of speech; he conceived that it was too much to deny it to those who were deprived of liberty of action, beyond the bounds prescribed by law. He was a friend to the diffusion of knowledge. Education was countenanced; seats of science and learning multiplied; the pen of the historian and poet aspired to the fame of wisdom; and the wise and learned were considered ornaments of the court, and received the honours of the state. The rich and melodious language of subjugated Greece, and its wisdom and arts, were preferred by the conquerors to their own noblest achievements.

Thus all things contributed to elevate the intellectual nature and dignity of mankind, and to prepare them for the widest dissemination of the heavenly truth which was about to descend to guide every man's steps, who chose not to be the dupe or slave of error, to the sanctuary of peace, purity, and pure felicity; that the prophetic song might resound through every land, and its echo return to fill Jerusalem with joy.

"The race that long in darkness pined have seen a glorious light;  
The people dwell in day who dwelt in death's surrounding night.  
To hail thy rise, thou better Sun! the gath'ring nations come  
Joyous, as when the reapers bear the harvest treasures home.  
His name shall be the Prince of Peace, for evermore adored,  
The Wonderful, the Counsellor, the great and mighty Lord.  
His pow'r increasing still shall spread, his reign no end shall know;  
Justice shall guard his throne above, and peace abound below."

No reader, accustomed to reflection, can, we presume, calmly survey the prominent events in the history of the Romans, and hesitate to conclude that this ancient race were granted the opportunity, which the Orientals and the Grecians had long enjoyed, to know the divine revelations communicated to the Jews, and to ascertain the nature and requirements of the true religion. Did not the Romans transfer the gods, the philosophy, the arts, and even the amusements, as well as riches and vices of Syria, Egypt, and Greece, to the western division of the empire? Did they not, then, import the Hebrew and Greek copies of the Scriptures? Were none of these seen by them in all their journeys through Judea and other regions filled with Jews? Were not many Jews resident in Rome? Are we not informed that they were among the most conspicuous mourners over the melancholy death of Julius Cesar? Both he and Augustus conferred on the Jewish nation special privileges, and accepted

from them many expressions of their gratitude. Might they not then have procured the Sacred Book, examined, and judged its claims to be the production of infallible wisdom, and the exclusive guide to immortality? The Jews every where confessed their belief in the divine origin of these writings, and avowed themselves the worshippers of the One God. Every seventh day they publicly adored him in their synagogues, read his oracles in the Hebrew language, which was easily learned, or in the Greek, very generally understood. They were, indeed, not in general admirers of pagan learning, nor tolerant of pagan gods: they were not, perhaps, remarkable for any superiority of mind or manners in that age; their religion was exclusive, it admitted no rival to the Deity in his worship, it sanctioned no impurity in his service; they veiled its benevolent character by their bigotry: but whatever they were, they still are acknowledged to have kept the holy books uncorrupted, and to them every one sincerely desirous of truth ought to have had recourse, to learn what was the religion which distinguished the Jews from all nations. Many Romans thus wisely acted, and not a few received as divine the writings of Moses and the prophets. That these comprised not the Romans most celebrated for talents, learning, genius, or taste, will excite no one's wonder, who knows that this exalted class of the human race have, in all ages, generally deemed themselves too wise to submit to a religion that demands them to resign their judgments to the authority of the Creator, and to renounce every object which He pronounces unworthy of the honourable and pure ambition of an intelligent being, who only enters in this world on a life which remains to be matured through eternity, and to advance unceasingly in the invisible world, to the consummation of excellence and happiness, or of demoralization and wretchedness.

The most memorable and eternally important event in the annals of this world transpired in the forty-second year of the reign of Augustus, in the 748th year of Rome, and 2348 years after the Deluge; for this is calculated to be the date of the BIRTH OF JESUS OF NAZARETH, the Messiah, and the Saviour of the world. But this illustrious event will come more properly to be noticed in our section on the Rise of the Fifth Empire.

## CHAPTER IX.

### HEROD THE GREAT, AND HIS FAMILY.

THE truth of Divine Revelation and of Christianity required the preservation of the Jews in a national organization, possessed of uncontrolled liberty to observe the laws, religious institutions, and customs established by Moses. All the prophets had announced that the Messiah, the Saviour of all nations was to descend from the race of Abraham by Isaac, distinguish himself from every other human being, by perfect conformity to the laws of Moses, and demonstrate, by his burning zeal for these laws, and consummate wisdom and goodness in explaining and enforcing them, that he was worthy to succeed his ancestor David, "the man according to God's own heart," on the throne of the chosen people. In order to his being thus manifested, it was indispensable that the Jews should reside in their own land, sacredly keep their national register, maintain the external observance of the various rites of worship enjoined by the God of their fathers, and, to sum up all in one word, that they should retain an independent national legislation, till the Messiah appeared, to "finish the transgression, and to make an end of sins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up the vision and prophecy." Reflect, then, on the exigencies of the Jewish people at the time when Herod assumed the entire government of their nation, and you will perceive that he was a most appropriate instrument to effect their preservation from the national dependence on a foreign legislator, and from utter ruin, which they had sufficient reason to apprehend, either of which results would have frustrated the prophetic word. They had completely thrown themselves into the hands of the Parthians, the only people who dared set bounds to Roman ambition. The power of this people, however to repel the arms of the Romans, evidently extended not west of the Euphrates for they had always fallen before them when they ventured to leave their

own fiery deserts, and contend with the Romans in salubrious and cultivated regions. It was not, therefore, to be supposed or expected that the Jews could long find safety under the shade of Parthia, nor that the Romans should suffer them to remain in alliance with their most formidable enemy. Nevertheless, Antigonus, king of Judea, confided in Parthian promises, regarded by their authors as the mere breath of their mouth, and braved the mighty power of Rome; and his subjects generally approved of his purpose, for they cherished implacable hatred of Herod, whom the Romans patronised. But, had the Parthians been faithful to Antigonus, inevitable destruction seemed the certain and speedy destiny of the Jews and their king. They had provoked, to the highest possible degree, the pride and revenge of the Romans, and the time was past when they boasted in treating with leniency those who had thus exasperated their wrath. If Herod had not interposed between them, Antony would assuredly not only have conquered the Jews, but also reduced their country to a Roman province, and subjected them to Roman laws, or utterly destroyed the nation, by selling all ranks for slaves.

Herod was characterised by qualities peculiarly fitting him to acquire and exercise influence over his political superiors and dependants. Though selfishness regulated every movement of his soul, and every scheme and action of his life, yet he was capable of exhibiting the most striking and the most decisive appearances of disinterested and unalterable friendship, and the most ardent patriotism. He risked all, not excepting his life, for the interests of his friends, while there was the least probability that they could promote his ambitious views; and he hesitated not to give all, and promise all, to those whom he had reason to consider able to promote the welfare, or increase the number of his subjects. These indications of an uncommon boldness, generosity, and liberality of spirit, may be traced in his early history, slightly reviewed in Chap. II., but they were much more conspicuous during his reign. While, however, he displayed an apparent nobleness of soul that commanded the esteem and admiration of the great, in so much that Augustus remarked of him, that his soul was too great for his kingdom; to procure means to make this display, he could, without painful emotion, violate every principle of justice, equity, humanity, or compassion. Thus the historian remarks, that when Herod obtained the throne of Jerusalem, he ordered all the

gold and precious jewels to be sent to his palace ; put to death forty-five of the chief supporters of the late king, and seized their estates ; and, lest any thing valuable should escape him, he placed guards at each gate, to examine all who went out of the city, and to search even the dead bodies carried to their graves. The consequence was, that the inhabitants were reduced to poverty, and were exceedingly depressed from the dread of famine, owing to its being the sabbatic year, when they neither sowed nor reaped. Their feelings or sufferings were nothing to him ; he was satisfied on procuring sufficient wealth to gratify the avariciousness of the Roman officers, and to reward the soldiers, especially the Roman army, who had made him master of the Jews.

During fully the first six years of his reign, he scarcely could view his throne or dominion secure, chiefly on account of the machinations and political manœuvres of Alexandra, his mother-in-law, and Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, females who regarded him as the principal barrier to the varied and numerous schemes for aggrandisement suggested by their restless ambition. The former aspired to share in the government of the nation, through the agency of her young son Aristobulus ; and she employed every means at her command to prevail on Herod to raise him to the office of high-priest. This high office had been conferred on Ananelus, an obscure priest. This individual seems to have had no other claims to the dignity than that he was an old friend of Herod ; and it seemed an outrage on all that was sacred that he should occupy the most sacred office, to which none had so many claims as Aristobulus, the son of the late king and high-priest. But Herod well knew that his mother-in-law might, and possibly would, with almost equal plausibility of argument, demand the throne for her son. To justify his refusal of her request, he reminded her that Aristobulus was not of age, for he was not eighteen years old. But on learning that she had procured the intercession of Cleopatra with Antony, lest he should provoke him to anger, he complied with her persevering solicitations. He, however, no sooner observed that all ranks of the Jews were transported with joy on beholding Aristobulus clothed in the splendid dress of the high-priest, and performing with propriety the functions of his holy office, than he resolved on his death. This he effected at a private feast ; for while the guests were, in the interval of feasting, at his suggestion, refreshing themselves by bathing in a pond, his emissaries succeeded in drowning

the youth. His death Herod represented as an unhappy accident, assumed the aspect of a deep mourner, buried the youth with extraordinary magnificence, and ordered a splendid monument to be raised to his memory. Vain were his arts to conceal his murderous device and deed. Alexandra eagerly sought revenge ; and Cleopatra the more readily listened to her complaints from her ardent desire to obtain possession of Judea. She prevailed on Antony to summon Herod before him, to answer the accusation of murder brought against him. By a large present or bribe, Herod purchased the favour of the judge, and was acquitted of the crime of which all were conscious that he was guilty, and none more than himself. This seems clear from an act which is ascribed to him at this time, from which arose his future most exquisite sorrows and most guilty crimes. He had only faint hopes of escaping the punishment of death on this occasion ; and this induced him before proceeding to Antony, to intrust his beloved queen Mariamne, to the care of his uncle Joseph, with strict injunctions to put her to death, should he be sentenced to die, that she might not fall into the hands of the Romans. This secret order Joseph is said to have divulged to the queen ; and from this time, if not before, she never showed affection for Herod. As soon as he learned that Joseph had betrayed his trust, he ascribed it to his illicit love of the queen, and he not only punished him with death, but admitted the demon of jealousy to fix his residence in his soul, so that he had no peace while she lived, and, by causing her to be murdered, he rendered his future life inexpressibly wretched.

Elated doubtless as he was to escape at once death and degradation, he had silently to submit to the loss of one of the richest districts of his country,—that belonging to Jericho, which Antony had bestowed on Cleopatra. This district was remarkable for the number and excellence of its palm-trees, and for its balm, which was celebrated all over the ancient world. On her passing through Judea, from Syria, Herod entertained her magnificently, gave her rich presents, engaged to give her the annual tribute of two hundred talents for Jericho, and accompanied her to Pelusium. But so insecure seemed his throne at this time, that he strongly fortified Massada, and placed in it ten thousand troops, with a complete supply of provisions, that it might afford him an asylum, should Cleopatra succeed in persuading Antony to dispossess him of Judea. Whatever

might be Herod's thoughts of Antony, he proved faithful to him almost to the last moments of that able, profligate, and inconsiderate soldier. That Herod perceived his ruin certain if he continued to be guided by the counsels of Cleopatra, no one can doubt who believes that he proposed to give him all the protection and aid of money and forces which his kingdom could afford, on condition that he put her to death. Antony rejected his advice, but entreated him to employ the large army which he had raised to assist him against Octavius, in subduing Arabia whose king had declined to pay the tribute imposed on him. Accordingly, while Antony proceeded to fight against Octavius, Herod advanced into Arabia, and after several sanguinary battles, completely conquered that country, and appointed a deputy to govern it in his own name. During these wars, the signs of the Divine displeasure with the chosen people were fearfully manifested. Besides the many thousands slain in battle, Judea was visited by a dreadful earthquake, in which about thirty thousand of the inhabitants and an immense number of flocks perished. Herod spake of this as a calamity common to man, and succeeded in preventing his soldiers from reflecting on the peculiar relation in which their nation stood towards God. While, however, Herod triumphed in Arabia, his situation became most critical, in consequence of the total defeat of Antony at Actium. This event was no sooner known to him, than he directed all his thoughts to devise means of appeasing the wrath of Octavius. Accordingly, we find that though he remained the avowed friend of Antony, yet he secretly sent troops to strengthen the forces of Q. Dedius, whom Augustus had appointed governor of Syria, and prepared to sail to Rhodes, to procure if possible an interview with Augustus, while he sojourned in that island.

Previous to his leaving Jerusalem, Herod was guilty of the atrocious crime of murdering the aged Hyrcanus, his father's principal friend, his own father-in-law and constant friend, to whom he owed his honour and his life. Few persons have experienced greater vicissitudes of life than this venerable prince. He had long held the high-priest's office, had been raised to the throne, of which he was deprived by his unnatural brother, and was afterwards restored by Pompey. After occupying it forty years, he was taken prisoner by the Parthians; and in his captivity was exalted by his conquerors, and enthusiastically loved by a great number of



Jews who dwelt in Parthia. Herod, apprehensive that the Parthians might attempt to recover for him his kingdom, employed every device to get him wholly in his power. By many professions, and tokens of grateful recollection of the favours which he had received from him, and of ardent desire to repay them, he prevailed on this aged prince to return to his own land. Herod loaded him with honours; but, viewing him as almost the only one alive who had claims on the throne of Judea, that he might remove him out of the way, he pretended to have detected him of treason, and punished him with death in his eightieth year.

On being admitted into the presence of Octavius, he assumed all the dignity and manner of a king, except the use of the diadem, frankly and fully enumerated the many proofs which he had given Antony of his fidelity, and humbly offered to transfer from him to Octavius his fidelity and services. The truth of his statement was doubtless known to the conqueror, and his candour conciliated his favour. Octavius confirmed him in his kingdom, and promised to honour him as a friend. He instantly returned in triumph to Judea, and diligently prepared to receive Octavius, who proposed to march through Judea into Egypt. When he arrived at Ptolemais, Herod met him, feasted him with great magnificence, presented him with eight hundred talents, and other most valuable gifts, amply supplied his troops with provisions, and accompanied him to Pelusium. He displayed equal greatness of soul for the honour of Augustus, on the return of that great prince from Egypt, and received from him the strongest testimonies of his regard, for he presented him with four thousand Gauls who had been the guards of Cleopatra, and restored to him all the towns and districts of Judea which Antony had granted to the queen of Egypt.

Jehovah claimed Judea as his peculiar land; and, as its supreme King, he called every one who occupied the throne to act as his deputy. How unworthy Herod was of this dignity, his whole life testified. It is not therefore surprising, that the higher he rose as a monarch, the more wretched he became as a man. The wrath of Heaven was upon him. His sister Salome appears to have held a high place in his esteem and confidence, and to have been distinguished by the great talents and ambition which characterised her family. She aspired to direct or control all her brother's counsels; and perhaps he openly selected no one for a friend whom she did not envy or hate, and desire to destroy. She was most fer

tile in every kind of stratagem of mischief. Of his nine wives, the beautiful princess Mariamne was the chief object of his adoration and love, and honoured as his queen, and on this account Salome sedulously devised her ruin. The excess of his love for Mariamne gendered strong jealousy; and Sohemus, whom he had appointed to protect her during his absence at Rhodes, with an injunction similar to that which he had given his uncle Joseph on a like occasion,—to put his family to death should he not return, speedily fell a victim to his suspicion. His injustice and cruelty provoked the indignation of his virtuous queen. She treated him with contempt; which conduct he interpreted as a clear proof of her conjugal infidelity. Salome employed every artifice to persuade him that his opinion was incontrovertibly true. The consequence was, that his rage became furious, and he sought to allay it by bringing his queen to a public trial; when, by choosing for her judges those who, regardless of justice, desired only to please him, she was sentenced to death. Reluctant to execute this sentence, he would have gladly exchanged it for imprisonment for life, had not his sister suggested that this most probably would occasion a general insurrection, and might result in the loss of his crown and life. Her death left him in intolerable misery and universal abhorrence. It was soon followed by a frightful pestilence, which killed multitudes of all ranks. This his enemies represented as a judgment from Heaven on account of the innocent blood which he had shed. In vain he sought relief alternately in scenes of dissipation and complete seclusion from society. His mind seemed lost, and he was seized by a violent, and what was believed by many, an incurable disease. This event tempted Alexandra to form a conspiracy, in order to secure the supreme power at his death. He recovered, detected her crime, and put her to death, with a number of his oldest friends, whom Salome accused as accomplices with her.

When he believed that all the principal opponents of his family and the friends of the Maccabean race were destroyed, he braved the displeasure of the Jews, suppressed several of their religious ceremonies, and introduced a number of the customs of the Greeks and Romans, with the obvious design of gratifying the vanity of Augustus. "He built," says Josephus, "a theatre at Jerusalem, and a great amphitheatre in the plain. He imitated every thing, though ever so costly or magnificent, in other nations, out of an ambition that he might give most public demonstration of his grandeur. Inscriptions

also of the great actions of Cesar, and trophies of those nations which he had conquered in his wars, and all made of the purest gold and silver, encompassed the theatre itself. He also made a great preparation of wild beasts, and of lions themselves in great abundance, and of such other beasts as were either of uncommon strength, or of such a sort as were rarely seen. These were prepared either to fight with one another, or that men who were condemned to death were to fight with them. It appeared no better than an instance of barefaced impiety to throw men to wild beasts for the affording delight to the spectators; and it appeared an instance of no less impiety, to change their own laws for such foreign exercises; but, above all the rest, the trophies gave most distaste to the Jews; for as they imagined them to be images, included within the armour that hang round about them, they were sorely displeased at them, because it was not the custom of their country to pay honours to such images." A conspiracy, accordingly, was formed to assassinate him in the theatre. One of his spies, who had discovered the authors, was attacked by the multitude, put to death, and his mangled body was cast to the dogs. When Herod could not learn who had committed this outrageous act, he ordered some women to be tortured, till they accused certain persons, whom he instantly murdered with their families. This infuriated the nation against him, and he every moment dreaded an universal revolt. To guard against this, he strongly fortified Jerusalem, and several other places in Judea. He raised, about this time also, a noble city, on the site of the ancient Samaria, and named it Sebaste, in honour of Augustus,—the former name in Greek corresponding to the latter in Latin. The buildings were uncommonly magnificent, and were surrounded with strong walls and towers. Six thousand foreigners were put in possession of this city; and, from the beauty and fertility of the district, the population soon greatly increased. Convinced, however, that walls and towers were a feeble protection against the fury of popular rage, he felt it absolutely necessary for his personal safety to adopt a new policy. Hence he appears, from about this period of his reign, to have summoned all his energies, and called up all his resources, to appease the national anger and indignation, to conciliate the favour of the most influential persons, and to flatter the prejudices, and encourage the superstitions of the multitude. And if, by his exertions, he failed to win the love, he at least succeeded to command the just admiration of all the

Jewish people ; for he raised them to perhaps as conspicuous a rank among the nations as they had ever attained from the reign of Uzziah king of Judah.

Herod performed his first most popular act in the thirteenth year of his reign, B. C. 23. A grievous drought prevailed this year in Judea, which was followed by famine and pestilence,—an awful indication of the Divine indignation against the Jews. Multitudes daily died from absolute want and incurable disease. The flocks perished, so that the surviving inhabitants had not wool sufficient to make clothes. Herod exerted all his power to mitigate the calamity. Having exhausted his treasury in the erection of new cities and fortresses, he had no alternative but to melt down his plate to procure food from Egypt, and clothing from the neighbouring countries. His apparent generosity, although it reconciled not the nation to him, excited their admiration, and procured for him, at the time, their applause.

Personal gratification, family aggrandisement, and the acquirement of a great name among the mighty, were objects much more steadily pursued by Herod than the welfare of his subjects. He had no sincere sympathy with them in their religious feelings, their sufferings, or griefs ; and hence they no sooner recovered somewhat from their extreme poverty, than he oppressed them by excessive taxation, that he might obtain means necessary to execute his plans, designed to strengthen and adorn his kingdom. He raised in Jerusalem two great palaces, richly ornamented with gold, marble, cedar, and other precious materials ; and in other places he erected cities and beautiful temples, which he named after his principal friends ; but the greater number were dedicated to Augustus, whom he treated, as if he had chosen him for his god. According to Josephus, not one spot fit for the purpose was left without some species of monument to that mighty prince. The one most noble and, at the same time useful, was the fine city Cesaria, which was erected on the site of the ancient town named Strato's Tower. It stood on the coast of Phenicia, between Joppa and Dora, and had a harbour, which, however, was not safe during the stormy south-west winds. Herod, after the labour of twelve years, made it one of the best harbours and most beautiful city in Palestine. It altogether resembled the first cities of the Romans or Grecians, not only in its buildings, theatres, and temples, but also in the customs and manners of its citizens, for it was the residence of a Roman colony. The proofs of

Herod's munificence by the great works constructed under his direction, and at his expense, were not limited to his own kingdom ; they were beheld in many countries, particularly in many cities which he visited in Italy, Asia Minor, Greece and its islands, and procured him the surname of *Great*. Josephus remarks that " he built places for exercise at Tripoli and Damascus, and Ptolemais ; he built a wall about Byblus as also large rooms, and cloisters, and temples, and market-places at Berytus and Tyre, with theatres at Sidon and Damascus. He also built aqueducts for those Laodiceans who lived by the sea-side ; and for those of Ascalon he built baths and costly fountains, as also cloisters round a court, that were admirable both for their workmanship and largeness. Moreover, he dedicated groves and meadows to some people ; nay, not a few cities there were who had lands of his donation, as if they were parts of his own kingdom. He also bestowed annual revenues, and those forever also, on the settlements, for exercises, and appointed for them, as well as for the people of Cos, that such rewards should never be wanting. He also gave corn to all such as wanted it, and conferred upon Rhodes large sums of money for building ships ; and this he did in many places, and frequently also. And when Apollo's temple had been burnt down, he rebuilt it at his own charges, after a better manner than it was before. What need I speak of the presents he made to the Lycians and Samnians ! or of his great liberality through all Ionia ; and that according to every body's want of them. And are not the Athenians, and Lacedemonians, and Nicopolitans, and that Pergamus which is in Mysia, full of donations that Herod presented them withal ! And as for that large open place belonging to Antioch in Syria, did not he pave it with polished marble, though it were twenty furlongs long ! and this when it was shunned by all men before, because it was full of dirt and filthiness ; when he besides adorned the same place with a cloister of the same length. It is true, a man may say, these were favours peculiar to those particular places on which he bestowed his benefits ; but then what favours he bestowed on the Eleans, were a donation not only in common to all Greece, but to all the habitable earth, as far as the glory of the Olympic games reached ; for when he perceived that they were come to nothing for want of money, and that the only remains of ancient Greece were in a manner gone, he not only became one of the combatants in that return of the fifth year games, which, in his sailing to Rome, he happened to

be present at, but he settled upon them revenues of money for perpetuity, insomuch that his memorial as a combatant there can never fail. It would be an infinite task if I should go over his payments of people's debts, or tributes, for them, as he eased the people of Phasælis, of Batanae, and of the small cities about Cilicia, of those annual pensions they before paid. However, the fear he was in much disturbed the greatness of his soul, lest he should be exposed to envy, or seem to hunt after greater things than he ought, while he bestowed more liberal gifts upon these cities than did their owners themselves."

Herod daily continued to rise in favour with Augustus, who was not only gratified by the compliments which he paid him, but by more substantial tokens of his esteem ; for the politic king of Judea was ever watchful for opportunities to prove the strength of his desire to advance the interests of the sovereign of the world. Accordingly, when Gallus, governor of Egypt was commissioned to lead an army into Arabia Felix, Herod sent him a strong reinforcement, including five hundred of his personal guard. And about the same time he had the pleasure of testifying his respect for the emperor by conferring the highest expressions of regard on his friend Agrippa, who had arrived in Syria, in the character of chief governor. He made himself so acceptable to this great man as to secure his warmest and unalterable friendship. Augustus gave Herod ample evidence of his high esteem for him, by assigning apartments in his own palace for two of his favourite sons, Alexander and Aristobulus, by his adored Mariamne, whom he sent to Rome to be educated, B. C. 22. About the same time he was authorized by the emperor to name the successor to his throne, received for himself the addition of several valuable provinces or districts east of the Jordan, and a tetrarchy, or fourth of a kingdom, for his brother Pheroras.

A few years later, when Augustus visited his Eastern dominions, Herod gave him such a grand reception as induced him not only to disregard the accusations of some of his subjects, who appealed to the imperial tribunal, but also to appoint him one of the Roman procurators of Syria, and overseer of the valuable mines of Cyprus, with half of the produce to himself. Thus favoured, he was enabled to remit one third of the taxes imposed on the nation ; an act of generosity which he felt compelled to perform from the universal disaffection to him, and murmuring against his government,

which he knew prevailed. The conduct of the Jews provoked him the more, when he reflected that no prince of the empire was more honoured than he, by the emperor and his confidential friend Agrippa. Hence he resolved to put down all his enemies. His emissaries dragged some suspected of treason, openly, and others secretly, to prison, and without form of law, put them to death. He issued, at the same time, an edict, expressly forbidding all public and private assemblies, whether on account of feasts, or any other pretence, under the severest penalties. But, as he not only had his spies every where, but sometimes mixed himself among them in disguise, he quickly found all these precautions were like to prove very inefficient to keep the people in obedience. This made him bethink himself of exacting an oath of fidelity from them ; but this new imposition was so strenuously refused by the whole sect of Essenians, and by all the chiefs of the Pharisees, that he was forced to set it aside, without venturing to show any resentment against those that had opposed him in it, for fear of exasperating the whole nation against him. He fell, soon after, upon a much better expedient to quiet them, and, at the same time to satisfy his desire of immortalizing his memory, by the number and magnificence of his buildings. He gave orders for repairing and adorning the temple of God, and to make it larger in compass, and raise it to a most magnificent altitude. " He got ready a thousand waggons, to bring stones for the building, and chose out ten thousand of the most skilful workmen, and bought a thousand sacerdotal garments for as many of the priests, and had some of them taught the arts of stone cutters, and others of carpenters, and then began to build ; but this was not till every thing was well prepared for the work. So Herod took away the old foundations, and laid others, and erected the temple on them, being in length a hundred cubits, and in height twenty additional cubits.

" Now the temple was built of stones that were white and strong, and each of their length was twenty-five cubits, their height was eight, and their breadth about twelve ; the temple had doors and lintels over them of the same height with itself: these were adorned with embroidered veils, with their flowers of purple, and pillars interwoven: and over these, but under the crown-work, was spread out a golden vine with its branches hanging down from a great height, the largeness and fine workmanship of which was a surprising sight to the spectators, to see what vast materials there were

and with what great skill the workmanship was done. He also encompassed the entire temple with very large cloisters, contriving them to be in a due proportion thereto; and he laid out larger sums of money upon them than had been done before him, till it seemed that no one else had so greatly adorned the temple as he had done. There was a large wall to both the cloisters; which wall was itself the most prodigious work that was ever heard of by man. The hill was a rocky ascent, that declined by degrees towards the east parts of the city, till it came to an elevated level. This hill it was which Solomon, who was the first of our kings, by divine revelation, encompassed with a wall; it was of excellent workmanship upwards, and round the top of it. He also built a wall below, beginning at the bottom, which was encompassed by a deep valley; and at the south side he laid rocks together, and bound them one to another with lead, and included some of the inner parts, till it proceeded to a great height, and till both the largeness of the square edifice and its altitude were immense, and till the vastness of the stones in the front were plainly visible on the outside, yet so that the inward parts were fastened together with iron, and preserved the joints immovable for all future times. When this work for the foundation was done in this manner, and joined together as part of the hill itself to the very top of it, he wrought it all into one outward surface, and filled up the hollow places which were about the wall, and made it a level on the external upper surface, and a smooth level also. This hill was walled all round, and, in the midst was the temple, about which were fixed the spoils taken from barbarous nations; all these had been dedicated to the temple by Herod, with the addition of those he had taken from the Arabians." The entire plan of the temple was not, however, completed for many years, and perhaps it never was. Josephus says some parts of it were not constructed till more than half a century after.

That the rebuilding of the temple reconciled the Jews, in a considerable degree, to the government of Herod, may be inferred from the fact, that, while the work proceeded, he sailed to Rome, and spent some time in the society of his noble friend Augustus, who gave him many proofs of his regard, and delivered him his sons, recommending them as worthy of his love and confidence. They accompanied him on his return to his kingdom; and he soon after married Aristobulus to his niece Bernice, the daughter of his sister



Salome, and Alexander to Glaphra, daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia. The favours showed by Augustus and his chief officers, especially Agrippa, to the Jews in the provinces, were, doubtless, viewed by their brethren in Judea as the result of Herod's influence in the Roman court, and must have greatly tended to the popularity of his government. Several striking instances of this are recorded by the Jewish historian. The Jews of Cyrenaica, or Cyrene, and of Asia Minor, persecuted and oppressed chiefly on account of their religion, had appealed to the emperor or Agrippa. The following decrees, sent to the respective provinces, confirmed the privileges which had been granted the Jews by their former Grecian rulers. "Cesar Augustus, high-priest and tribune of the people, ordains thus:—Since the nation of the Jews hath been found grateful to the Roman people, not only at this time, but in time past also, and chiefly Hyrcanus the high-priest, under my father Cesar the emperor, it seemed good to me and my counsellors, according to the sentence and oath of the people of Rome, that the Jews have liberty to make use of their own customs, according to the law of their forefathers, as they made use of them under Hyrcanus the high-priest of Almighty God; and that their sacred money be not touched, but be sent to Jerusalem, and that it be committed to the care of the receivers at Jerusalem; and that they be not obliged to go before any judge on the sabbath-day, nor on the day of the preparation to it, after the ninth hour: but if any one be caught stealing their holy books, or their sacred money, whether it be out of the synagogue or public school, he shall be deemed a sacrilegious person, and his goods shall be brought into the public treasury of the Romans. And I give order, that the testimonial which they have given me, on account of my regard to that piety which I exercise toward all mankind, and out of regard to Caius Marcus Censorinus, together with the present decree, be proposed in that most eminent place which hath been consecrated to me by the community of Asia at Ancyra. And if any one transgress any part of what is above decreed, he shall be severely punished."—This was inscribed upon a pillar in the temple of Cesar.

"Cesar to Norbanus Flaccus, sendeth greeting. Let those Jews, how many soever they be, who have been used, according to their ancient custom, to send their sacred money to Jerusalem, do the same freely." These were the decrees of Cesar.

Agrippa also did himself write after the manner following, on behalf of the Jews:—"Agrippa, to the magistrates, senate, and people of the Ephesians, sendeth greeting. I will that the care and custody of the sacred money that is carried to the temple at Jerusalem be left to the Jews of Asia, to do with it according to their ancient custom; and that such as steal that sacred money of the Jews, and fly to a sanctuary shall be taken thence and delivered to the Jews, by the same law that sacrilegious persons are taken thence. I have also written to Sylvanus the prætor, that no one compel the Jews to come before a judge on the sabbath-day."

"Marcus Agrippa to the magistrates, senate, and people of Cyrene, sendeth greeting. The Jews of Cyrene have interceded with me for the performance of what Augustus sent orders about to Flavius, the then prætor of Lybia, and to the other procurators of that province, that the sacred money may be sent to Jerusalem freely, as hath been their custom from their forefathers, they complaining that they are abused by certain informers, and, under pretence of taxes which were not due, are hindered from sending them; which I command to be restored without any diminution or disturbance given to them: and if any of that sacred money in the cities be taken from their proper receivers, I farther enjoin, that the same be exactly returned to the Jews in that place."

"Caius Norbanus Flaccus, proconsul, to the magistrates of the Sardians, sendeth greeting. Cesar hath written to me, and commanded me not to forbid the Jews, how many soever they be, from assembling together according to the custom of their forefathers; nor from sending their money to Jerusalem: I have therefore written to you, that you may know that both Cesar and I would have you act accordingly."

Nor did Julius Antonius, the proconsul, write otherwise. "To the magistrates, senate, and people of the Ephesians, sendeth greeting. As I was dispensing justice at Ephesus, on the Ides of February, the Jews that dwell in Asia demonstrated to me that Augustus and Agrippa had permitted them to use their own laws and customs, and to offer those their first-fruits which every one of them freely offers to the Deity on account of their piety, and to carry them in a company together to Jerusalem without disturbance. They also petitioned me, that I also would confirm what had been granted by Augustus and Agrippa by my own sanction. I would therefore have you take notice, that, according to the will of

Augustus and Agrippa, I permit them to use and do according to the customs of their forefathers without disturbance."

Probably the last epistle alludes to the advantages procured for the Jews by the direct interposition of Herod with Agrippa on their behalf, about thirteen years before the Christian era. Agrippa at this period was accomplishing his last mission to the East. Herod prevailed on him to visit Judea, and survey the great works which he had finished or was constructing, and designed to perpetuate the fame of Augustus and Agrippa, for the name of the latter was given to some of these works. On this occasion Herod employed every possible device to honour and please his friend. And when he departed for Pontus to quell some alarming commotions, Herod, without any previous intimation, followed him, accompanied with a strong reinforcement, and contributed to the successful termination of Agrippa's labours to restore peace and order in the kingdom of Pontus. They afterwards travelled together through various provinces of Asia. While they rested in Ionia, great multitudes of Jews applied to them for redress of grievances, which they had long endured. The rulers of the cities had prevented them from observing their own religious laws and customs, and even seized the money which they had collected on their holy days, and held sacred for the temple at Jerusalem; and the governors forced them to serve in the army contrary to the privilege of exemption, which, it appears, they had formerly enjoyed. Herod requested Agrippa to investigate their complaints, and ordered his friend Nicolaus, an orator, to advocate their cause. The noble Roman listened to a long oration, and as the Greeks apologised for their treatment of the Jews, only by declaring that while they inhabited their country they acted unjustly not to conform to its religion, he instantly pronounced in their favour, "That, on account of Herod's good-will and friendship, he was ready to grant the Jews whatsoever they should ask him, and that their requests seemed to him in themselves just; and that if they requested any thing farther he should not scruple to grant it them, provided they were no way to the detriment of the Roman government; but that, while their request was no more than this, that what privileges they had already given them might not be abrogated, he confirmed this to them, that they might continue in the observation of their own customs, without any one offering them the least injury; and when he had said thus, he dissolved the assembly: upon

which Herod stood up and saluted him, and gave him thanks for the kind disposition he showed to them. Agrippa also took this in a very obliging manner, and saluted him again, and embraced him in his arms; after which he went away from Lesbos; but the king determined to sail from Samos to his own country; and when he had taken his leave of Agrippa, he pursued his voyage, and landed at Cesarea in a few days' time, as having favourable winds; from whence he went to Jerusalem, and there gathered all the people together to an assembly, not a few being there out of the country also. So he came to them, and gave them a particular account of all his journey, and of the affairs of all the Jews in Asia; how by his means they would live without injurious treatment for the time to come. He also told them of the entire good fortune he had met with, and how he had administered the government, and had not neglected any which was for their advantage: and as he was very joyful, he now remitted to them the fourth part of their taxes for the last year. Accordingly, they were so pleased with his favour and speech to them, that they went their ways with great gladness, and wished the king all manner of happiness.<sup>9</sup>

But Herod's loftiest pretensions of zeal for the religion of the Jews, nor even his most generous and beneficent deeds, could ever win him their confidence and love. His general conduct demonstrated him utterly unworthy of the throne of David; indeed, he appeared destitute of the fear of God and the love of man. This was equally obvious in his private, domestic, and public life. The history of no individual of any rank ever displayed more fearfully than his, the malignancy of the human passions uncontrolled by a sound judgment: and in his family were witnessed the most melancholy results of polygamy. He had ten wives—Josephus makes the number nine—but he plainly omits the second Mariamne, not less celebrated for beauty than the first. She was daughter of Simon, a Jewish priest of Alexandria, on whom Herod conferred the high-priesthood. He had children by seven of his wives. The first was probably Doris, regarded as queen, but repudiated, to give place to the princess Mariamne. Doris was restored when her son Antipater supplanted in the affections of his father his brothers Alexander and Aristobulus, sons of Mariamne, who left also two daughters, Silampsis and Cypros. The other children of Herod, were Herod and Philip, Herod Antipas, and Archelaus and their sister Olympias; Phasælus, Roxana, and Salome. This family,

high in rank, and rich in all the productions and pleasures of this world, experienced the consummation of human woe, chiefly from the selfishness, jealousy, and suspicion of the king, acted on by the ambition, envy, deceit, and malice of his sister Salome. This venomous serpent almost incessantly diffused disease and death to all who came within the limits of her vision. Salome's implacable hatred of the justly admired and generally lamented Mariamne, rekindled in all its fury against her noble sons. In personal aspect, dignified manner, and intelligent conversation, they surpassed all in Herod's court; and their descent from the Asmonean race exceedingly endeared them to the Jews. They were proud, but generous and condescending in society, except to those whom they had been led to regard as the enemies of their mother. Their popularity soon roused the jealousy of their haughty and fierce father; and he too attentively listened to the insinuations and calumnies thrown out against them by Salome and her emissaries. Their elder brother Antipater strongly supported her in all her malicious schemes, plots, and intrigues; and she repaid him by taking every opportunity to recommend him to his father's esteem and confidence. Herod, tormented by suspicions and apprehensions of treacherous designs in his favourite sons, summoned them to answer before Augustus the accusations brought against them, and proceeded with them to Rome. The emperor effected a reconciliation between the wretched king and his unhappy sons. It was, however, only temporary; and no more permanent was that which followed the kind offices of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, the father-in-law of prince Alexander, who, soon after Herod's return from Judea, was compelled, for the sake of his daughter, to attempt allaying the contentions of Herod's family. The plot thickened; and the royal court and nation were divided into parties, which rendered the life of the proud monarch almost intolerable. The storm first fell on Alexander. There were three eunuchs who were in the highest esteem with the king, as was plain by their offices; for one of them was appointed to be his butler, another of them got his supper ready for him, and the third put him into bed, and lay down by him. Now Alexander had prevailed with these men, by large gifts, to let him use them after an obscene manner; which, when it was told to the king, they were tortured, and found guilty, and presently confessed the criminal conversation he had with them. They also discovered the promises by which they were induced so to do, and

how they were deluded by Alexander, who had told them that they ought not to fix their hopes upon Herod, an old man, and one so shameless as to colour his hair, unless they thought that would make him young again; but that they ought to fix their attention to him who was to be his successor in the kingdom, whether he would or not; and who in no long time would avenge himself on his enemies, and make his friends happy and blessed, and themselves in the first place; that the men of power did already pay respects to Alexander privately, and that the captains of the soldiery and the officers did secretly come to him. These confessions did so terrify Herod, that he durst not immediately publish them; but he sent spies abroad privately by night and by day, who should make a close inquiry after all that was done and said; and when any were but suspected of treason, he put them to death, inso-much that the palace was full of horribly unjust proceedings; for every body forged calumnies, as they were themselves in a state of enmity or hatred against others; and many there were who abused the king's bloody passion to the disadvantage of those with whom they had quarrels, and lies were easily believed, and punishments were inflicted sooner than the calumnies were forged. He who had just then been accusing another, was accused himself, and was led away to execution together with him whom he had convicted; for the danger the king was in of his life made examinations be very short. He also proceeded to such a degree of bitterness, that he could not look on any of those that were not accused with a pleasant countenance, but was in the most barbarous disposition towards his own friends. Accordingly, he forbade a great many of them to come to court, and to those whom he had not power to punish actually, he spake harshly; but for Antipater, he insulted Alexander, now he was under his misfortunes, and got a stout company of his kindred together, and raised all sorts of calumny against him; and for the king, he was brought to such a degree of terror by those prodigious slanders and contrivances, that he fancied he saw Alexander coming to him with a drawn sword in his hand. So he caused him to be seized upon immediately and bound, and fell to examining his friends by torture, many of whom died under the rack, but would discover nothing, nor say any thing against their consciences; but some of them, being forced to speak falsely by the pains they endured, said that Alexander, and his brother Aristobulus, plotted against him, and waited for an opportunity to kill him as he was hunting, and then fly

away to Rome. These accusations, though they were of an incredible nature, and only framed upon the great distress they were in, were readily believed by the king, who thought it some comfort to him, after he had bound his son, that it might appear he had not done it unjustly."

The report of these transactions reached the court of Cappadocia, and Archelaus speedily arrived in Jerusalem, and succeeded in appeasing the anger of Herod; and thus was he for the time prevented from murdering his sons. But the deluded and cruel father was incapable of firmness of purpose when exposed to the seductive power of flattery. Eurycles, a Lacedemonian, had gained his ear; he was a complete sycophant, and prepared for every evil work by which he expected to profit. Antipater eagerly accepted his services; and, under the pretence of ardent friendship for Alexander and Aristobulus, he drew from them enough to form a basis on which his inventive subtlety and spurious eloquence raised a mass of plausible evidence that they had resolved to kill their father. He instantly cast them into prison, and sent ambassadors to Augustus requesting to know how he ought to proceed with his rebellious sons. The emperor proposed that they should be tried by a tribunal, consisting of the principal persons of the royal family, and of the governors of Syria and Judea. These were summoned in Cesar's name to meet in Berytus, the modern Beyrout, a seaport of Syria, situated between Seyde or Sidon and Tripoli. None of the chief men of Syria, nor any of Herod's kinsmen, were excluded from this illustrious court, except Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, and the princes who were accused. Their father, contrary to all sense of propriety, enumerated all the crimes which they had committed, or rather which their enemies imputed to them. The Roman officers of highest rank declined to condemn them, but the majority sentenced them to death. No one in Judea, the historian says, supposed that Herod would enforce the sentence; if so, they knew not the savage barbarity of the man. He conveyed them to Tyre, thence by sea to Cesarea, and afterwards removed them to Sebaste, where they were put to death, and their bodies sent to Alexandrium to be interred close by the side of their maternal grandfather, Alexander king of Judea. The murdered princes left families to bewail their dishonourable death. Glaphra had two sons, Tygranes and Alexander; Bernice daughter of Salome, was the wife of Aristobulus, to whom she brought Herod, Agrippa, and Aristobulus, Herodias and Mariamne

These children Herod took under his special protection, which exceedingly displeased his son Antipater, and their aunt the depraved Salome, and they used every artifice to prevent Herod from promoting their interests to the extent which he purposed.

The death of the princes was chiefly ascribed by the Jews to Antipater, and from this time, they utterly abhorred him ; but, conceiving the throne secure to him, he treated them with contempt, and, by the most outrageous acts of injustice and cruelty, sought to repress their indignation by the dread of his vengeance. His mother Doris had been restored to her place as queen. This was offensive to Salome ; hence the domestic strife, contentions, and confusion of Herod's family continued. Antipater, perceiving that his intrigues against his royal father, whose death he eagerly desired, could not escape the vigilant eyes of Salome, contrived to induce his father to send him to Rome. While there, he prosecuted his schemes to remove all who stood in his way to the throne. He had, it is said, seduced his uncle Pheroras to kill his brother, the king, by poison. This was discovered in the course of investigations to ascertain whether Pheroras, who died rather suddenly, had not been poisoned. This discovery was followed by the immediate disgrace of the mother and friends of Antipater ; and the second Mariamne being accused of having known and concealed the conspiracy, the name of her son Herod was erased from the testament or will of the king, who had appointed him heir to the throne after the death of Antipater. Letters of the latter were also produced, which proved that he was plotting to destroy his brothers, Archelaus and Philip, who resided at Rome to complete their education. In consequence of these discoveries, his father, in most affectionate terms, requested him to return home, without informing him of the crimes laid to his charge, lest he should escape the punishment which he merited. He immediately left Rome, but reports of the degraded state of his mother made him suspect that his treacherous deeds were known. He hesitated proceeding through Cilicia, till he received a friendly epistle from his father. Though confounded by the universal silence and want of respect which he met with on landing at Cesaria, yet he advanced to Jerusalem. He was admitted into the palace, but his friends were excluded, and the king repulsed him as a murderer. The next day Antipater was tried before a court of which his father, and Varus, governor of Syria, who was at that time in Jeru-



salem, were presidents. Herod, in a long and impressive speech, accused his son, and Nicolaus laid the evidence of his crime of conspiring against the lives of his father, his two brothers, and his aunt Salome, before the court ; and, by a powerful oration, demanded sentence of death against him. His guilt appeared unquestionable, but Herod declined putting him to death till he had implored the counsel of Augustus. In the meantime, Antipater was committed to prison, bound in chains. The calumnies which he had raised against his brothers, Herod and Philip, had, however, excited suspicion in the mind of their father against them, so that he instantly made a will, which passed them over, and declared Antipas his successor.

The preceding review of Herod's public and private life, which was near its end, may suffice to show that a proud, suspicious, jealous, and revengeful spirit, strongly characterised him, and impelled him to unwearied vigilance to detect and avert whatever appeared in his eyes having the least tendency to undermine his power, or threaten the permanency of the possession of the throne of Judea to him and his natural successors. By consequence, any event indicating even the possibility of the rise of a successful rival, we may be certain, could not fail to stimulate him to adopt any plan, however unrighteous or diabolical, which he imagined expedient or necessary to prevent what he must have deemed the most dreadful catastrophe, the ruin of his race.

Two events, bearing at first sight this aspect, transpired during the period that Herod's prominent passions were raised to their highest degree of vigour by the intrigues, manœuvres, conspiracies, and strifes of his court and family. The result was, that his soul was, on one occasion, so harassed and tormented, that his mind lost its balance, and his conduct and manner resembled a maniac more than a man remarkable for a strong, sound, and determined mind : and though he recovered, his health was irreparably injured, in so much, that his powerful feelings, rather than his mind, regulated his actions. He acted by the impulse of passion, like a wild beast, rather than by the dictates of wise reflection and deliberate consideration. The events to which we allude were the announcements by angels of the immediate appearance of the forerunner of Messiah, and of Messiah himself. The peculiar claims, and the history of these exalted personages, especially of the latter, who stands alone in the annals of the world, would require volumes ; and what we consider

indispensable for our object to say respecting them will form the succeeding chapter. We would advert here to the intimations given from Heaven of their birth, which took place in accordance with the divine predictions of the heavenly messengers, within the last two years of Herod's reign.

That infidel monarch most probably regarded the report of the vision of Zacharias, as nothing more than an incident common to fanatics. He had certainly no reverence, and perhaps no knowledge of the peculiarity of the constitution of the Jewish nation, as ordained by Moses; for he either did not conceive or truly believe that supernatural interposition to punish the Jews when they neglected the laws instituted by their inspired legislator, or signally to favour them when they paid obedience, was to be expected by the Jews while the covenant of Sinai remained in force. This is manifest from his reasoning respecting the extreme sufferings which they endured from famine, pestilence, anarchy, insurrection, and particularly from the earthquakes. These evils he contemplated with the eye and mind of a pagan philosopher. Thus in the earlier part of his reign, he encouraged and animated his troops, by representing all the sufferings of their nation as mere accidents, and their losses in war as nothing more than common occurrences, inseparable from the mutable nature of providence, which ought to excite their hopes of success in the ensuing contest, because the late victory of their enemies would have so elated their spirits, that they would most probably neglect to prepare to make a vigorous resistance. "Fortune," he says, "passes from one side to the other. You were overcome in the last battle, but the victors assuring themselves of continued victory will most probably be defeated in the next combat. This we calculate on from what we have ourselves experienced. A victory has frequently been succeeded by a defeat of our armies. And do not disturb yourselves at the quaking of inanimated creation, nor imagine that this earthquake is a sign of some new calamity; for such affections of the elements are according to the course of nature, and portend nothing future, and concern mankind only to the extent of injury and mischief which they immediately occasion. And if you will be ruled by me, I will myself go before you into danger; for you know this well, that your courage is irresistible, unless by acting rashly you give the enemy an advantage over you." Whoever adopted such sentiments were not likely to attach more importance to the oracles of the Jewish prophets

than to those of the priest of Rome or Athens. And, by consequence, Herod, notwithstanding the usual strength of his suspicions, and violence of his jealousy respecting the actions that had any tendency to obscure the lustre, or threaten the stability of his throne, was not likely to feel much interest in the report that a priest, eminent for piety and integrity, was supposed to have seen a prophetic vision, because he had remained a very unusual time in the holy temple, and come out of it utterly deprived of the power of speech. The recovery of this power was as sudden and unexpected as had been the loss of it, and enough to awaken universal interest to the astonishing predictive discourse which was immediately delivered by Zacharias. This prophecy was peculiarly calculated to alarm the jealous and infidel king ; for it described in the most beautiful and expressive language the advent of the great Heir of David, to fulfil the promises made to ancient Israel, and the moral revolution which the prophet's infant son just circumcised, was to effect preparatory to the royal Prince entering on his triumphant reign. These sayings were noised abroad in all the hill-country of Judea, and those who, from their vicinity to Zacharias' dwelling, knew best the things respecting his child, were filled with fear, perhaps, lest Herod should be roused to pour out his fury on their families and friends. It is altogether uncertain whether the king ever heard of the transactions which had occurred in the retired family of the priest whom God had honoured ; or, if he was informed of them, he may have been at the time too deeply involved in domestic broils to examine into their truth, especially when he reflected that the inhabitants of the higher and thinly peopled lands, south of Jerusalem, were known to be, almost at all times, the most peaceful of his subjects. He may, indeed, on the news reaching him, have regarded the whole as the idle and marvellous tales by which a rural, simple, and ignorant people amuse themselves in their comparative solitude. But he naturally listened with more intense sensations to the information of the birth of Jesus, when it was communicated to him by persons equally remarkable for their intelligence, candour, and impartiality. That the wise men of the East were thus viewed by Herod, will not be questioned. The marvellous story of the shepherds of Bethlehem, which they made known abroad, the king might possibly regard as meriting no more attention than the account of Zacharias' vision. But he perceived at once that the relation of the wise men car-

ried on it the most distinct seal or impression of truth, which its miraculous character could not even render questionable. "Wise men" or magi, was an appellation appropriated to persons eminent for learning and investigation in the objects of nature, particularly the heavenly bodies. Those who came to do homage to the new-born King, on arriving in Judea, appear to have publicly and everywhere made known the object of their journey, and the country whence they came, and importunately requested to be directed where the infant was that they had come to honour. No one, therefore, could imagine, nor does it seem that any one, not even the suspicious Herod, suspected that any collusion existed between them and the infant's friends. Nor, indeed, as far as history instructs us, had their country any connexion, political, commercial, or religious, with Judea. We may not be able to decide what was the particular region called "the East;" various opinions have been entertained by the learned on the subject,—the most probable is that which fixes on Arabia Deserta, which extended east from Judea to the banks of the Euphrates; for this country was commonly named "the East" by the inhabitants of Judea; see Judges vi. 3.; Job i. 3. Natives of its districts were celebrated for their wisdom in ancient times, and, being descendants of the sons of Abraham by Hagar and Keturah, might well be supposed to have preserved traditions respecting the promised son of their great ancestor, who was to bless and be blessed by all nations. Nor is it incredible that they still remembered the prediction of Balaam, one of themselves, of the rise of the star, Jacob, which, in Oriental imagery, denoted a prince or king. That the great men of Arabia possessed much gold and myrrh, and frankincense, and other aromatics, ancient records sufficiently attest.

Now, from this extensive region Herod had nothing to fear in his time; and consequently he had ample reason to credit the simple and undisguised narration of the distinguished personages who announced to him that they had seen a star, whose course they were divinely instructed by a dream to regard as appointed to indicate the residence of a child destined by Heaven to be "*the King of the Jews*," and the Deliverer, Conqueror, and Sovereign of all nations. These words Herod and all Jerusalem with him considered to mean *the Christ*, or the Messiah, whom all the prophets had predicted under the character of universal Conqueror and Sovereign, chosen by God to elevate the Jews to unfading prosperity, and to de-

liver all nations from the ungodliness of idolatry and the oppressions of tyrants. However desirable this news was to the Jews, it was enough to produce in them the most distressing anxiety, and alarming apprehensions, for they could not but perceive that it would most probably rouse all the tormenting, cruel, and sanguinary passions of their king, and that he would, in all probability, inundate the metropolis and country in blood, did he deem this necessary to free himself from dread of the new-born prince. Though their fears may have been more than the case was fitted to excite, yet Herod soon showed that they were natural. For to alleviate his distress, he first ascertained where "the Christ" was to be born. And this being determined by the infallible prediction of Micah, which the interpreters of the law showed him, he next endeavoured to seduce the wise men to return to him as soon as they found the royal child, that he might join them in doing him homage. Being admonished in a supernatural dream, they escaped the snare of the demon-king; and he, to secure his object, instantly ordered all the children of Bethlehem, under two years old, or, as some interpret the words of the sacred writers, all children who had entered their second year, to be slain. From this massacre, the infant Jesus was rescued by the Divine interposition; for his supposed father, Joseph, was enjoined by a Divine dream to depart for Egypt; and he was encouraged to obey by the rich gifts of the wise men, which formed an ample treasure for the support of the family during their exile. This unparalleled barbarity was no greater than might be expected from the king, considering his general conduct, and the occasion of this bloody deed. It had, compared to some of his proceedings, a semblance of compassionate policy; for how often did he punish with death numbers whose lives had no apparent tendency to thwart his purposes or frustrate his schemes of ambition? Insatiable revenge along impelled him to many bloody deeds, while his daring attempt to obstruct the designs of the Almighty was the fruit of ambition, and regulated by worldly wisdom. On the supposition that Josephus thus contemplated the slaughter of the children of Bethlehem, one is not much surprised that he has not specified it among the unjust and cruel acts of Herod the Great; for the political motive may have appeared to him a most plausible apology for the dreadful edict. But the passing over this event entirely harmonises with the purpose and plan of the Jewish historian in writing the history of his nation, which obviously was to mention nothing that

he had reason to think might exceedingly displease either the Romans or the Jews who were enemies to Christianity. He has made no satisfactory statements in relation to Christianity; indeed, some insist that the trivial allusions to it in his works are interpolations; and that he carefully avoided mentioning the facts concerning the Christ and his followers, the certainty of which the future state of the world demonstrates, because they would have rendered his works unpopular. Supremely ambitious, as he evidently was, of the praise of man more than the approbation of God, he had sufficient to satisfy him that it was not expedient to refer to Herod's savage decree against the infants of Bethlehem, for how could he notice it without announcing the confident hope entertained by the Jews, that their Messiah was to claim and acquire the sovereignty of the world? What sentiment could more provoke the indignation of the Romans against the Jews? Nor was any thing less agreeable to the Jews than to be reminded that wise men, directly instructed and admonished by God, had declared to Herod and the Jews of his age that Jesus, whom their fathers had crucified, was "The King of the Jews," and that as such the divinely taught men had worshipped him, and presented to him the most precious gifts. Their commission may be regarded as a remarkable proof of the Divine goodness and long-suffering of God towards the Jews, and especially towards Herod. The unexceptionableness and plainness of their testimony rendered his unbelief in the Christ inexcusable, and exceedingly augmented the guilt of his conduct in persecuting him, and killing the innocent infants of Bethlehem. If Herod's character be considered, what witnesses were more likely to command his attention and confidence. The testimony of the pious Zacharias and the devout shepherds might be despised as the mere delusion of superstitious men; but that of the wise men was peculiarly adapted to reach conviction to his mind, although perverted by infidelity and the scepticism of pagan philosophy.

While Herod's last days were embittered by the most dreadful and agonizing domestic evils, and by the assured testimony that the legitimate King of the Jews was already born, his wretchedness was greatly increased by decided indications of the unconquerable antipathy of the Jews to his person and government, from which it was manifest that the chief object for which he had lived,—the permanency of his throne,—was as remote and uncertain as it was when he ascended it. What then had he to alleviate the remorse which must have

harrowed up his soul on the least recollection of the many awful and guilty crimes which he had committed to preserve his crown? In his seventieth year he was attacked by a disease, in its nature incurable, and most hideous and terrific in its aspect. No sooner was this noised abroad than the patriots of the nation conceived that the time was arrived to avenge themselves on their enemies, and to restore their constitution and lands. Long had they groaned under his tyranny, and viewed with indignation his deliberate and continued violations of all that they deemed sacred, and contempt for almost all that they considered the glory of their race. They had long deplored his servility to Augustus and predilection for the paganism of Rome and Greece; and, probably, the extraordinary proof of both which he gave at the dedication of Cesarea, about six years before his death, had fixed the determination of some of the most zealous Jews, to take his life, at whatever risk. Cesarea was a more complete and splendid imitation of the first cities of the Romans and Grecians than any other of the numerous structures raised by Herod to the honour of Augustus, the empress, and Agrippa. Among its many fine buildings of white stone, one of the largest and most beautiful was a temple to the emperor, in which was fixed a statue of him, resembling in size and figure that of Jupiter Olympus, in Rome. The dedication to his honour was performed with the greatest degree of pagan solemnity and splendour. It had been proclaimed in all the adjacent kingdoms, and was, of course, witnessed by an innumerable multitude of all ranks. The varied games of Greece and Rome were exhibited on a grand scale, at an immense expense. Romans of the highest rank were present, and many dignified persons of other nations. The king entertained these with great magnificence and profusion. That the scene might contribute to the celebrity of the emperor, the empress presented Herod with five hundred talents. He, on this occasion, decreed the observance of the pagan games, in Cesarea, every fifth year.

Herod was accused by the Jews of having desecrated the sepulchre of David, their most illustrious and beloved king, to procure supplies to meet his vast expenditure,—an act not less offensive in their eyes than the introduction of pagan customs. Whether he was guilty of this deed or not, has been disputed. Hyrcanus, who had set him an example, procured, it is said, three thousand talents of silver, and left much behind. But Herod was less successful; for, after a

strict search, in the night season, when he had reached the bodies of David and Solomon, he was compelled to retire, from flames which broke out, and consumed two of his guards. This terrible phenomenon, Josephus says, was publicly acknowledged by the king, for he raised a very rich propitiatory monument at the entrance to the sepulchre. Whatever truth may be in this anecdote, it derives probability from the fact, that the sepulchre of David being most sacred in the eyes of the Jews, was a most fit place in which to deposit articles of value.

The most popular deed of Herod, the building of the temple, was vile in the eyes of the Jewish patriots, from his presumption in placing an immense and admirably formed golden eagle above the gate of the holy edifice. They had always looked on this object with extreme disgust; and so impatient were they to destroy it, that on hearing a vague report one day that the king had expired, a considerable number hurried to the gate, and commenced the work of destruction. The spoliation was quickly arrested by the soldiers, led on by the chief captain of the army, who conceived that the chief actors were at the head of a general insurrection; but it was soon ascertained they consisted of only about forty religious students, under the direction of their teachers, Matthias the chief priest, and Judas son of Sepphoris, the two most renowned teachers in the nation. This band alone resolutely persevered in removing from the temple every thing allied to Paganism, and boldly avowed that they were doing nothing more than they had for a long period purposed; and that they feared neither the anger nor the power of the king, for they knew that their acts were well-pleasing to God. They were instantly all seized, and conducted to the king. Feeble as he was, the insult seemed to re-invigorate his frame. He ordered them to be sent in chains to Jericho, and followed them in a carriage. Having assembled the principal Jews, he addressed them in an oration designed to expose their ingratitude for the unparalleled generosity he had showed them during the whole of his reign, and the uncommon baseness and profaneness of their conduct in having, in open day, not only attempted to degrade him during his life, but also dishonoured God, to whom he had consecrated the golden eagle. Though he could not convince them that it was a crime to remove any idolatrous symbol from the temple, yet he was able to punish those accused of the deed. They were all burnt alive, and Joazar,



the brother of Matthias, was appointed his successor in the high-priest's office. The last acts recorded of Herod forcibly attested that his predominant passions were strong in death. His disease increased in loathsomeness and pain, so as to become intolerable, but inefficient to repress his resentment, or even his love of fame. He summoned all the Jewish chiefs to assemble at Jericho, and commanded his sister Salome, and Alexas her husband, to confine them in the circus, and massacre them as soon as he was dead; an event which he would have hastened, for he employed a knife, which he procured to cut an apple, to take his own life. This was happily prevented by a relative present, whose loud cries alarmed the whole court. The report that he was dead reaching Antipater in prison, he openly expressed the joy which he felt. This was made known to the king, who immediately ordered him to be put to death. He followed his son in five days, but not before he had made another and final correction of his will, by which he left the throne to his son Archelaus; the tetrarchy of Galilee and Peræa to Antipas, whom he had lately declared his heir; the tetrarchy of Trachonitis, Gaulon, Batanea, and Panias, to Philip; and the cities of Jamnia, Azotus, and Phasaelis, to Salome, with fifty thousand pieces of money. He testified his lasting esteem for his chief friends, especially the emperor and empress, by large legacies.

Alexas and Salome, who had carefully concealed the sanguinary order given them respecting the principal Jews, immediately on the death of Herod liberated them, and requested them and the officers of the army to meet them in the amphitheatre of Jericho. They read to the assembly a letter, said to have been left by their sovereign, in which he thanked them for their fidelity and services, and entreated them to discover similar attachment to his successor, Archelaus. Ptolemy, keeper of the royal seal, read, at the same time, the late king's testament, which was found to contain a clause, declaring it of no use till ratified by Cesar. The audience, however, having no doubt that Augustus would confirm the will, at once exclaimed, "Long live king Archelaus." After having honoured his father by a most splendid funeral, Archelaus appeared before an assembly of the people near the temple, and announced his purpose not to adopt the title of king, nor to use the diadem until authorised by the emperor; when, should he be placed on the throne, the chief object of his reign would be to promote the peace and pro

perity of all ranks, more than his father had done. He was hailed with the loudest praise, and gratified the Jews by graciously complying with several of their requests, such as the diminution of taxation, and the release of prisoners. But this day of rejoicing was scarcely ended, when it became evident that many had no confidence in his royal promises. Multitudes assembled and demanded that Joazar, lately appointed high-priest, should be deposed, and those who put to death Matthias, Judas, and their associates, punished. The master of the horse was sent to appease them, by pleading that Archelaus could not exercise the functions of government before he obtained the sanction of the emperor. They refused to listen to his arguments, and he was glad to escape from their fury. The city assumed a still more alarming aspect on the arrival of great numbers to observe the passover. Archelaus gave orders to the troops to keep the peace of the city. Almost all these fell a sacrifice to the rage of what Josephus calls "the innumerable multitude," whom their presence provoked, because they unnecessarily interfered with them while engaged only in preparations for the sacred solemnities of the season. In consequence of this bloody tumult, the whole army entered the city, and not less than three thousand were slain, and the remainder compelled to seek safety in the adjacent mountains; after which, all strangers were commanded to return to their homes, so that the observance of the passover was interrupted. As soon as the city enjoyed a degree of tranquillity, Archelaus committed the government of the kingdom to his brother Philip, and proceeded to Rome, A.D. 3, accompanied by a few friends, and his aunt Salome, with her sons, and his brother Antipas. He, however, appears to have been not more esteemed by his own kindred than by the Jewish people, and accordingly those of them who left Judea with him under pretence of zeal for his cause, were his first accusers before Augustus and his court. His cousin Antipater, one of the sons of Salome, was possessed of considerable oratorical powers. These he employed to show that Archelaus had at once imposed on his father, and, by violating his last will, had dishonoured Cesar. Antipas, he said, had obviously the best claims to the crown, for he was named by his father in the testament which he made while his mind was capable of forming a correct judgment. It was not till the last days of his life, when he was in extreme torture, that the name of Archelaus was inserted. His father, most certainly, would

never have thought of him, had he not deceived him by pretending great sympathy with him in his sufferings, although he plainly rejoiced in the prospect of his speedy departure; for he passed his nights in scenes of licentious pleasures and riotous mirth. Nor was Herod sooner dead than he assumed all the authority of an independent sovereign, and cruelly murdered thousands who questioned his claims, which were of no force before the will of the emperor was known. Damascena, the advocate for Archelaus, ably repelled the objections of his opponents, except that founded on the levity, inhumanity, and cruelty of his conduct. These qualities prevented not Augustus from consoling him, when he implored his mercy by casting himself at his feet; but they certainly sufficiently account for the universal dislike of him entertained by the Jews. Besides the extreme depravity of his character, most probably his descent rendered him peculiarly hateful in their sight. Not a drop of Jewish blood flowed in his veins; his mother was a Samaritan, than whom no race were more detested by the Jews. How natural was it then for Joseph, on returning from Egypt with his wife and the child Jesus, to dread a residence in any dominions governed by Archelaus; as the evangelist informs us, when Joseph heard that "Archelaus did reign in Judea, in the room of his father Herod, he was afraid to go thither; notwithstanding, being warned of God in a dream, he turned aside into the parts of Galilee: and he came and dwelt in a city called Nazareth; that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophets, He shall be called a Nazarene."

Archelaus would have been most probably confirmed the successor of his father by Augustus, had not the Jews appealed against him. A number of melancholy events, which came to pass in Judea during the period in which Archelaus prosecuted his claims at Rome, fully convinced the most intelligent and most peaceful of the Jews that the nation would never enjoy rest under his government, nor in all probability under the sceptre of any one who belonged not to the family of David.

Sabinus, who was appointed to manage the affairs of Syria, in which the emperor was personally interested, proceeded to Jerusalem, after Archelaus had sailed for Rome, contrary to the agreement which he had entered into with Varus, the Roman president of Syria, and demanded possession of all the legacies assigned by Herod to the emperor. Previously to his arrival, a general insurrection had been suppressed by

Varus; and he, on returning to Antioch, had left a Roman legion to preserve the peace of the capital. These Sabinus rashly employed in the time of pentecost to attempt the capture of the strong places, and the treasures of the family of Herod. He even forced his way into the treasury of the temple, and robbed it of four hundred talents, while the soldiers seized many things most valuable. The vast multitude assembled in the city, exceedingly indignant, divided themselves into three companies, and surrounded the Romans, who took refuge in the hippodrome, and on the north and east sides of the temple, and impatiently waited for a reinforcement from Varus, from whom Sabinus had urgently implored aid. In the fierce contest which ensued, many of both parties perished, and the buildings belonging to the temple were much injured by a conflagration raised by the Romans. The army of Archelaus took different sides on this occasion; several thousands of them joined the Jews. The Romans, however, appear to have been able to maintain their position till relieved by Varus, who was induced, from the general disturbed state of Judea, to invade it with a large army.

"At this time," Josephus remarks, "there were ten thousand other disorders in Judea, which resembled tumults, for many armed either from hope of spoil, or enmity to the Jews, appeared in different places, and seized or destroyed whatever came in their course. Two thousand of the veterans, whom Herod had dismissed, also assembled and attacked the army of his son, commanded by his cousin Achiabus, and forced them to flee to the mountains. Ezekias, a leader of banditti, whom Herod had, with difficulty, taken and slain, left a son, Judas, who trode in his steps. He collected a number of men, utterly depraved, and captured the palace of Sapphoris, in Galilee. Having procured here money and weapons of war, he assumed the dignity of sovereign, but he pursued the destructive course of a leader of plunderers and murderers, who, like so many beasts of prey, spread desolation everywhere, without respect to persons or places. A slave of the late king, distinguished above his class by the beauty of his person, vigour of frame, and mental capacity, acquired more power than Judas. He had been intrusted by his master with important services, and now aspired to the sovereignty of the kingdom. Having gathered around him a multitude, he put on the diadem, and was proclaimed king of Judea. He attacked, spoiled, and burnt the palace

of Jericho, and several other royal seats. After committing great devastation, he was overcome and put to death by Gratus at the head of a Roman band. Athrongas, a shepherd, known only by bodily strength, assisted by four brothers, presumed in like manner to take the title of king. He and his brothers procured numerous followers, and preyed on the country for a considerable time. They repeatedly defeated the Romans and the royal army, and were the terror of the whole land, till some time after the return of Archelaus, who succeeded in slaying the shepherd, when his only surviving brother submitted, on being assured upon oath that his life would be spared.

Such was the wretched state of Judea when Varus proceeded to subdue the revolt. He led two legions, with a number of soldiers supplied by the neighbouring provinces, especially by Aretus, king of Patræa, who hated the family of Herod. Varus sent a division of his troops under his son, to reduce Galilee. This army overcame all opposition, captured the fine city of Sephoris, and set it on fire, by which it was completely ruined; all the inhabitants were sold into slavery. The division commanded by Varus passed peacefully through Samaria, because the inhabitants were not implicated in the revolt. On their way to Jerusalem, the Roman army destroyed several towns and villages. His appearance at the capital alarmed the Jews who besieged Sabinus. They suffered him to escape, and admitted Varus into the city. He readily received the apology of the Jews for their treatment of Sabinus; but he ordered his soldiers to search the city, and every part of the kingdom, for all who were known to have been the chief agents of the recent commotions. More than two thousand were seized, and put to death by crucifixion. From Jerusalem, he advanced into Idumea, where an army of ten thousand were still in arms for the recovery of the liberty of the kingdom. They soon submitted, and were pardoned, except their captains, who were sent prisoners to Rome. None of them, however, were punished with death, except a few who were related to the family of Herod.

Varus having restored peace to Judea, left a legion in Jerusalem, disbanded his army, and returned to Antioch. The Jews, however, were not by these events prepared to receive Archelaus for their king, nor was the exaltation of that prince desired by Varus. Hence, with his approbation, an embassy, consisting of not fewer than fifty of the chief men, was commissioned to request Augustus to take Judea under

his immediate protection, and constitute it a Roman province. On their arrival in Rome, eight thousand Jews residing in that city joined them in their petition and appeal to the emperor. In their oration in his presence, they enumerated the many sufferings which resulted from the tyrannical and oppressive government of Herod, and the reasons which satisfied them that they could expect no relief from Archelaus. They therefore humbly supplicated his majesty Augustus to place their nation under the government of the Roman president of Syria, and assured him that, by granting their request, he would at once gratify the Jews every where, and find them loyal and peaceful subjects. The result of their appeal was known about four days after it was made, and strongly indicated the regard which Augustus entertained for the memory of Herod ; for though it was manifest that he had no great confidence in Archelaus, yet he resolved to put it in his power to obtain the object of his ambition. He accordingly constituted him ruler of the Jews, with the title of ethnarch, which denotes governor of a nation, and pledged his word to make him king, should he prove himself worthy of that dignity. The country committed to him comprised Judea Proper, Samaria, Idumea, Cesarea, and Joppa, which afforded the annual revenue of about six hundred talents. Herod Antipas was made tetrarch of the greater part of Galilee and some districts east of the Jordan, from which, Josephus says, he derived two hundred talents yearly. About half that income was received by Herod Philip, who was made tetrarch of a small part of Galilee, Batanea, Trachonitis, and Aulonitis. Salome received, in addition to the possessions assigned her by her brother Herod, the city of Ascalon, and a large sum of money ; her annual income was estimated at sixty talents. To the unmarried daughters of Herod, besides the portions left them, Augustus presented them with all the legacies which were allotted him, except trifling memorials of his friend, and gave them in marriage to the sons of their uncle Pheroras.

During the almost total disorganization of the Jewish nation, an incident occurred strikingly illustrative of the intense solicitude for the prosperity and permanence of their native kingdom, which every where distinguished the Jews. The only sons of Herod, whom they perhaps sincerely esteemed, for the sake of their mother Mariamne, were Alexander and Aristobulus, who were murdered by their infidel father. A Jew named Simon, residing in Sidon, was accounted almost

a perfect likeness of Alexander. Taking advantage of this popular opinion, he caused it to be disseminated that he was indeed that prince, and that he and his brother had been preserved by the dexterity of a faithful friend, who had substituted in their place two other persons. He was assisted in his imposture by a young man who had belonged to Herod's household, or had acquired by some means an accurate knowledge of the persons, manners, and intrigues of that monarch's court. Thus prepared, Simon presented himself to the numerous Jews in the island of Crete, as the legitimate heir to the crown of Judea, and succeeded in receiving from them large sums of money. He was equally fortunate in the island of Melos, the modern Milo, in the Grecian archipelago, and became confident that he had only to present himself at Rome to obtain the public acknowledgment of his claims by Augustus. He was cordially received by the Jews at Puteoli, and received from them most valuable gifts. His arrival was soon known at Rome, and the whole multitude of Jews came out to receive him. He was carried in state into the city by many Jews, who had accompanied him from Melos. The emperor summoned him into his presence, and instantly detected the imposture, for he recollected distinctly all the features of the prince Alexander. In public the impostor justified his claims by plausible arguments, and asserted that he left his brother for safety at Cyprus ; but, on the promise of life, he confessed in private to Augustus the imposition, by which he had received more presents in every city which he had visited, than Alexander had in his whole life. His story amused the emperor, who, on account of his vigorous frame, made him one of the rowers of his royal galleys.

Archelaus returned to Judea, and reigned in peace a few years ; but his government was most tyrannical and oppressive, and at length became so intolerable, that the principal persons in Judea and Samaria petitioned Augustus to depose him. Their complaints being found just by the agent commissioned by the emperor to investigate the state of his dominions, he was immediately carried to Rome. His cause was calmly examined before the royal tribunal. He was sentenced in the tenth year of his reign, to exile in the city of Vienne in Gaul, his personal property confiscated, his kingdom reduced to a province of the empire, and put under the care of Quirinus, or Cyrenius, governor of Syria. He was the first Roman who had levied tribute or taxation on Judea ; for though

it appears to have been the custom of Augustus to order a register to be taken of its inhabitants, as well as of all those belonging to the empire, yet he interfered not with the management of its administration before it was constituted a Roman province. By attending to this distinction, we see that there can be no real difficulty in Luke ii. 1, 2. Augustus decreed a register or enrolment of all his subjects repeatedly during his reign, including those belonging to tributary kingdoms as well as those in the provinces, but the latter only were taxed by Roman officers. What Luke calls the taxing of Judea properly denotes the general register, which was made in the year that Jesus, the son of Mary, was born, but it had no immediate effect on the interests of Judea, till Cyrenius, b. c. 8. doubtless regulated by the existing register, imposed the first Roman tax on the Jewish nation. Cyrenius committed the provincial government of the Jews to Coponius, master of the horse, an officer next in rank to that of the president, or chief governor of the large provinces of the empire.

From this time the peculiar constitution, commonly named the theocracy, established by Moses, was utterly subverted; and the attainment of the object for which the race of Abraham by Isaac were specially chosen, and separated from the nations, became wholly impracticable. By consequence, it is manifest that, if the true religion was to be maintained in the world, the introduction of a new divine institution was indispensable. As a Roman province, the Romans claimed the exclusive superiority over Judea; they were now the only acknowledged lords of the soil, the disposers of the lives and property of its inhabitants, and the supreme civil legislators. They manifestly assumed the place of Jehovah, who, in a peculiar sense was, by the constitution of Moses, declared the sole proprietor of the land, which was therefore called holy; and its visible chief rulers were regarded merely as his deputies. The Romans permitted the Jews, like all other nations subjected to their dominion, to observe their religious ceremonies and customs; but they allowed them no power in the political, civil, or even moral government; they were completely deprived of power over the lives and property of the community. In every thing, religious rites and customs excepted, the community were governed by Roman laws. The observance of the covenant of Sinai was therefore rendered impossible, and the form of the true religion, as prescribed by Moses, could be no longer exemplified. Thus, for example,



however great the abhorrence of idolatry entertained by the Jews, they had no physical power to arrest its progress, for they were not at liberty to punish the idolators with death or exile. It was an act of policy and apparent condescension in the Romans to allow the Jews to keep their temple, synagogues, and houses clear of the symbols of idol-worship; but they had no license to touch the persons who worshipped idols, or to enter their houses to remove or destroy their idols.

The Jewish teachers might declaim against the advocates or observers of idolatrous rites, diviners, drunkards, children who disobeyed, reviled, or cursed their parents, and the violators of the precepts respecting the seventh day or sabbath, and festival days; but they were compelled to leave the Gentiles to be judged by the Romans, whose judgment of such crimes was far from the sentence denounced by Moses. The Divine justice in regard to these and many other transgressions ceased to be more distinctly or impressively exhibited in Judea than in heathen lands; and the Jews ceased by their national government to proclaim to the surrounding nations, that Jehovah was the supreme, and holy, and just God; the One, only Living, and True God.

That they had deliberately and resolutely renounced their Divine government by their practice, long before Providence deprived them of power to observe it, the facts recorded in the preceding pages, strongly attest. They had altogether separated religion from morals. While enthusiastically zealous for the ritual of religion, they were, as a nation, inexpressibly demoralized. A more lawless race were scarcely to be seen on the face of the earth. This is plain from the universal anarchy, confusion, and wickedness, which Josephus and other profane historians declare to have prevailed in the kingdom of Judea, from the time of the death of Herod the Great, till the final dispersion of the Jews. And thus testimony illustrates and corroborates the more certain statements in the New Testament, which portrays the Jews in the age of our Lord and his apostles, as more degenerate than any former generation of their race.

And now most hopeless was their condition. The apparatus by which their fathers had been again and again reclaimed had fallen to pieces. No signs of the presence of their heavenly King were visible, at least none indicating his purpose or desire to deliver them from foreign dominion, and to restore them to their original rank in the nations. Prophets

enjoining them to observe the laws of Moses, and encouraging them to obey, by assurances of the Divine protection and assistance, had not appeared, as far as we know, for several generations. No heroes, animated by the spirit of Joshua, Caleb, and other holy patriots, or conformed to the institutions and laws of Moses, rose among them. Every thing announced that the time was past when the Messiah had come, if God had not ceased to be faithful, for he had distinctly announced that the great Heir of the throne of Judea would appear before the superiority and legislative dignity should pass from the tribe of Judah: "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come, and to him shall the gathering of the people be." This prediction the ancient Jews decidedly appropriated to Messiah, as Christians have uniformly done; and that to no other prince of Judah can it be applied, might be easily shown, but we are indisposed to enter on controversial subjects. The *people*, or more properly, the *peoples*, denote in the Hebrew language all nations who were not of the race of Abraham. Now these never gathered or assembled under any prince of Judah. Many were subdued by David, Judah's mightiest king; but few voluntarily submitted to him. And though the Jews, as a nation, have had no sceptre or lawgiver for more than eighteen hundred years, the peoples have never had a prince of the family of David, except Jesus of Nazareth, to assemble around.

From the days of Abraham to the deposition of Archelaus, Judah was never completely destitute of persons to enforce, when God pleased, either by *physical or miraculous power*, the laws of Moses. The Jews had always rulers invested with Supreme power, or prophets endowed with miraculous power, to vindicate the Divine claims of the constitution and laws of Moses. They enjoyed the latter all the period of their captivity in Babylon; none such has, however, risen among them since their kingdom was constituted a Roman province. John the Baptist was greater than all the prophets, inasmuch as he announced that the Messiah was to come, not to restore the constitution of Moses, but to introduce a new kingdom, whose subjects were required to worship God in spirit and truth, and prove their reconciliation in heart to God and his Messiah, by good works. Jesus of Nazareth was a man more mighty in word and deed, and evidently endowed with the excellencies peculiar to Deity. He, however, approved of the Baptist's message, and confessed himself the

Messiah sent to establish a religious constitution among the Jews, surpassing far in its nature and tendency the purity and happiness which characterised that established by Moses. As to the princes of the Herodean family, who ruled over the dominions of Herod, none of them presumed to prefer the interests of the Jews to those of Cesar.

Herod Antipas, Herod Philip, and Salome, were not deprived of their respective divisions of Herod's dominions at the time when the division of Archelaus was made a Roman province. Neither of these discovered any zeal for the institutions of Moses; nor had they any right to interfere in the civil government of Judea, or the ecclesiastical arrangement of the Jewish worship. Salome appears to have died in the same year as Augustus, and by will left her property and treasures to the Roman empress. Herod Philip was, according to Josephus, the most virtuous of his race. He governed his tetrarchy about thirty-seven years, and died A. D. 34, if not in the preceding year, ever memorable for the crucifixion of Jesus, the Christ, the Saviour of the world. Philip employed his time in the conscientious discharge of his office; he resided constantly in his district, and at stated times visited every part of it, dispensing justice to all ranks. He was remarkable for his unambitious views and love of peace. Bethsaida, a village, near the confluence of the Jordan with the lake of Galilee or Tiberias, was raised by him to the rank of a city, and named Julias, in honour of the infamous daughter of Augustus. He also erected a fine city at the springs of the Jordan, and called it Cesaria Philippi, in honour of the inhuman emperor, Tiberius. These places and their districts were rendered illustrious by the ministrations of John the Baptist, and the Lord Jesus Christ. The tetrarchy of Philip was, at his death, united with the Roman province of Judea. The greatest insult which one man can inflict on another, Philip received from his brother Herod Antipas. The former had married Herodias, daughter of his late brother Aristobulus; she was easily prevailed on to desert her husband, who was also her uncle, on condition that Antipas should divorce his own wife, who was a daughter of Aretus, king of Petræa. This princess, on discovering the infidelity of her husband, fled to her father, and persuaded him, in revenge for the dishonour done her, to make war on Herod Antipas. This war was most disastrous to the latter who was forced to apply to the Romans for aid. The Roman governor, who was little disposed to offend the Jews of Judea, declined, on the earnest en

treaty of their chief men, from passing through their country, lest the sight of the idolatrous ensigns of his army should excite an insurrection. He accordingly, after approaching Judea, sent his troops back to Antioch, and left Herod Antipas to contend as he was able with the Arabians, and proceeded with Herod and other friends to Jerusalem, where they offered sacrifices to God, and received strong expressions of the friendship of the Jews.

Herodias laid a snare doubtless much more destructive than this war, of his personal happiness, and which was demonstrative of the extreme depravity and malignity of her character. We refer to the schemes by which she induced her seducer to imprison and murder the Precursor of Messiah. This fearful deed was committed a considerable time before the visit of Antipas to Jerusalem, noticed in the preceding paragraph, and most probably accounts for the extraordinary respect which was shown him in that city. The most popular sects, the Pharisees and Saducees, joined at first in the universal applause with which the Baptist was hailed when he began his ministry. But the leaders continued not long his admirers, for he spoke no good of them. Being envious of his popularity, his disgrace, doubtless, was gratifying to their malice; and they would be especially inclined to express the satisfaction which they felt that Herod had cut off him whom they deemed their enemy and rival; for he was, perhaps, the last whom they could have expected to perform this, to them, desirable deed. He appears to have been much esteemed and favoured by the emperor Tiberias, to whom he was personally known, and whose fame he had laboured to perpetuate. At the extremity of the lake Genesareth, or Galilee, opposite Bethsaida, he erected a noble city, which he named Tiberias, which soon gave name to the lake. He found some persons of respectability willing to reside in it, as well as many foreigners. Knowing that its site was deemed unclean by the Jews, because it had been occupied by numerous sepulchres, he was compelled to confer peculiar privileges on the city to reconcile numbers to people it. He built good houses for the poor, and for slaves, whose freedom he granted and procured, and bestowed on them land in the vicinity. One of its attractions were the warm baths of Emmaus, a village situated near it. As a friend and admirer of the Romans, Herod was, of course, exceedingly disliked by the sectarians, who abhorred all connexion with idolaters, or with those who had taken from them their national liberty. But he had still

more offended them by the countenance he had given to the ministry of the Baptist. He had not only permitted him to preach in his dominions, but listened with deep interest to his discourses, and conformed, in many things, to his salutary instructions: "he had done many things, and heard John gladly," till that faithful reformer urged him to prove that his repentance was genuine, by putting away Herodias, his brother's wife. This act of self-denial he had neither inclination nor firmness of purpose to practice; and the strong remonstrances and denunciations of his anger roused his indignation so, that instead of hearing him gladly he cast him into prison. He, probably, was impelled to this unrighteous deed to please Herodias, who hated and eagerly sought the destruction of the faithful monitor. And this she at length accomplished on the birth-day of Herod, who, rather than expose himself to the ridicule or scorn of persons of rank, rashly murdered the innocent and holy prophet. The narrative of his foolish, wicked, and inexcusable treatment of John is related with inimitable simplicity and energy by the Evangelist Mark vi. 14—29. Josephus alludes to the same subject, and remarks, that the Jews regarded Herod's sufferings from his war with Arabia, as a judgment inflicted on him for the murder of John, whom he calls "a righteous man."

From a false estimation of the favour and praise of man, Herod Antipas unhappily sacrificed peace of conscience and the approbation of God. Without desiring to recover the latter, he very soon lost also the former, and this he did by compliance with the unwise advice of her whose fascinating influence over him appears to have hurried him on in a course of wickedness, and vanity, and pleasure, utterly destructive of his present as well as future happiness.

At the time that he and Vitellus, the proconsul or president of Syria were in Jerusalem, they received the news of the death of Tiberius, who was succeeded by Caius Caligula. This new emperor, among his first acts, put Agrippa, son of Aristobulus, one of the sons of Herod the Great, in possession of the tetrarchy of the late Herod Philip, with the addition of several other districts, and the title of king. On this title being given her brother, while her husband was only tetrarch, Herodias felt intolerably mortified. Antipas yielded to her entreaties to apply in person to the emperor for the dignity of king. He went to Rome, and, on presenting himself before the emperor, he was confounded on being accused of having joined the conspiracy of Sejanus, principa/

minister of the late emperor. On failing to vindicate himself, he was deposed and exiled to Lyons, in Gaul. Herodias, contrary to the requests of the emperor and of Agrippa, preferred accompanying her husband, who, after being tetrarch more than forty years, died in banishment. His dominions and treasures were bestowed on his nephew and accuser, Agrippa, about A. D. 40.

The political state of Galilee, and the character of its principal rulers, from the birth of John the Baptist and Jesus Christ, till the time of Herod Agrippa, may be considered sufficient evidence that this country was peculiarly favourable for their ministry. The inhabitants enjoyed comparative tranquillity ; the government discovered no zeal to maintain the religion of the Jews, and its servants were unconnected with the leaders of the chief sects of the Jews, who dreaded any innovation in the religion which they had received from their predecessors. Indeed, the Galileans were remarkable for their indifference to religion in any of its forms, and were on this account reviled by the Pharisees, and were in general regarded by all religious persons as infidels, idolaters, and profligates. Not a few pagans had been encouraged by the governments to reside in Galilee, especially in the division belonging to Antipas. Thus the heavenly teachers were not only permitted to promulgate Divine truth, with little interruption, but that truth was probably widely disseminated by the foreigners who heard it, either on their revisiting their native countries, or by correspondence with their distant friends.

Nor was the state of Judea during this period, especially the latter part of it, very unfavourable to the announcement of the gospel ; particularly as to the publicity of the truths concerning the new empire, which the Divine ambassadors were commissioned to proclaim as about to appear. The sovereign of this empire was portrayed by the Jewish prophets as infinitely surpassing all other princes and conquerors, in every excellence, claiming either reverence, esteem, confidence, or obedience. The writings of the prophets were regarded by the Jews as inspired ; and by consequence they all firmly believed that the predicted King would appear in the character of the great successor of Moses, their wise legislator, and as the proper Heir of David, their mightiest king. Nay more, they are known to have expected him about the very time that John the son of Zacharias, proclaimed his immediate approach. And we have seen that at no former pe-

riod in their history had the Jews more reason to entreat Heaven to perform the promises to their fathers by sending them the Prince of the house of David, who was destined to deliver his people and subdue and govern all nations. How eagerly must they, especially the truly godly among them, have listened to the various reports concerning the birth of John and of Jesus ! With what excited feelings of doubt, and wonder, or of joy and hope, would they detail, in every place, what they had heard. Now their sentiments must have speedily spread through the empire ; for Judea was visited by Jews from every province, and by the most distinguished Romans. It is not, we apprehend, an exaggeration to say, that no court in that age, except that at Rome, was more universally known and admired than that of Herod the Great. And in his time, messengers were unceasingly passing between Judea and Italy ; and after his death, the opinions promulgated in Judea must have been as easily ascertained by the Romans as those of Greece or any other of the provinces to which many of them, of all ranks, resorted. Hence, it is not surprising that the expectation of a king, destined to produce a great moral revolution in the world, should have been cherished by many throughout the entire empire ; or that the idea of such a person should have become common to all. It passed from the worshippers of God to idolaters ; from the admirers of the Divine prophets to the flatterers of princes. It revived the spirits of the oppressed and the slave, and transported the imaginations of the philanthropist and poet. The resplendent and glowing descriptions by Isaiah of David's Son and Lord, were apparently borrowed by Virgil, and transferred to the supposed heir of the emperor, to whom the poet looked for honour and wealth.

“ Comes the last age, by Cumæ's maid foretold :  
 Afresh the mighty line of years unroll'd,  
 The Virgin now, now Saturn's sway returns ;  
 Now the blest globe a heaven-sprung Child adorns,  
 Whose genial power shall whelm earth's iron race,  
 And plant once more the golden in its place—  
 Thou, chaste Lucina, but that child sustain :  
 And, lo ! disclosed thine own Apollo's reign !  
 This glory, Pollio, in thy reign begun,  
 Thence the great months their radiant course shall run :  
 And of our crimes should still some trace appear,  
 Shall rid the trembling earth of all her fear

His shall it be a life divine to hold,  
 With heroes mingled, and 'mid gods enroll'd ;  
 And form'd by patrimonial worth for sway  
 Him shall the tranquil universe obey.  
 Gladly to thee its natal gifts the field,  
 Till'd by no human hand, bright Boy, shall yield ;  
 The baccar's stem with curling ivy twine  
 And colocasia and acanthus join.  
 Home their full udders goats, unurg'd, shall bear ;  
 Nor shall the herd the lordly lion fear :  
 Flowers of all hues shall round thy cradle vie,  
 The snake and poison's treacherous weed shall die,  
 And far Assyria's spice shall every hedge supply.—  
 Those honours thou—'tis now the time—approve,  
 Child of the skies, great progeny of Jove !  
 Beneath the solid orb's vast convex bent,  
 See on the coming year the world intent :  
 See earth, and sea, and highest heaven rejoice ;  
 All but articulate their grateful voice."

Notwithstanding that the inconceivable and inexpressible majesty, riches, felicity, and purity of the approaching Prince, and his empire, were exhibited in the Old Testament by the sublimest, most beautiful, and expressive imagery which the former empires afforded, the prophets had often employed phraseology, that evidently taught that the new empire differed from all others, as heaven did from earth, and would consist in a religious and moral renovation rather than in any essential change in the aspect of the material or political world. This peculiar characteristic of the new empire, was not perceived by the Jews ; they extended not their views of it beyond their predominant desires, in conformity to which these teachers interpreted their sacred writings. They desired and longed for their promised and predicted Prince to restore the prosperity and extend the dominion and glory of their nation, so that they should obtain universal authority and power over all nations. This conception of the predictions was fatal to their safety, peace, and prosperity, in respect to this life, and occasioned their final rejection by God, their supreme King ; for it induced them to welcome every presumptuous individual who stimulated them to aspire to emancipation from the Roman yoke, and to revile, hate, persecute, and kill the Prince of Life, and his first ministers.

The civil government of Judea, after its subjugation to a Roman province, was placed successively for more than thirty years, under Coponius, Marcus Ambivius, Annius Rufus, Valerius Gratus, and Pontius Pilate. These appointed who-



ever they judged proper to exercise the office of high-priest, without any respect to the constitution of Moses ; and this exalted office repeatedly and suddenly passed from one to another, as if it were no more sacred than any Roman office. This must have grieved every pious Jew, and mortified all ; but the nation was powerless , and seems to have silently endured the iron-sceptre of Rome. Strongly disposed as they were to resist foreign authority, no instance of insurrection is recorded before the time of Pilate, except that produced by Theudas, or Judas, a Galilean, and Sadduc, a Pharisee ; the former, Josephus says, was the founder of a religious sect, who, probably, held that the Jews could never be reduced to slavery. This insurrection, alluded to in Acts. v. 37, was occasioned by the tax imposed by the Romans, and to be delivered from it, the leaders inflamed the minds of the multitude, by representing to them the disgrace of submission to any foreign power, and assuring them that they had only to rise in defence of their original constitution or covenant, to obtain, like their fathers, miraculous aid and complete victory. Speedily were their hopes dispersed, and the impostors punished.

Pilate was appointed procurator of Judea, about A. D. 25, and inflicted great sufferings on its inhabitants for ten years. History presents him as one of the most unprincipled of men, and more tyrannical, unjust, and cruel than any of the Roman governors who had preceded him. He hated the Jews, and seems to have invented schemes to provoke their wrath, that he might have occasion to indulge the violent and relentless revenge which he cherished against them. Their conquerable zeal for the law he deemed pride and obstinacy, which he burned with fury to subdue. He appears, indeed, to have detested all religious fervour, probably because he may have, from what he witnessed among the Jews, identified it with tumults and insurrections. How resolutely determined he was to overcome and extirpate it, a few of his acts amply show.

The Jews indulged utter abhorrence of every symbol of idolatry. Such symbols were exhibited on the Roman standards ; and lest the land should be polluted by them, the Jews had successfully persuaded the Roman governor, Varus, from leading his army through Judea, to aid, as we have noticed, Herod Antipas against the Arabians. Despising their prejudices, Pilate ordered his troops to enter Jerusalem in the night, with their standards covered, and to expose

hem next day to the public gaze. The abhorred object overwhelmed the Jews in sorrow. They immediately sent a number of messengers to Cesarea to implore Pilate to remove the standards from the metropolis. He insisted that this could not be done without dishonouring the emperor. The Jews persevered in urging their request. They remained five nights and days prostrate on the ground before his palace. On the sixth day he entered the circus, and ascended his tribunal, as if he designed to give them audience; but, instead of summoning them to plead before him, he ordered his soldiers to fall on them, and put all to death, who refused to leave the palace. This treachery and barbarity were insufficient to overcome their fortitude and patience. They nobly braved the danger, and the proud procurator yielded to their entreaties.

Pilate, however, soon put their religious principles and feelings to a severer test. In the royal palace of Jerusalem he set up shields on which, most probably, were fixed emblems of paganism, although no images of idols, in honour of the Roman emperor Tiberius. The Jews again requested him to respect their laws and customs. He declined to hear them, although the tetrarchs of Galilee joined them in their petitions. The shields continued to irritate and vex the people till, after their appeal to Tiberius, Pilate received at once the rebuke of the emperor for his folly and imprudence, and an order to remove from the palace the useless objects of offence.

Still greater grief and sufferings to the Jews resulted from the attempt of the unjust governor to procure the treasury of the temple. That they might more willingly deliver it, he pretended to expend it in constructing an aqueduct to convey water, from a considerable distance, into the city. They again appealed to his tribunal, before which they assembled in crowds; some publicly denouncing his acts, and many more calling for vengeance on his person. His soldiers in disguise, and armed with clubs, attacked the multitude indiscriminately; and many were wounded or killed.

The deed of Pilate which led to his degradation was as unprovoked as it was base and cruel. Soon after Vitellius was constituted proconsul and president in Syria, as he was the superior of the procurator of Judea, the Samaritans appealed to him against Pilate. Deluded by an impostor, supposed to have been Simon the sorcerer, a great number of them consented to accompany him to their sacred mountain,

Gerizim, to procure the sacred vessels, which he asserted had been buried there by Moses. Many assembled in an adjacent village, and waited for others whom they expected to join them. Pilate, on hearing of this event, probably imagined that they had formed some secret plans against the government. He deigned not to investigate the affair, but instantly sent a strong force of infantry and cavalry, with orders to disperse the infatuated people. Many of them were killed, and others were captured; and the most influential either for rank or wealth among the prisoners were, at the tyrant's command, put to death. On Vitellius receiving an account of these barbarous proceedings of Pilate, which he knew was only a specimen of his general conduct, he summoned him to resign his government to Marcellus, and proceeded to Rome to answer the accusation of the Samaritans before Tiberius. He, however, reached not the capital of the empire till after the death of that emperor, and nothing certain is known of his future life. Tradition informs us that he was afterwards tried and condemned for the many crimes charged against him, and banished to Vienne in Gaul, where he was reduced to such wretchedness that, in despair, he killed himself.

Who can wonder that such a man should, to please the Jews, sentence to death the innocent and beloved Being who stood at his tribunal, without one to plead his cause, or any visible friends, whose power or displeasure the unrighteous judge had any reason to dread? But that he should have hesitated, and resorted to a variety of means to avoid, as we know he did, the pronouncing of the sentence, strongly attests the power of truth and moral excellence over the most demoralized mind and unfeeling conscience. He had no solicitude to discover truth or execute justice; and yet the announcement of the importance of the former, and the denouncement of the guilt of violating the latter, by sentencing to death the most innocent and excellent individual, awakened fearful apprehensions, which made him pause again and again ere he reluctantly yielded to the clamour of the mob, and the threatening demands of the Jewish teachers. No one who has listened to divine truth, or contemplated moral excellence, can persevere in infidelity and wickedness, without experiencing the most agonising of all sufferings, self-condemnation, and the dread of future retribution.

We have no historical facts which would lead any one to believe that the Roman governors were accustomed to report

so the imperial court any transactions in their respective provinces, which appeared not in the eyes of a statesman to affect the integrity, peace, or prosperity of the empire; and hence we could not reasonably hope that events of another nature, however interesting in themselves, should be found in the writings of the Romans, especially when these transpired among the Jews, a people whom the principal Roman authors unquestionably viewed with supercilious contempt. This sufficiently accounts for their omission to record many great events concerning Jesus the Christ, and his followers, whose doings they doubtless had heard of or witnessed. To these events we shall have occasion to refer in the subsequent pages. It may, however, be expedient to notice here that some of the fathers speak of the "Acts of Pilate," in which he narrates, for the information of the emperor, among other incidents which happened in Judea during his government, the trial, death, and resurrection of Jesus, the Christ. Though many of the learned justly regard the work so denominated as in general the production of after ages, yet it may have originated in an authentic narrative now lost, to which Justin and Tertullian appealed in their apologies for the Christians. They were not men who would present, for the consideration of the Roman emperor and all the learned among the Romans, arguments founded in statements, the fallacy of which could be detected at once, and expose their authors to derision, and their cause to scorn. The epistle to Tiberius, ascribed to Pilate, runs thus:—"I have been forced to consent at length to the crucifixion of Jesus Christ, to prevent a tumult from the Jews, though it was very much against my will; for the world never saw, nor probably will, a man of such extraordinary piety and uprightness. But the high-priest and sanhedrim fulfilled in it the oracles of their prophets, and of our sybils. Whilst he hung on the cross, a horrid darkness, which covered the earth, seemed to threaten its total end. His disciples, who pretend to have seen him rise from the dead, and ascend into heaven, and acknowledge him for their God, still subsist; and, by their excellent lives, show themselves the worthy disciples of so extraordinary a Master. I did what I could to save him from the malice of the Jews; but the fear of a total insurrection made me sacrifice him to the interest and peace of your empire," &c.



CONNEXION  
OF  
SACRED AND PROFANE HISTORY,

BEING A REVIEW OF THE  
PRINCIPAL EVENTS IN THE WORLD,

AS THEY BEAR UPON  
THE STATE OF RELIGION,  
FROM THE CLOSE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT HISTORY, TILL  
THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CHRISTIANITY.

BY D. DAVIDSON.

IN THREE VOLUMES

VOL. III.

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NEW YORK:  
ROBERT CARTER & BROTHERS,  
No. 530 BROADWAY.  
1857.



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# CONNEXION

BETWEEN

## SACRED AND PROFANE HISTORY

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### CHAPTER I.

#### RISE OF THE FIFTH EMPIRE, OR KINGDOM OF GOD

THE whole history of man demonstrates the truth uniformly attested in the sacred Scriptures, that he can only enjoy rational happiness in the same proportion as he cultivates and attains to moral excellence. In every age and country, he experiences present misery, and the fearful apprehension of its perpetual increase and eternal duration, to be inseparable from subjection to the malignant and impure passions, and perseverance in such practices as manifestly tend to produce disquietude, destruction, or despair in his own bosom, and distress and wretchedness to his species, and to every living thing. "The wages of sin," he truly finds "to be death." "God is love," and in his good pleasure he purposed in himself to restore his disobedient race to conformity to his own likeness and participation of his favour, which is life or happiness, and of his loving-kindness, which is better than life. This purpose he graciously revealed, when he announced his design to place the human race under the government of the Almighty Deliverer, whom he had chosen to be head or ruler of all who should, in any age, voluntarily confide in him, and humbly obey him. Till he should appear on earth as the sovereign Lord of all, they who looked for him were placed under the government of certain individuals, to whom he committed the authority of deputies, responsible to him for the manner in which they acted for him in the promotion of the interests of all who waited for him, and publicly worshipped the True and Living God. The first order of these deputies were the patriarchs, who were generally prophets

and intercessors with God for his visible worshippers, in things pertaining to this life. They were succeeded by Moses, the great legislator, prophet, deliverer, and intercessor of Israel. His successors were the judges, and the divinely chosen kings of Judah, and the many prophets who were raised up in their age. Their ministry was recommended by God to the confidence of the people by many signal and supernatural interpositions; and those of them who were unfaithful to their trust were publicly punished, often by the most striking expressions of the displeasure and indignation of the Supreme Sovereign, Saviour, and Judge of the whole community, who professed to do him homage.

How, and to what an extent this Divine administration failed to accomplish the moral and spiritual deliverance of the great majority of those who enjoyed it, we are fully instructed in the sacred history preserved in the Old Testament. Few comparatively of any generation of Israel were visibly subjects of moral renovation, and by consequence active instruments in the promotion of human happiness. The multitude despised the spiritual blessings of the eternal covenant made with the patriarchs, and thought and acted without reverence for God, or love for man. This failure was foreseen by the Most High, to whom are known all his works from the beginning; and it was more early and frequently predicted, in respect of the Abrahamic race, than almost any event in their history. Moses and all the prophets distinctly announced infidelity, mere formality in religion, hypocrisy, idolatry, or obstinate and ruinous wickedness, to be the characteristics of this race, during all their existence as a nation or a people separated from the nations. They had been separated from all other people, and specially favoured by God, in order that they should celebrate his praise, by publicly proclaiming his immeasurable excellencies and wonderful works; and it was on account of their utter worthlessness in relation to this great work, that Jehovah declared his unchanging purpose to renounce them as his worshippers, and to adopt a new mode of administration to accomplish his benevolent designs towards the human race. Numb. xiv. 21.; Jer, xxxi. 31—34.

The Divine administration appointed for the worshippers of God, during the ages preceding Messiah, was confessedly not perfectly adapted to display the Divine benevolence in all its fulness, on the supposition that all nations should become his worshippers. This is plain, if we only advert to the command, that all who would enjoy the most important means of

religious instruction and comfort should ascend to Jerusalem, the chief seat of public worship, to keep the three great annual festivals. That their moral deliverance did not, however, depend on this, is unquestionable; for whoever, believing the revelation of mercy that God would send an Almighty Saviour, feared God and wrought righteousness, were always accepted by him.

That the means of religious instruction which God conferred on the Jewish nation were amply sufficient to effect their moral renovation, will be acknowledged by all who candidly and deliberately investigate their history. They were constituted his visible family, and were granted visible signs of his presence to receive their confessions of sin, and answer their supplications for mercy. To them also were granted the covenants, promises of mercy, a succession of inspired guides, and, finally, the complete Oracles of truth contained in the Old Testament. But these favours, as well as his miraculous doings on their behalf, were misinterpreted and misimproved by many of them in every age, and by almost all of them in the reigns of Herod the Great and of Augustus. They had been, from the time of Nehemiah, continually degenerating; and were now as the facts which have been already noticed show, scarcely exceeded in wickedness by any people on the face of the earth: nor ought it to be forgotten that their wickedness was that species which is most odious and hateful in the sight of God and man. They had, in all generations, appeared a strong-minded race, remarkable for powerful passions, and resolute determination in gratifying them; but in no former period were they equally distinguished by intellectual acquirements. Far were they from being the weak, ignorant, rude, semi-barbarous people that many of the learned would have us to regard them. Their perfect hatred of idolatry disposed the most devotional among them to despise the literature of Rome and Greece from its idolatrous aspect and tendency; but Roman and Grecian literature, arts, and customs were generally known and admired by many Jews. This knowledge, of course, had no salutary influence on the minds of its possessors. This class most probably belonged to the sect of the Sadducees; and these, we know, were as destitute of moral excellence as the Pharisees, who, as a sect, embraced almost all who discovered any ardent zeal for religion. The religious leaders excused many species of wickedness in any one who avowed reverence for their authority devoutly observed the laws of Moses and the traditions of the

elders, and literally devoted his property to religious purposes. The teachers restrained not themselves from what their covetous, ambitious, and sensual hearts desired, for they persuaded themselves that their religious services were a sufficient expiation for every possible sin. Thus Jesus charged them with devouring widows' houses, and, for a pretence of godly intentions in all their actions, they made long prayers. All classes were completely debased by indulgence of every selfish, revengeful, and impure desire and passion. The best of them was a briar, and the most upright, a thorn hedge. The Sacred Scriptures were entirely perverted. The demands of the laws of Moses were limited to the external conduct; and pardon for violations of moral precepts pronounced certain to all who most zealously observed the ceremonies of religion.

Thus the Jews, as a nation, lived only to cause the name of God to be blasphemed, and his Revelation to be contemptuously treated or neglected. A few, like the gleanings of grapes after vintage, remained to point the way to the tree of life. With this exception, the whole race had renounced in heart and life the authority of God, and were wholly ignorant of the true nature and import of the writings of Moses and the prophets. Nothing almost remained to prevent the entire moral death of the human race, but the reading of the Scriptures in the synagogues; and this was rendered almost useless by the false interpretations of them, and the traditions exalted above them, by the public instructors. How urgently and loudly then did the moral condition of the Jews call for the Divine interposition of a new and more mighty apparatus of means and influence to avert the entire extermination of the true religion, and to make it felt and acknowledged among the nations! Nor was such an interposition of Deity less imperatively required from the moral condition of the whole of the inhabitants of the Fourth Empire. They had, doubtless, advanced to a considerable degree in what is called civilization; the conveniences and comforts, and even rational pleasures of life, were multiplied and more widely and generally diffused; and, probably, the ferocities of human nature were somewhat softened, and its most oppressive evils diminished or ameliorated. But, viewed in their relation to their Creator and his law, and in their relation to one another, as rational, intelligent, and immortal beings, they had made, in general, no essential improvement. Moral evil everywhere reigned with uncontrolled and destructive power. Vice, in its most diabolical and

polluted forms, universally triumphed ; the whole world continued in willing and abject slavery to Satan, the prince of darkness. The solitary individuals emancipated from his tyranny were almost unnoticed and unknown. All human governments have been established with the avowed purpose of ministering to the reformation, safety, and welfare of mankind ; and almost every chief ruler considered it his highest glory to be called the father of his people. Appellations of this import were, and, still are, in many countries, exclusively appropriated to designate their successive kings. Such is said to be the signification of *Pharaoh*, the royal title of the monarchs of ancient Egypt ; and of *Praw*, the princely name of the sovereigns of Burmah. Good, less or more, undoubtedly results to man from the least enlightened and benevolent government, devised by human wisdom, and maintained by human power. How much more desirable is any government than entire anarchy, or liberty for every man to do what is right in his own eyes ! This latter state, were it universal, would undoubtedly speedily terminate in the utter ruin of the human race, and in the complete dissolution of the globe. Less order and happiness would be known among mankind than among the animals that rove at pleasure over the deserts and forests, exulting in the exercise of their unceasingly active and devouring capacities.

But what moral deliverance did the mighty governments of the four empires of prophecy accomplish in the earth ? They certainly brought the scattered nations into a closer union and intercourse than had previously existed. Law acquired more influence over mankind. Knowledge, and the useful and ornamental arts of life, were more widely disseminated, and the principles of true religion were more generally made known, and invisibly operated to subvert the dominion of human authority, and the subtle and wicked devices of the wise in religion. The tyranny of Satan was, nevertheless, still paramount ; the evil one remained apparently immovably seated on his iniquitous throne. How little could any one of the absolute despots of Assyria or Babylon do to mitigate human woe were he even inclined to rule according to justice or mercy ? Their thrones were sustained by men resolutely determined to uphold, propagate, and establish idol-worship, by the arts of divination and every means of imposition which the perversion of human knowledge could suggest. And the kings were equally destitute of humanity and truth as their counsellors, the magicians, astrologers, and priests, inasmuch

that they required their subjects to regard them as gods, who had right to act, without being questioned, according to their own pleasure. Idolatry, the most powerful and tremendous engine which hell itself ever devised to deceive, debase, and destroy the children of Adam, was, in fact, the chief instrument employed in the administration of the first empire. And the principal gods, whom the people were called to adore, were represented as actuated and impelled by the most sanguinary dispositions, and as accustomed to riot in the most licentious pleasures, and to exult in the most revengeful and cruel practices. To resemble them in heart and conduct was, of course, believed to be indispensable to secure their favour. The festivals most acceptable to them were characterised by splendid follies and the impurest and, sometimes, most bloody scenes. Conceive what depravity of soul, habits, and customs, must have characterised the worshippers of such demon gods.

The dominion of the second Persian empire was probably more beneficial than that of the first empire, especially by its treatment of idols and generous patronage of the Jews. But, in other respects, the inhabitants of the empire were not much improved in religion or morals. Fire-worship was not much more fitted than idol-worship to rescue man from superstitions, vanities, and wickedness. The worshippers acquired no more accurate knowledge of the True God, nor were required to cultivate moral excellence more than those who were the most zealous votaries of idols. And almost all the nations of the empire remained degraded by the most vile and detestable idolatrous rites and customs, and by unrestrained indulgence of immorality, in its most injurious and impure forms.

Nor was the religion or the conduct of the nations much improved by the Third, or Grecian Empire. Many of the rulers and chief men perceived the delusion and folly of their mythology, and, personally, entertained little or no veneration for the gods; but they all, without one exception, employed idolatry to please and amuse the people, that they might be more easily retained in subjection to the will of their superiors. The progress of philosophy, literature, and the arts, greatly contributed to the advancement of civilization and religion; and, we apprehend, that the numerous synagogues of the Jews had an extensive, although, perhaps, unobserved, influence in enlarging and diffusing the most important knowledge of the Supreme God, and of the numerous duties belonging to the varied relations of human society

Though the human mind is divinely constituted to admit the truth, yet its power was repelled by the dreadful delusions, errors, prejudices, and fascinating pleasures of idolatry, which ruled the hearts of its votaries, and were strongly supported and recommended by its army of priests and political patrons. By consequence, all classes, in all countries, continued the voluntary slaves of impure superstitions, and vicious practices. The light of Grecian philosophy was darkness; its teachers and their disciples and admirers cherished little respect for moral excellence. And, in general, while they knew that their unhallowed passions and ungodly and unjust practices were worthy of death, they not only persevered individually in the indulgence of them, but had pleasure in one another, on account of their unworthy conduct.

The rulers of the Fourth, or Roman Empire assumed no higher standard of religion and morals, any more than in learning and the arts, than what Greece afforded them; and the Romans so sedulously imitated the enlightened sages of the Greeks that, before the death of Augustus, they almost, if not altogether equalled, if they did not surpass, the noble examples which they admired. In one thing, assuredly, they excelled the Grecians, as well as all their predecessors in the sovereignty of the world,—they generously encouraged and assisted all the nations subject to Rome to aspire to all the knowledge, the grandeur, and conveniences of the first cities of Italy. Hence the rapid advancement of civilization throughout the empire. The Gauls, the Spaniards, and even Britons, were rescued from savage barbarism, and many of the natives acquired a taste, and laboured to attain the conveniences and comforts of social life, and some valued its elegancies and embellishments. The empire, however, owed no improvement in morals or religion to the Roman administration. The Augustan age is celebrated as the glory of the Romans; but that glory included no moral excellence, which is the true glory of human nature. The generation that grew up in the last years of Augustus is universally acknowledged to have reached the highest degree of effeminacy and vice; it was drenched in every abomination which reduces man below the lower and meaner animals. The admirers of the purest philosophy of Cicero, who in moral instruction was, perhaps, never excelled by a pagan, sanctioned by authority, and example, and influence, the worship of Venus, of which prostitution was a part; the adoration of



Bacchus, whose festivals were shocking scenes of intoxication and riot; and supreme reverence for Jupiter, as the father and prince of all the gods, but not less famous for debauchery and cruelty. What more desirable than the objects of this life could be expected or sought from such gods by their worshippers? and how could the latter be supposed to desire or endeavour to obtain any thing superior to those things which gratify "the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eye, and the pride of life?" Surely it is not then surprising that the most enlightened, most talented, and most refined of the Romans, as well as the ignorant, rude, superstitious, and lawless multitude, should neither fear God nor love man, and neither cherish pure affections and passions in life, nor enjoy peace or hope in the prospect of death. However ardently they might cry, "Who will show us any good?" when the sorrows of life harrowed up their souls, no solution to their question was to be expected from the oracles of their gods. No fountain of happiness was discovered by them, except what uncertain, distracting, and perishing objects of sense presented; and, consequently, many of the wisest of them deemed almost the maxim, "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die," the consummation of wisdom. Such were the popular class of philosophers, who gloried in being named, from their leaders, Epicureans. The few who comprised the class called Stoics, while they treated contemptuously the pleasures of the senses, recommended the pride, ambition, and revenge which produce many of the severest calamities which overwhelm the human race, and tend to their complete destruction. Rome, in which were now beheld the throne of philosophy, the seat of the muses, and the theatre of the finer arts, was inundated by wickedness in all its most contemptible, loathsome, hateful, terrific, ruinous, and frightful aspects. The wealth and luxuries and vices of all the provinces were imported into the metropolis. The intemperance of the rich was almost incredible; and was only equalled by the licentiousness of all ranks. The name of Apicius is preserved on account of his skill to reduce gluttony into a system. Some emulous of his fame were not ashamed to give one hundred pounds sterling for one fish; and individuals expended fifty thousand pounds on one entertainment. Debaucheries of every kind abounded; and the mental powers were wasted in devising means to gratify the senses. A number of persons, called "the Spintriæ," who were much favoured and honoured by the great,

employed their whole time in the invention of new modes of pleasure ; in other words, in attempting to find new forms of iniquity. The senators had lost all sense of honour and all respect for the interests of the community. They sought by every art to flatter the reigning emperor, and to inflict punishment in the manner most degrading and tormenting on those whom he hated. How great was their mental debasement when they proposed to place Tiberias among the gods and supported his successor in requiring the inhabitants of the empire to pay him religious homage ! The people were, if possible, still more corrupted. Accustomed to be supported by the largesses of the emperor, they at once resigned their liberty, and spent their time in idleness, folly, tumult, or in seditious schemes. Nor were moral excellencies more valued in any province or city of the empire than in Rome. "All flesh had corrupted their way ;" and it was manifest to all that the Fourth Empire was equally inefficient, as the former empires had been, to work any moral deliverance for mankind.

Thus the mental state of the Jews and Gentiles demonstrated the absolute necessity that a power altogether different in nature and operation from any thing hitherto seen should be put forth, if ever the human race were to be reclaimed from moral evil, and rescued from the wretchedness inseparable from living according to their perverted conceptions and impure inclinations. And such a power was, according to many divine predictions, to characterise the Fifth Empire, denominated in the Scriptures, "The kingdom of God," and "The kingdom of heaven ;" all its subjects were to be distinguished by obedience to the Most High, and all its immunities to be conferred on the saints or holy ones, whom He saved from sin, and consecrates to his service. "And the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey him." The rise of this kingdom is dated from the year in which its sovereign, Jesus of Nazareth, the Son of Mary, was born. This is said to have been about the thirty-fifth year of the reign of Augustus ; but the common computation fixes the birth of the Saviour four years later. John the Baptist, his forerunner was born six months earlier. He was one of the most eminently holy men that ever lived, and was the subject of several predictions. A general view of his character we have

given under his name, in the Pocket Biblical Dictionary ; but his ministry in relation to the heavenly empire on earth demands some additional observations.

In some predictions of individuals, names of those well known are appropriated to them, on account of their relation or resemblance to them in spirit, office, or work. Thus, Messiah is, in prophecy, repeatedly called David, because he was to be the descendant and heir of the great king of that name. In like manner, John is named Elijah by Malachi, and the work which he was predicted to perform showed he was, like Elijah, to be known as a great religious reformer in Israel : " Behold, I will send you Elijah the prophet before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord : and he shall turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to their fathers, lest I come and smite the earth with a curse." This prediction obviously intimates both the time of John's appearance, and the nature of his ministry. He was to come before the impenitent Jews were to be punished and rooted out of the land, and the land cursed or ruined. That this judgment was inflicted in less than a century from the days of John, will not be questioned by the Jews themselves. By consequence, as the words of Malachi were inspired by God, and therefore infallible, it is certain that Elijah has long since appeared. But from the completion of the Old Testament to the present time, no one has risen among the Jews to whom the name could with any propriety be appropriated, except John the Baptist. What ministry could more accurately correspond with that of Elijah than that of the Baptist, whether we advert to its nature or effects. Both were remarkable for disinterestedness, self-denial, boldness and fidelity ; and the success of each in reforming the nation appears to have been considerable.

John was eminently useful in preparing the people to discern and appreciate the ministry of Jesus, the Christ ; for he exposed the fallacy and folly of their errors and prejudices, and awakened them to a sense of the peculiarly awful danger which threatened them, and of the importance of them duly estimating the transcendent blessings about to be poured out on their nation. The great subject of his ministry was the immediate approach of the new and holy empire predicted and pourtrayed by all the prophets ; and the necessity of all being prepared for it, who would escape the vengeance of the True God : " Repent, he unceasingly cried, " for the kingdom of heaven is at hand."

Though John was a relative of Jesus, the Christ, according to the flesh, and doubtless, from the confidential friendship subsisting between their mothers, knew some of, if not all the miraculous accompaniments of his birth, yet he appears not to have recognised him as the Sovereign of the new kingdom, till he was supernaturally instructed : " And I knew him not ; but that he should be made manifest to Israel, therefore am I come baptising with water. And John bare record, saying, I saw the Spirit descending from heaven like a dove, and it abode upon him. And I knew him not : but he that sent me to baptise with water, the same said unto me, Upon whom thou shalt see the Spirit descending, and remaining on him, the same is he which baptiseth with the Holy Ghost. And I saw, and bare record that this is the Son of God." Nor does it appear that John had formed any friendship with his interesting relative. Indeed, we have no evidence from the sacred narratives that they had ever met till Jesus requested his precursor to baptise him. The Son of Mary passed thirty years in retirement, and perhaps, menial labour in Nazareth, and the son of Zacharias and Elizabeth lived the same period apparently still more retired in the wilderness of Judea, remote from Nazareth ; and no close alliance was formed between them after they knew one another. John entertained such just and elevated views of Jesus as prevented him from doing any more than simply direct all men to fix on him their attention and regards. Each pursued his proper and separate path ; the one as the principal servant, the other as the only Sovereign in the new kingdom. John rose superior to his personal interest and honour, and enjoyed the purest and most desirable pleasure in witnessing his Lord's rising popularity : " He must increase, I must decrease." But he was most assiduous in showing all men that the increase of the Messiah was not designed or calculated to deteriorate from the authority, dignity, or honour of the kingdoms or rulers of this world. He prepared the way before Him, not by collecting a vast multitude to form an army, or a select number to form a ministry for the heavenly Prince ; but by subjecting all hearts to the service of the Living and True God, that they might voluntarily place themselves under the government of his Son Jesus, the Christ. Observe how consummately adapted was John's ministry to accomplish this inconceivably important end.

He, as far as the Divine Record testifies, neither recommended by precept nor example the sacrificature of Moses ;

nor did he allude to its excellences or defects. The only sacrificial victim for the sins of mankind, Jews or Gentiles, which he called all to value, was, "The Lamb of God," Jesus, on whom had descended the Spirit of God, consecrating him for the work of saving all who trusted in him. This great truth, once cordially admitted into the minds of the Jews was sufficient to expose the fallacy of their unhappy errors respecting the ritual of Moses, the observance of which they taught and believed was an expiation of the guilt of whatever sins they might commit. Without unnecessarily provoking their wrath by intimating prematurely the abolition of the rites of Moses, by the rising Prince, John plainly announced that these rites would not be required when the Prince had offered himself to God to take away sin and procure salvation for all that should obey him.

Again, John spoke nothing of the great national and religious distinction between Jews and Gentiles, which was the boast of the former, and was exceedingly offensive to the latter. This separation of the Jewish nation, next to sacrifice, occupied in the constitution of the kingdom of Israel, the highest place. But in the new kingdom at hand, no national or ceremonial separation of mankind was to be held expedient, necessary, or useful. Those alone were, according to John, to be accounted its subjects, who showed by their works that they had repented and turned to God ; that they were not only natural descendants of Abraham, and zealous observers of the laws of Moses and traditions of the elders ; but who were also like the patriarch Abraham, renovated in their minds, and truly loved and served God, by uniform and unceasing obedience to all his commandments. To be destitute of these qualities, whatever national or even personal excellences might distinguish men, they would find no place in "the kingdom of God ;" the royal Ruler and Judge would sentence them to unending woe. "But when he saw many of the Pharisees and Sadducees come to his baptism, he said unto them, O generation of vipers ! who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come ? Bring forth, therefore, fruits meet for repentance : and think not to say within yourselves, We have Abraham to our father : for I say unto you, That God is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham. And now also the axe is laid unto the root of the trees ; therefore every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire," Matt. iii. 7—10. The Jews, particularly the numerous and popular sect of the Phar

sees, supposed that they had peculiar claims to the notice of the Sovereign of this kingdom, and possessed fitness to serve him because of the special favours which heaven had conferred on them, and especially on account of their own zeal for the law ; and that, consequently, the empire could not rise without their services. To convince them of their folly and presumption in entertaining such sentiments, John testified that the Sovereign was independent of them, for such was his power, that he could create a people out of the very stones of the desert to minister to him and obey him ; and that he would qualify and consecrate every one of his subjects for the holy work of his kingdom by the Holy Spirit of God, exclude from its immunities all who received not the Spirit, and treat them as his enemies. This strongly intimated that the kingdom of God was neither to be raised nor maintained by the wisdom, riches, or power, which were the glory of all the empires and kingdoms that had preceded it. The sentiment harmonised with the ancient prediction concerning it, " Not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of hosts," Matt. iii. 11, 12.

Further, John interfered not with the arrangements or laws of the kingdom whose approach he announced ; but directed all to expect these things to be attended to by Him whose minister he declared himself to be, even Jesus of Nazareth, the Son of Mary, and the Son of God, and the King of Israel. Accordingly, instead of appointing his disciples to any office in the kingdom, or requiring any of them to prepare themselves for any particular service, he called on them all to cultivate personal religion, and to perform with fidelity the various duties of their station in society ; that they might truly appear suitable persons to be admitted into the service of Him who had come to save his people from their sins. " And the people asked him, saying, What shall we do, then ? He answereth, and saith unto them, He that hath two coats, let him impart to him that hath none ; and he that hath meat, let him do likewise. Then came also publicans to be baptised, and said unto him, Master, what shall we do ? And he said unto them, Exact no more than that which is appointed you. And the soldiers likewise demanded of him, saying, And what shall we do ? And he said unto them, Do violence to no man, neither accuse any falsely ; and be content with your wages. And as the people were in expectation, and all men mused in their hearts of John, whether he were the Christ or not ; John answered, saying unto them all, I indeed

baptise you with water ; but one mightier than I cometh, the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to unloose : he shall baptise you with the Holy Ghost, and with fire : whose fan is in his hand, and he will thoroughly purge his floor, and will gather the wheat into his garner ; but the chaff he will burn with fire unquenchable. And many other things, in his exhortation, preached he unto the people," Luke iii. 10—18. This plainly announced that the rulers and great men among the Jews, or of other nations, were not to expect any honourable distinction in the kingdom of God, on account of their birth, rank, intellectual talents, mental acquirements, or religious forms ; but that those only would be exalted whom the Supreme Sovereign perceived to be renewed in the spirit of their minds, and unfeignedly devoted in heart and life to holiness and righteousness before God.

However much the mighty in this world might dislike or despise the humble aspect, the austere manners, and holy instructions and life of John the Baptist, his ministry nowise tended to excite their jealousy or alarm their fears ; for he neither explicitly praised nor blamed any of the constitutions, administrations, or mere political institutions, or even national forms of religion, in the kingdoms of this world ; nor did he drop a single idea to induce any intelligent person to view the kingdom which he proclaimed at hand, as a rival to any existing or worldly kingdom. It is therefore not surprising that he was permitted to proceed unmolested in his work by those who were ambitious of worldly power. He was only hated and persecuted by those whose particular sins he condemned, and he retained astonishing popularity to his last hour. He was admired by all ranks of the Jews, and the Romans regarded him only as a leader of a religious and harmless sect. Thus he had the happiness and honour to prepare the way for Messiah ; and, on being arrested in his work, he doubtless exulted that Jesus was gladly received by the people ; and, cherishing the spirit of aged Simeon, in prison he doubtless would pray, " Now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation."

The whole life of John attested the sincerity of his belief in the message which he proclaimed concerning the Christ and his kingdom. His spirit, conduct, and manners accorded with the spiritual character of that empire whose immediate approach he announced. He sought not great things for himself. That he was possessed of talents equal to the greatest enterprises which stimulate the envy or ambition of the

wisest and mightiest men of the world, and command the wonder and admiration of the multitude, will be conceded by every candid reader of the narrative of his life by the evangelists ; and it is as plain that the state of his nation, in his age, was peculiarly favourable to men of daring courage and ambitious views. The Jews panted for national liberty and independence, and enthusiastically hailed any one who promised to lead them to victory, freedom, and triumph. Nor is it doubtful that they would have gladly placed themselves under John as their supreme chief and leader, and rushed to the field of battle against their civil rulers. He attained the highest degree of popularity, and many earnestly desired that he should assume the authority and dignity of the king of the Jews. But instead of this, he showed himself to Israel as the humble and self-denied prophet of the Lord, clothed in the coarsest garments, and sustained by the meanest fare. His manner of life was entirely conformed to that of a Nazarite, who abstained from all the ornaments and luxuries of life ; and his constant avowal was, that he regarded it as his most exalted privilege and honour to be the servant of the Messiah, whom he had baptised and solemnly recommended to the confidence of the people.

The assumption of authority to baptise all his disciples, was a remarkable indication that he was appointed to introduce a new constitution for the government of the worshippers of God. No priest or prophet, from the days of Moses, required their disciples to submit to baptism, The observance of this rite was a solemn consecration by washing to the service of the Most High. The duties of the office of all former prophets and priests were limited to the enforcement of obedience to the institutes of Moses ; but John called all to believe that the promised Sovereign was come, and he demanded all who received his testimony publicly to confess their repentance and belief by baptism, the well-known symbol of consecration to holy services, that they might be prepared to enter his kingdom, which was really, and not merely, ceremonially holy.

When Jesus, the son of Mary, was thirty years old, about the seventh or eighth month of John's ministry, he made himself known in Nazareth, the place of his residence, as the great Prophet of Israel predicted by Isaiah, and by consequence the promised and expected Saviour of the world. "And he came to Nazareth, where he had been brought up ; and, as his custom was, he went into the synagogue on the sab-



bath-day, and stood up for to read. And there was delivered unto him the book of the prophet Esaias ; and, when he had opened the book, he found the place where it was written, The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor ; he hath sent me to heal the brokenhearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised ; to preach the acceptable year of the Lord," Luke iv. 16—19. Though the Nazarenes discovered that he was endowed with unparalleled and marvellous qualifications to instruct, yet the exalted character which he assumed seemed to them incompatible with his reputed descent ; and, instead of calmly and carefully investigating the validity of his claims, the multitude who had witnessed his progress from infancy to manhood, envious of the sudden rise of his reputation, and indignant at what they conceived his presumption and blasphemy, were enraged, and, with all the impetuosity of beasts of prey, attempted to take his life. They looked on him merely as the son of Joseph the carpenter. Had they fully inquired into the past history of Jesus, and, with minds sincerely in search of the truth, vigilantly observed the future developments of his character, they would certainly have adopted the sentiments entertained of him by his most enlightened disciples, and concluded that he was the Jewish virgin's son, the heir of David, the Son of the Living God, the Saviour of Jews and Gentiles, and the Lord of all, predicted by all the prophets.

The first promise of the Conqueror and Victor of Satan, and the destroyer of his dominions, represented him as "the seed of the woman," not the seed of the man ; and the second most distinct promise respecting him, intimated that he was to descend from Abraham. These promises were incontrovertibly accomplished in Jesus of Nazareth. The evangelists satisfactorily show that he was born of a virgin, a daughter of Abraham ; and that his human body was immediately created by the energy of the Holy Spirit. This statement alone accounts for the purity and dignity of his character, by which he was manifestly separated from the whole human race, although evidently a partaker of the human constitution. In him were all the capacities and sensations which characterise man, without the least trace of moral defect, which are inseparable from the seed of Adam, all of whom prove themselves to be alienated from God and from one another. Every temper which he discovered, every word which he uttered,

and every action which he performed, demonstrated that his heart was the seat of perfect moral excellence. None of his kindred who were disaffected to his claims, none of his friends who deserted or betrayed him, nor any one of his numerous, powerful, active, and implacable enemies, attempted to convict him of sin. All who knew him were the reluctant or zealous witnesses that divine love supremely ruled over all his affections and passions, and that he only lived for the present and eternal welfare of all ; that "he went about doing good." He was thus manifestly the only man on whom the Holy One of Israel could look with entire complaisance ; and he was therefore not of this world, although a sojourner in it : for every one of Adam's race has proved himself a sinner, justly deserving the divine displeasure ; they are all by nature the children of wrath. It is impossible for any one to adduce a satisfactory reason for the perfect moral purity of the Son of Mary, the Jewish virgin-mother, unless the truth of the sacred record be admitted, that he was formed by the Holy Spirit in his mother's womb, and was therefore justly called the Son of God.

The Jews were possessed of ample evidence that Jesus was the proper, legitimate heir of David. He was so, whether he was regarded as the son of Mary or of Joseph, his reputed father ; for the national records attested that they occupied the chief place in the register of David's family. It is indeed uncertain if they were not the only survivors of that distinguished race ; for though they had relations, yet these, as far as the record informs us, were intermixed with other families and tribes in Israel ; and if so, Jesus was the only remaining sprout of the root of Jesse. Genealogical registers of the chief families are common in every country ; but in the East they appear in all ages to have been kept with great care by all families. The family register was indispensable among the Jews while they possessed the Holy Land ; for if they neglected it, they might find it difficult, if not impossible, to show their rights to their lot or inheritance. The royal and the priestly families had more powerful motives than any others to preserve their respective genealogy. How diligently and faithfully the national register of tribes and families was kept, may be learned from the second chapter of the book of Ezra, and the seventh chapter of the book of Nehemiah.

That the genealogical tables were carefully constructed by the Jews down to the times of Christ and his apostles, is obvious from several allusions to them in the New Testament

Thus we read that Anna the prophetess was of the tribe of Asher, and Paul of the tribe of Benjamin. Josephus says that he transcribed his own pedigree from the public register of the priesthood. That the evangelists transferred their genealogies of Jesus from those admitted to be correct by the Jews, we have no reason to doubt; for we never find his descent from David questioned by any of his enemies. Difficulties or obscurities in the lists given by the evangelists are therefore not to be ascribed to them, but to the compilers of the tables from which they copied; and it deserves to be remarked, that the general accuracy of these lists is not rendered in the least doubtful, on the supposition that the names of certain persons may have been designedly omitted, or even erased, from causes which cannot now be ascertained. Some individuals may have proved themselves during life unworthy of the place in the family register in which their names were inserted at the time of their birth. This circumstance, however, would not occasion any doubt respecting the descent of their heirs or successors in the register. That no other tables of the genealogy of David than those made and approved by the Jews, would have, however perfect, been regarded by them, we may be assured; and hence it was at once necessary and divinely proper that the evangelists should appeal, in proof of the descent of Jesus, to those genealogies of the descendants of David which were preserved in the national archives. This mode of proceeding was in harmony with the rule which the first ministers of Christ uniformly followed, of testifying none other things than Moses and the prophets said should come; and every Jew had, in consequence of the plan acted on by the evangelists, an opportunity of judging the truth of their statement, the claims of Jesus to be heir of David, by comparing it with their own acknowledged registers. Nor would friends or enemies fail to do this. While no instance is recorded of the latter accusing Christ's followers of falsehood, when they every where proclaimed him the son of Abraham and of the race of Judah, and the heir of David, the former in all countries were familiar with this regular descent of their Master according to the flesh. Thus Paul, writing to the Romans, evidently views it as a well known and received fact, that Jesus "was made of the seed of David according to the flesh;" and he reminds the Hebrews to whom he wrote, that "it is evident that our Lord sprang out of the tribe of Judah."

We conceive it inexpedient to attempt here to reconcile the discrepancies or differences supposed to exist between the genealogies of Jesus recorded by Matthew and Luke. The learned have speculated much on this subject; but the candid reader will be sufficiently satisfied that the difficulties are not momentous, after perusing the following extract from Mr. Watson's Exposition of the Gospels:—"For a full investigation of the questions which have been raised on the genealogies of Christ given by St. Matthew and St. Luke, recourse may be had to Grotius, Hammond, Le Clerc, Lightfoot, Bishop Kidder, Whitby, Dr. Barrett, and others who have written at large upon them. The genealogies coincide from Abraham to David; and then so entirely differ, except in two descents, that they must be regarded as two distinct tables; and the opinion now generally admitted is that of Lightfoot, that St. Matthew gives the genealogy of Joseph, whose adopted son Jesus was; and St. Luke that of his virgin mother. This derives strong confirmation from the circumstance that the Jewish Rabbins in their writings call Mary the daughter of Eli. This distinction in the genealogies also serves to explain the reason why St Luke begins his genealogy with stating that Jesus was the supposed son of Joseph, 'who was the son of Eli.' The natural father of Joseph was, as Matthew states, Jacob; but Mary being the daughter of Eli, Joseph became his son-in-law; or simply, according to the vague way in which the Hebrews used such relative terms, his son; which is further confirmed by another instance of a son-in-law being called a son in the same table, namely Salathiel, who is called 'the son of Neri,' that is, his son-in-law; his natural father being Jechonias, 1 Chron. iii. 17. The only point of real importance, however, in this question is, whether Mary as well as Joseph was of the house of David, because the Christ was indubitably to be of the seed of David 'according to the flesh,' which our Lord was not by mere virtue of his being the adopted son of Joseph, and entered as such in the Jewish genealogies. Now, though there seems sufficient reason to conclude that Mary married Joseph as next of kin, and though the very silence of the Jews, who, upon the promulgation of the doctrine of Christ's miraculous conception, at whatever period that was first made known, whether during our Lord's life, or immediately after his ascension, must have raised this fatal objection, if Mary had not been a descendant of David as well as Joseph, proves that this fact was a subject of public notoriety; yet

the matter is settled by a passage in the Gospel of St. Luke, which those who have investigated this question of the two genealogies have generally overlooked. In Luke i. 32, when the angel makes the annunciation to Mary that she should become the mother of the Messiah, he says, 'He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Highest: and the Lord God shall give unto him the throne of HIS FATHER David,'—terms which could not have been used, unless Mary herself had been David's descendant. It may be added to this, that unless it had been a matter sufficiently well known and acknowledged, that Mary and Joseph were of the same house and lineage, it could have answered no end for Matthew to have copied from the public genealogical tables of the Jews the descent of Joseph from David, since he himself closes the list of descents with an account of the conception and birth of Jesus, which declares that he was not the son of Joseph, but of Mary only. But the family relationship of Mary and Joseph being well known, the one genealogy was as well suited to his purpose as the other. Besides that, it has also this advantage, that it established our Lord's *legal* right to the throne of David, through Joseph, of whom he was the son by adoption. And this was of importance in arguing with the Jews; for, although Mary was descended from David, yet, had she married into the tribe of Levi, under the same circumstances as she married Joseph, our Lord would have been reckoned in the Jewish genealogies as of the tribe of Levi, and his *legal* claim to the throne of David could not have been maintained on the ground of descent; but, having married into her own tribe, our Lord was the descendant of David, both in law and by nature. With respect to other difficulties in these tables of descent, they are to be referred to the Jewish records, and not to the evangelists who copied them. As, however, the Jews exerted particular care in preserving the pedigree of their priests, and also the line of David, in which they expected the Messiah, the discrepancies are probably apparent only, and the obscurity arises from the circumstance that their mode of keeping them, as being affected by their changes of name, or the practice of bearing double names, and by their laws of succession, is now but partially known. The tables are, however, sufficiently clear to prove the only point for which they were introduced, that Jesus was the son of David, and the son of Abraham;" and by consequence the legitimat

heir of David to the throne of Israel, and heir to the dominion of the world promised unto Abraham.—Rom. iv. 13.

But Jesus of Nazareth had far higher claims to the dominions and power of David, and to the sovereignty of the world; for he is the Only-begotten Son of the Living and True God. Such he was declared to be by the prophetic Spirit, Ps. ii. 7. "I will declare the decree: the Lord hath said unto me, Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten thee." And this language distinctly teaches us that he alone is the proper representative of the invisible Deity, and the legitimate heir of God as the supreme King of Israel, and the Lord of all Creation; and as such peculiarly beloved by his Father, and truly possessed of his peculiar perfections or infinite excellencies. That these transcendently glorious features were to be beheld in the Messiah, is manifest throughout the Divine Revelation by Moses and the prophets; and that they were recognised in Jesus of Nazareth by his disciples, is not less evident in almost every page of the New Testament. His miraculous formation in the virgin's womb demonstrated him to be the most beloved Son of God. By this he was distinguished in excellence from Adam and all his race, and was truly seen to be "that holy being" who was worthy to be called the Son of God. That he was in the highest sense the beloved of God was also declared at his baptism, when the Spirit of God descended like a dove and rested upon him, and a voice from the excellent glory thus addressed him: "Thou art my beloved Son; in thee I am well pleased." God a second time announced, in a similar manner, his complacency in him, in the hearing of his most honoured disciples, after they had seen him clothed with the symbolical cloud of glory; for a voice from the cloud said, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear ye him." A testimony resembling this, God pronounced a third time from heaven, in the hearing of a multitude, when, in answer to this public prayer, "Father, glorify thy name," a voice loud as thunder said, "I have both glorified it, and will glorify it again." More marvellous and decisive still did his resurrection from the dead, without his body being subjected to corruption, prove God's peculiar delight in him. This unparalleled event Jesus predicted, and appealed to it as the complete confirmation of his high claims. His enemies felt the force of the appeal, and employed all that human wisdom and power deemed necessary to retain his body in the tomb. But it was impossible that he should be chained by death or hell; for God had pledged

himself to raise him from the dead, and thus to declare him his only-begotten, and well-beloved Son.

However astonishing and incomprehensible to the human mind may be the fact that Jesus, as God's own Son, is the equal of his Father, and therefore the proper heir of all things; its truth he incontrovertibly confirmed by his works; for who that reflects on the nature of what he performed in his own name, will presume to say that the whole was within the power of a mere creature, how exalted soever might be the dignity and capacities conferred on it by the universal Creator? He showed himself possessed of the most perfect knowledge of all the secret operations and unrevealed thoughts of man, and the sovereign and Almighty Lord of all nature. It was visible to all that all the perfections of Deity resided in him; and to his various works of Almighty power to heal all kinds of incurable diseases, to multiply at pleasure the means of human subsistence, and to raise the dead to life, he referred in proof not only that God was with him, but also that he was the Son of God, and that he who had seen him had seen the Father.

The great truth of the Divine dignity of his nature is also clearly showed by the authority and honour to which he is exalted. The prophets predicted Messiah's exaltation to the throne of the Divine Majesty, in the heavens, and investiture in the offices of Saviour, Sovereign, and Judge of the human race. Jesus announced that these offices were to be conferred on him, and, that he would ascend unto heaven in order to exercise them. Hundreds of his disciples saw him ascend; and waited for the fulfilment of the promise of the Holy Spirit, which would demonstrate that he was admitted into glory, and had taken possession of the high honours to which he was destined. How complete was the evidence given that he was seated on the throne of God, in the gifts received by his followers, by which they were enabled, in his name, to perform miracles equally great and more numerous than he had himself wrought. Being thus raised to an equality with his Father in dignity and power, so as to appear worthy of all adoration, worship, and praise; or in the language of the Holy Spirit, having thus received a name above every name, that in his name every knee should bow, and tongue confess that he is Lord, it remains no longer doubtful that he is the Son of God, and Heir of all things in heaven and earth.

These things proclaim to all that he had finished the work for which he confessed that he came into the world, for had

he not done this, is it credible that he should have been publicly approved by God before angels and men? That work chiefly consisted in delivering himself up as a sacrificial victim to death for the sins of mankind, that he might obtain eternal redemption for every one who shall obey him; and this is the great truth which forms the basis of his kingdom. There is no name given under heaven among men by which we must be saved, but the name of the Lord Jesus Christ.

This is the King of the new empire; and for this end he confessed that he was born, and that he should rule all nations, and reign till all his enemies were made his footstool. But he distinctly limited the visible administration of his kingdom in this world to religious and moral affairs. The entire government of Israel was his native right, as the heir of his father David; and every one also who assumed the supreme rule over them without being called of God, whether a native or foreigner, was unquestionably an usurper. He, however, explicitly announced that he came not into the world to aspire to a worldly throne, or secular dominion. He voluntarily renounced all temporal rights, and appeared on earth not "to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many." His royal predecessors were each successively appointed as deputy of Jehovah, Israel's Supreme Sovereign, the visible head or superintendant of the whole community, in all things relating to religion as well as to worldly interests. Jesus took the charge of the former, and carefully avoided interference with the latter. He cleansed the temple instructed the worshippers how to serve God acceptably, and made known to them His mind. But he desired not to preside in the councils of the nation, nor to conduct their armies, or to receive any of the national revenues. When the multitude desired to make him a temporal prince, he withdrew from their society, and proceeded to discharge his duties as the prophet of the Lord. And at a later period, when one of his hearers requested him to examine and decide on some worldly matter, he replied, "Man, who made me a ruler or divider among you?" Scarcely any of the people, including his most eminent disciples, seem to have interpreted correctly his conduct, or comprehended his plainest instructions, in respect to the objects of his mission. They had no just conceptions of limited royal power. Their minds were full of the ideas of Messiah's absolute and uncontrolled dominion; and imagined that he would exercise it in this world altogether after the manner of the despots of the East.



Hence, when Jesus chose his twelve apostles, they and his other followers expected that he would next restore the temporal kingdom to Israel, and constitute the Holy Land the seat of universal empire. This false conception excited the ambition of his chief ministers, and strife threatened to destroy their peace. They disputed who should be greatest. To check their pride, and prepare them for the humble, arduous and holy work to which they were destined, he set a child in the midst of them, and declared that none was fit to serve in his kingdom who were not teachable, unassuming, and humble as a child, who implicitly bows to the authority of its parents, and depends wholly on them for its safety and comfort. And, that all worldly ambition and hopes should be repressed in them, he distinctly stated that in his kingdom he who was the humblest and most active in serving and advancing the interests of his fellow-subjects, would be accounted deserving the highest honour. The only authority they were to acknowledge was that of the Supreme King, and the only applause and honour to be sought was his approbation : " Ye know," said Jesus, " that the princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority upon them, but it shall not be so among you : but whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister ; and whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant," Matt. xx. 25—27.

One of the last and unexpected scenes of his most wonderful life, was the singular procession which he deigned to permit his disciples to conduct to testify their belief in his royalty. The only part he took in it strongly expressed the unworldliness of his kingdom, and fulfilled in him certain remarkable predictions respecting Messiah. None of the mighty or noble surrounded him ; his poor disciples and the multitude whom the rulers contemned, were his attendants. No crown or diadem adorned his head ; no chariots, horses, or armed band, displayed splendour to attract or dazzle the eyes, or strike terror in the hearts of the spectators ; nor was there any kind of grandeur to produce admiration, nor magnificence to awaken any. He rode on an ass ; and children were loudest in his praise. He was manifestly no rival of the princes and great men of the earth. He acknowledged himself chiefly delighted with the plaudits of the children, who hailed him the promised Prince, come in the name of Jehovah. The only sceptre or arms which he used were small cords ; and these were found sufficient to expel from the tem

ple, his own and his Father's house, all who dared to dishonour and defile the sacred precincts, consecrated as the place of prayer for all peoples. And with this manifestation of his royal dignity, his final confession of his claims of sovereignty perfectly accorded. In his answer to the false accusation that he had declared himself king of Judea, in opposition to the sovereignty exercised by the Romans, he boldly avowed that he was born a king, not of the Jews only, but of every one who received and obeyed the truth, that he was the promised Saviour. His dominion being thus wholly sustained and extended by the truth, no prince, supported by physical resources of human wisdom or power, had reason to dread his triumphs, except in so far as they owed the continued possession of their throne to falsehood and wickedness. His kingdom was from heaven ; its principles, laws, customs and resources, were derived from heaven ; and it could not be advanced by mere human devices or assistance. Had it been otherwise, his servants would have engaged in battle against their enemies ; and who could hope to overcome them ? for the whole armies of the angels of God were ready to join with all who heareth the truth to resist and conquer all his opposers. Consequently his patient resigning of himself into the hands of his false accusers, and to the power possessed by Pilate to condemn him to death, as well as the fact that he only requested of his judges to spare the lives of his followers, clearly showed that he sought no earthly throne, or secular dominion.

If Jesus indicated the exclusively spiritual and moral character of his kingdom on earth, by publicly disclaiming all intention to exercise the temporal government of the Jews, belonging to him as David's heir, is not the same truth to be learned from his voluntarily neglecting to seize the Holy Land, as well as every other spot on earth, for the whole was his own property as the Son of God ? This act of self-denial he alone could practice ; for no sovereign had any legitimate right to consider himself sole lord of his dominions. The earth belongs only to God, and though he appoints whom he will to the office of rulers, yet he has not authorised them to look on it as their special property. David and his successors were his deputies, and not his heirs to Canaan, which, in a particular sense, he called them to regard as his own, selected in preference to all lands, as the site of his greatest and most marvellous manifestations of himself to man. The king of the Jews had no right to any other position in the

Holy Land than that which fell to him by lot, the inheritance of his fathers. He could scarcely be guilty of a greater crime than forcibly to take possession of the least spot in the inheritance of any of his subjects. Nor could he lawfully retain forever, as his own, any more than any other of his subjects, land which an individual might sell him. But God gave the land to Messiah ; and hence it was denominated by the prophets, "Immanuel's land," and one of the sins charged against the Jews, in relation to Jesus, the Son of God, is, that "he came into his own land, and his own people received him not." Indeed, Jesus declared, that "all things were delivered unto him of his Father." Nevertheless, he passed through life one of the most destitute of his people. "The foxes," he said, "have holes, and the birds of the air have nests, but the Son of man hath nowhere to lay his head." By personal labour he appears for many years to have procured the means of subsistence requisite for himself and his mother ; and during his public ministry, while he repeatedly miraculously supplied food for thousands, he owed his own support chiefly to a few women who generously administered to him.

In contradistinction to all the princes of this world, and even to all the chief Rulers of Israel who had preceded him, he encouraged no one to follow him by any worldly inducement : he pledged himself to the most faithful no more than that he would be with them always, and make them partakers of all that their Heavenly Father knew to be necessary for their present and eternal happiness. This he pronounced sufficient to reconcile to his service ; for who does not perceive that "it is enough for the servant to be as his master ?" What prince has not promised his chief ministers and army the good and glory of this life ? Did not Jehovah himself condescend to assure Israel, when he announced himself to have become their King, that he would reward their subjection and obedience to him, with health, long life, wealth, and honour ? that if they proved their fidelity to him by entire renunciation of idols, and entire destruction of every symbol of idolatry, and stedfast observance of his institutions, he would make them the most prosperous in all earthly good of any other nation of the world ? How many promises of this kind were given Israel by Moses and the prophets ? And how many threatenings of temporal calamities of every kind were denounced against them, should they prove disloyal and disobedient ? What a contrast, in this respect, is evident to all between the writings of the Old Testament and those of the

New? How ignorant must he be who perceives not the peculiar spiritual and moral character of Christ's kingdom? Truly it consists not "in meats and drinks, but in righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Spirit."

Benevolence is one of the strongest and most predominant features of the kingdom erected by Jesus of Nazareth. Laws are made for the lawless and disobedient, and compared to a state of anarchy, the most imperfect form of government is benevolence itself. But the infliction of the sentence of law is the manifestation of justice rather than mercy, and augments the present misery and not the comfort of mankind. The ruler of every worldly kingdom is a terror to evil doers; and this was as true of the predecessors of Jesus in the kingdom of Israel as in any other kingdom on earth. Justice triumphantly reigned rather than peace and good-will to man. The national constitution, or the covenant of Sinai, was emphatically "the ministration of death." The laws of no nation, before the Christian era, equalled those prescribed by Moses, considered as a whole, in their benevolent and beneficent character and tendency. But the covenant of Sinai constituted the Israelites the Divine instruments to exhibit, for the instruction and warning of mankind, the holiness and justice of God, not less, if not more, than his mercy and power to save. The human race, in all ages and countries, have taken occasion, from the riches of the goodness and long suffering of God, to despise his authority, and follow their vain imaginations, appetites, and passions, as if they were not responsible to Him, nor much in danger of punishment. How admirably adapted was the administration of the national law of Israel to correct the false conceptions of God which prevailed everywhere; for it loudly proclaimed, "All souls are mine, saith Jehovah; the soul that sinneth shall die."

Israel were chosen to execute on all bold, presumptuous, and impenitent sinners, residing in Canaan, the vengeance of God, recorded in his word. As the Creator and Possessor of heaven and earth, He deigned to select that land for the theatre on which he purposed to unveil his perfections; and, in order to this, he would not permit the public acknowledgment in it of any rival god: he would not give his glory to another, nor his praise to graven images. When therefore, the seven nations of Canaan had entirely renounced the True God, and filled up their iniquity by voluntary slavery to the most cruel and polluted system of idolatry and immorality, he commanded Israel to extirpate them, take possession of their

land, and consecrate themselves and it to his pure service. The destruction of the seven devoted nations was a fearful manifestation of the justice of God, but it perfectly accorded with the revealed design of God respecting his purpose in declaring Canaan his own land, in a peculiar religious sense; for he ordered no severer judgment to be inflicted on the Canaanites than he ordained for all the Israelites who should imitate them in their apostacies from God, and licentious and barbarous habits and conduct. For all such, when known, were, by the laws of Moses, to be cut off from among his people; that is, he was either to be exiled or put to death. And as for those who secretly departed from God, practised the rites of idolators, and thus polluted the land, or made it like other lands, God announced that He, as the Supreme King, Proprietor, and Judge, would miraculously cut them off, and vindicate the righteousness of his government. It was also for the attainment of this object that the ritual of sacrifice was instituted. "Almost all things were cleansed by blood, and without the shedding of blood there is no remission of sins." This great principle was solemnly and awfully taught every night and morning, by the consuming of innocent animals on the ever-burning altar of burnt offering, in the sight of all the people. The whole creation proclaims that the Creator has formed all creatures for happiness, and has amply supplied the means of obtaining it. No common reason, doubtless, moved the good God to appoint the sacrifice which he minutely described by Moses. If the permission of animal food attested his special goodness to man, animal sacrifice still more strongly indicated this, for the avowed object was, that the sins of the offerer might be expiated, by being, as it were, transferred from him to the victim, which was incapable of sin, or, properly speaking, of feeling its punishment. The rite of sacrifice thus proclaimed daily the great truth, that "the wages of sin is death;" and every one who neglected this rite had suspended over his head the sword of Divine justice, which, if not plunged into him by the magistrates of his nation, might, in a moment fall on him from the invisible hand of the Divine Legislator and just Judge.

Another most impressive mode of preserving, in vigour, in Israel the impression of the justice of God, was *lex talionis*, the law of retaliation or retribution. Transgressions of the laws, for which no expiatory victim was provided, were, when distinctly known, instantly adequately punished, by

fire or death. The king or magistrates had no authority to confine the accused in prison, he was to be placed before the tribunal without delay. Moses gave no directions respecting prisons, except we call by this name the cities of refuge. No ruler had authority to change, or mitigate, or remit the sentence of the law, or defer its execution. All legislators have agreed that immediate punishment is one of the most effectual means of maintaining the dignity and honour of the law and government. This was strictly enjoined by Moses. Arbitrary power, caprice, or even compassion, was incompatible with the faithful discharge of the office of judge in Israel. He was not to pity or spare any more than to judge rashly, partially, or unjustly. Retribution was to regulate all his decisions: "Life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot, burning for burning, wound for wound, stripe for stripe, death for death."

These remarks may suffice to show that the administration of the kingdom of Israel was peculiarly framed to place before man the immutable connexion between sin and punishment; it was verily, "the ministration of death." And the Divine propriety of this will be manifest to those who observe that, during the period for which it was designed, the justice of God was not demonstrated. No punishment was inflicted on man that had any fitness to prove that "though hand join in hand, the sinner shall not go unpunished." For no one appeared to suffer equal to what he deserved as a transgressor of the laws of his Creator, or as an enemy of the benevolent government of the sovereign of the world. And everywhere, and in every age, many most notorious for wickedness were most prosperous in this world. While, however, justice thus strictly executed in Israel, discovered the wisdom of Jehovah, it, to a considerable degree, veiled his compassionate love and benevolence towards the human race. He was revealed by it to be "the great and dreadful God, who keepeth the covenant; the jealous God, and a consuming fire." It pleased him to reserve for the future age, and for the period of the Fifth Empire, the perfect demonstration of his justice and the perfect manifestation of his own nature, as the God who delighteth in mercy, so that every man might know that "God is love." And for this end he sent his Son into the world, "not to condemn the world, but that the world through him might be saved." The substitution of the only begotten Son of God instead of sinners is at once the highest possible moral evidence that God is, at once, in

flexibly just and inexpressibly merciful. To illustrate and confirm this sentiment we will not attempt here; but refer our readers to the works of those who have ably treated this most important of all subjects. Whoever will contemplate the character, doctrines, sufferings, death, resurrection, and glory of Jesus of Nazareth, will not fail to perceive that God has given irrefragable proof that he has no pleasure in the death of sinners, and not less that he will not spare the guilty, who refuse submission to the righteous government of his beloved Son. Since he spared not him, when he occupied the sinner's place, he shall assuredly not spare those who love him not as the Father loves him. Who does not, must feel the force of the figure applied by our Lord to his sufferings, when he proceeded to bear the Divine curse on the cross! "Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me, but for yourselves and your children,—for if they do these things in a green tree, what shall be done in the dry?" Now to all his disciples it is surely obvious, that since Divine justice was demonstrated, it was not requisite that the terrible administration ordained by Moses for Israel, should characterise the administration of the kingdom of God, of which Jesus, our Lord, is the King. Accordingly, Jesus explicitly excluded from his empire temporal punishments and death. He confessed himself the heir of David, the Christ, the Saviour of the world, and Lord of all; but, early in his ministry, he plainly intimated that during his reign no country or place, or indeed any thing, except the principles and laws and subjects of his kingdom on earth, would be deemed by Heaven holy or sacred, as Canaan, the tenth of its products, and the temple, and its ministers and vessels, had been. "The hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth: for the Father seeketh such to worship him." And with equal clearness did he teach his followers that he was not come to form a community, whose purity and prosperity were to be protected by the immediate punishment of their secret, or public and bold enemies. Thus, on the Samaritans behaving unkindly to Jesus, his favourite disciples said, "Lord, wilt thou that we command fire to come down from heaven, and consume them, even as Elias did? But he turned, and rebuked them, and said, Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of. For the Son of man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them." Could any language more decidedly declare that the

administration of death by Moses would find no place in the new empire?

This marvellous revolution in the community of the worshippers of God was also fully implied in all the announcements by Jesus, that he came to redeem them from all their enemies, by giving himself a ransom for them, by laying down his life for them, and by his assurance that for this very act the Father had loved him, and had committed to him all power and authority, that he might give them eternal life. The legitimate inference from this instruction was, that the ritual of sacrifice would cease; for having procured all blessedness for his people, they needed no longer to offer innocent victims to expiate their sins. The Father's approbation of him, publicly testified by raising him from the dead, and receiving him to glory, that he might be Lord of all, was sufficient evidence that he had honoured his law, and vindicated his government. The law of retribution was by consequence no more required to instruct mankind that God was just, if they intelligently, unfeignedly, and cordially credited the Divine testimony concerning the Lord Jesus Christ, who by his obedience unto death, had fully illustrated and vindicated the Divine justice in the condemnation and death of sinners. Thus it was manifest that he came not to destroy, but to fulfil the law of retribution, as well as the law of sacrifice; and having finished his work, superseded both. In accordance with this, we observe that among his first public instructions, he declared the law of retaliation obsolete: "Ye have heard that it hath been said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth: but I say unto you, That ye resist not evil; but whosoever shall smite thee on the right cheek, turn to him the other also. And if any man will sue thee at the law, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also. And whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain. Give to him that asketh thee; and from him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away. Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy: but I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you; that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven; for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust. For if ye love them which love you, what reward have ye? do not even the publicans the same? And if ye salute your



brethren only, what do ye more than others? do not even the publicans so? Be ye therefore, perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect."—Matt. v. 38-48.

The circumstances in which Jesus was placed were peculiarly favourable to the bringing to the test of truth his high claims to be the Messiah, the promised King of Israel, and the Saviour and Sovereign of the world. No people were equally qualified with the Jews to detect the imposture of any one who avowed himself to be their expected king; for they alone possessed and valued the Divine predictions concerning him. They had been intrusted with the sacred oracles; and, however ignorant they generally were of their real import, they were enthusiastically attached to them, as the charter of their nation. Every Jew had access to the scriptures, which were deposited in the temple, and in every synagogue of the empire; and were, in the after ages, read every Sabbath in the hearing of the whole congregation. These writings delineated the character of the Messiah sufficiently clear to enable any intelligent, serious, and candid reader to try and decide the pretensions of any one who confessed himself to be that exalted personage; and never were the people in general more deeply interested in his coming, nor more earnestly looking for him, than in the age of the Lord Jesus Christ. They valued liberty more than life; and it is plain from Josephus, as well as from the New Testament, that they had no hope of deliverance from the tyranny of foreigners, except in the speedy fulfilment of the promise respecting the son and heir of David.

As for the chief men among the Jews, we have ample evidence that the study of the Scriptures was the business of their life. To know them was one of the chief and ultimate objects of the whole of their education. The Old Testament was the principal book in all their schools; and a complete knowledge of it was the highest boast of their most learned men; the multitude, being deemed ignorant of it, were, on that very account, despised. Hence, the common maxim of the Pharisees was, that "the people who know not the law are cursed." Nor did the sect of the Pharisees boast of learning of which they were destitute. They entertained the highest hopes of worldly power, honour, wealth, and pleasure in the kingdom of Messiah; and, by consequence, carefully investigated all things recorded concerning him by Moses and the prophets. The minuteness of their knowledge of him is strongly indicated by their ready reply to the in-

quiry of Herod respecting the place where he was born : " and they said unto him, in Bethlehem of Judea ; for thus it is written by the prophet, and thou Bethlehem, in the land of Juda, art not the least among the princes of Juda ; for out of thee shall come a Governor that shall rule my people Israel." Matt. ii. 5, 6.

Few people surpassed the Jews in personal appearance or in intellectual capacity. Their mental powers were much less perverted, and their lives less debased by superstition than any other nation, especially in the age of our Lord and his apostles. Their religion, and the original constitution of their nation, certainly prevented them from pursuing with ardour the philosophy and sciences of Greece and Rome. These objects were, however, known and valued by a few of the Jews, especially by the sect of the Sadducees, and those who either adhered to the family of Herod or the Romans. Besides, not a few Romans, enlightened in all the knowledge and literature of Greece, either sojourned or resided in Judea, during our Lord's ministry. It is therefore incontrovertible, that neither he nor any one could have attempted to carry on a scheme of deception in Judea, without being quickly detected and exposed to punishment, shame, and contempt, seeing he was surrounded by many, mature in intellect, eminent for worldly wisdom, and mental acquirements, and the first in the world for knowledge of Moses and the prophets.

Nor was he possessed of any means to allay suspicion, repress inquiry, or procure able assistants to impose on the community ; he presented nothing most desirable and sought by those most renowned for talent, piety, or patriotism. He belonged to the class who were accounted by those acknowledged the proper judges, ignorant of the law, and cursed. He belonged indeed to the basest of this class, for he had resided, all his days, in Nazareth, whose inhabitants were the most depraved and degraded of all the Galileans ; and these were the most polluted of the whole race of the Jews. Though he therefore spoke as never man spoke, and discovered himself inexpressibly superior in Divine knowledge, dignity, gravity, authority, and persuasive powers to all the legitimate teachers of his nation, yet the influential class regarded his instructions unworthy of attention, because he had not been educated in the national schools, nor had any connexion with persons of public reputation. The meanness of his birth, and his usual manner of life, they considered sufficient to justify them in neglecting his ministry. His talents and at-

tainments perplexed them, provoked their envy and hatred and awakened distressing fear and apprehensions. But the queries, "Whence hath this man this wisdom? Is not this the carpenter's son, and his mother Mary?" calmed their spirits, flattered their pride, and confirmed them in their purpose to give him no countenance as a public instructor of the people.

Indeed, they could have no sympathy with his instructions, for they were wholly opposed to him on the most important subjects of religion and morals. For example, they had scarcely more just or honourable views of the True God, than those entertained by idolaters. The latter imagined that their God was the protector of their friends, and the destroyer of their enemies; and the former believed that their race were alone the objects of the special care of the supreme God, and that he purposed to exalt them to the sovereignty of every other race of Adam. How opposed to this low and repelling idea of the One God is the revelation of his nature and doings, by the Lord Jesus. To impress all minds with a just conviction of the impartiality and universal benevolence of the Divine government, he appeals to the constant operations of nature to promote the happiness of mankind; "Your Father in heaven, maketh the sun to rise on the evil and the good, and sendeth rain on the just and unjust." The Jews persuaded themselves that the Saviour promised to their fathers was to come to save them and reduce all nations under them. Jesus declared that this Saviour was sent for the salvation of all men, without respect of persons; "God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish but have everlasting life. For God sent not his Son into the world to condemn the world; but that the world through him might be saved."—John iii. 16, 17.

The Jews entertained views of the character of acceptable worshippers of God completely different from those given by the Lord Jesus. They conceived that God was pleased with all who observed the signs of homage which his law prescribed, even while they violated the most interesting of his laws. Though they were destitute of love to him, and of compassion for man, yet they presumed that he approved of them, because they were zealous observers of the rites of sacrifice and cleansing. Fasting, long prayers, and gifts to the temple, in their opinion, conciliated the Divine favour, and procured them liberty to employ all their efforts to obtain wealth, power, honour, and pleasure. Jesus declared that

such a conduct was abomination in the sight of God ; that all worship was hateful and vain, which was offered him without supreme reverence for his majesty and authority, and supreme love of his holiness and laws ; and that the true worshippers were those only who worshipped him in spirit and in truth.

Thus he accused the Jews, especially their most renowned teachers, of entire ignorance of the True God, and pronounced their religion utterly worthless in his eyes. That they were therefore neither disposed to examine candidly his claims, nor to place themselves under his direction as the heavenly Teacher, can surprise no one. Accustomed to regard themselves as the only enlightened teachers of true religion, and to look on the wisest of all other nations as vain pretenders to wisdom, how indignant must they have felt when pronounced blind leaders of the blind, the enemies of God, and the destroyers of the souls of mankind.

The predominant spirit and general conduct of Jesus had no more charms for the Jewish teachers and their disciples than his public instructions. Profound humility before God, disinterested love for his institutions, and increasing fidelity in his service for the good of all classes of the people, were conspicuous features in the character of Jesus of Nazareth ; and these strongly condemned the pride, haughtiness, ambition, selfishness, and indifference for the best interests of the community ; which obviously characterised the most popular and influential rulers and teachers in Judea. They lived and laboured to support pretensions to piety and righteousness, which were alien from their nature, and desires, and secret deeds, as light is from darkness. In Jesus was no trace of guile or hypocrisy. Not a vestige of artificial sacredness was visible in his countenance, dress, gait, or language. He had not one face, garb, or manner for the family circle and another for the public assemblies. Deep and solemn thought produced permanent gravity ; arduous enterprise, earnestness of address and activity of movements ; and internal perfect peace was indicated by habitual cheerfulness and courtesy. Far was from him the grimace, the broad phylactery, the slow and pompous pace, or the solemn prayer in the public places, by which the Pharisee sought to excite the wonder, and respect, and admiration of the unreflecting, the devout, or the superstitious. He did not even put on the rough garb of the prophet, nor withdraw from the society of those accounted impure and profane. He was the man of the people,

the friend of publicans and sinners ; he was the faithful counsellor, the generous friend, and benevolent companion of all who discovered wisdom to forsake the foolish and live, and to go in the way of understanding. "The Son of man came eating and drinking" like one of the common people ; and only excelled them in "going about doing good." Thus Jesus, by doctrine and example, detected and exposed the ignorance, dissimulation, ungodliness, and wickedness of the Jewish teachers and rulers. They felt condemned ; but their sense of shame was much less than their anger and revenge. And hence, instead of repentance, confession of sins, and reformation, they hated their faithful monitor, and resolved to destroy him. This state of mind urged them on to investigate the validity of his claims ; they sedulously watched his words and movements, in private and public, employed spies to observe and report whatever he said or did, and denounced disgrace and vengeance on all who countenanced his ministry, or discovered regard for his person, respect for his authority, or confidence in his instructions. He was not moved from his path, nor turned from his course, from dread of their power or wrath, or from apprehension of their snares. He knew their secret thoughts, their plans, subtle devices, and diabolical arts ; and he boldly revealed them to the people, and announced openly the certain just and fearful punishment which would speedily fall on his enemies. That they might be fully warned, so that their impenitence might be inexcusable, he announced their doom sometimes in plain language, but more frequently in parables, by which he more effectually procured their attention. They boasted in the privilege and honour of being God's peculiar people, intrusted with the keeping of the law and the promises, and the ordained instructors of mankind. He declared that they would be cast out of the kingdom of God ; that their religious distinctions would be transferred to other races, who would more faithfully execute the trust committed to them ; and that God would expel them from his land, and scatter them over the whole world, monuments of his justice and power. This compassionate warning they contemned, and zealously counselled, and more unitedly determined, to cut him off from the land of the living. How intensely they sought accusations against him, and how perseveringly they prosecuted them, no one requires to be informed who reads the simple, unadorned, and truth-bearing narrative of his life by the Evangelists.

Nothing exasperated the rulers and priests more than the

universal benevolence, simplicity, and integrity of the conduct of our Lord. He showed becoming deference for the useful institutions of society, as well as reverence for the sacred laws of his country. He everywhere taught his disciples and the multitude to "render unto Cesar the things that are Cesar's, and unto God the things that are God's;" but he uniformly spoke of all men, in their relation to God, as occupying a common place. He declared that all were sinners, justly exposed to the Divine displeasure, and equally requiring Divine mercy. This sentiment was most acceptable to every one who felt himself sinful and under the condemnation of the law; but it was most offensive to the numerous class who conceived that the qualities which they valued, and which were generally admired and praised by men, were not less esteemed by God. Thus, honourable birth, sacred or high offices, great talents, superior education, religious knowledge, devotion, and zeal, considerable wealth, power, and influence, were believed to recommend those who possessed, or pretended to possess them, not less to the favour of God than to the respect of man. In opposition to this, Jesus proclaimed that these superficial excellences were of no account before God, who looketh not merely on the outward appearance but also on the heart; and that those who gloried in them were as vile in his sight as the most immoral and degraded of the race of men. Few principles did Jesus more strongly and frequently enforce than that "That which is most highly esteemed among men is an abomination in the sight of God," and, that "He who exalteth himself shall be abased, and he who humbleth himself shall be exalted." In accordance with these unworldly principles, he announced that publicans and sinners enter the kingdom, and all who trusted that they were righteous, and despised others, were excluded. It was the common practice of the public teachers and rulers to despise, and neglect, and oppress the lower classes of the people, while the ministry of Jesus accomplished the prediction concerning him, that "to the poor the gospel is preached." He, however, employed no artifice to win followers among any class; he sought not the honour that cometh from man. He threw no disguise over his conduct; in his public ministry all was light as day. The high-priest, seated as judge, betrayed great presumption, as well as an earnest wish to ensnare and destroy him, when he asked Jesus, who had been dragged before his tribunal, to give account of himself and his doctrine. But his conduct

gave occasion to the most noble and triumphant appeal of our Lord to the unquestionable simplicity and integrity of his life: "Jesus answered him, I spake openly to the world; I ever taught in the synagogue, and in the temple, whither the Jews also resort; and in secret have I said nothing. Why askest thou me? ask them which heard me what I have said unto them: behold they know what I have said." His miracles were performed in the light of day, and were a direct appeal to the common sense and understanding of all ages and ranks, in confirmation of his high claims. He employed no arts or devices of human wisdom or deception to impose on the credulous; nor were his doings enshrouded by any veil of mystery or secrecy to conceal them from the closest inspection of the intelligent or prejudiced.

He manifested his supernatural wisdom, benevolence, and mercy when, and how, and to whom it seemed good in his own sight. He had no counsellor; the wishes, hopes, fears, or devices of friends or enemies influenced none of his movements. He spake, and it was done; he commanded, and it stood fast. He admitted no concert or consultation to raise high expectations respecting him. Nothing moved him in his heavenly course, except the wants, the sorrows, and prayers of the miserable; resolute unbelief and scornful contempt alone temporarily shut up the inexhaustible fountain of his compassionate power. We observe no preliminary preparations connected with his miracles, at least none having any tendency to effect them. He made clay and anointed the eyes of the blind, and their vision was restored; he told the paralytic to stretch forth his hand, and its energy was recovered; he breathed on his disciples, and they received the Holy Spirit, by whom they were endowed with supernatural knowledge, wisdom, and power.

He had received no education fitting him for the performance of any thing which had any real semblance or approximation to the miracles which distinguished him. His life was passed in poverty and labour among the lowest class of the people. The fact that he belonged to the illiterate class increased the astonishment of the learned, when he discovered to them, in his twelfth year, more religious knowledge than them all. But it does not appear that he ever sought or pretended to possess pagan, or mere human learning; he was neither a literary instructor, politician, lawyer, nor physician. Nevertheless, "he healed all manner of diseases" and corporal defects of the people, and demonstrated com-

plete power over the elements of nature, invisible beings, and even human life. Many diseases, acknowledged in every age and country incurable by human art, were perfectly cured at his word; and this he did, in general, in circumstances which compelled all to confess the reality and completeness of the miracle. What additional incident could be imagined necessary or possible to show his glorious power by miracle more clearly or incontrovertibly than the accompaniments of many of his miracles? for example, the feeding of the thousands by a few loaves and fishes; the restoration of him who had been born blind; and the restoring to life the son of the widow of Nain, and Lazarus of Bethany.

All men had ample opportunity to ascertain the reality of the supernatural power which he conferred on his chosen disciples, and which confessedly was one of his greatest miracles. He appointed them to travel through all the cities and villages of Judea to heal the sick and cast out demons. But it does not appear that they wrought any miracles under his personal direction. Thus they were exposed to the scrutinizing eyes of the whole community. That they succeeded in all cases brought before them, except one, the Evangelists inform us; and the same authority assures us that they performed all in the name or by the authority and invisible power, of their great Teacher, in order to persuade every man to receive him as their Saviour and King. That they had neither ability nor inclination to deceive, their acquirements and general conduct fully show. They were illiterate, simple, and upright men; and the single individual among them destitute of moral integrity is one of the most remarkable witnesses of the uprightness of his associates, and of the perfect excellence of their Lord, for, after he had betrayed him, he publicly, and in the most awfully solemn circumstances, declared that he was an innocent man.

That the most eminent in Judea for talent, learning, power, and wealth, most diligently improved the opportunity afforded them to test the claim of the Lord Jesus is unquestionable. Either in person or by able emissaries they watched all his movements, and had recourse to every plan to discover a fault or defect in him. They had many private interviews with him, under the guise of friends or religious inquirers, and seemed to have joined his social meetings, and to have attended his public ministrations, in the cities, the villages, fields, and on the shores of the lake of Galilee. They neglected no means to procure cause, or something like cause, of accusa-



tion against him, which the wisdom of their united counsels and deliberations could suggest, or which their power, wealth, or influence could supply. They received and propagated every calumny fitted to dishonour him, and accused him of every motive which they supposed could possibly actuate him. And when they found him without blame, they clandestinely forced him to appear in the courts of law to be judged of crimes which he knew not, and of which they were assuredly convinced that he was wholly innocent. On the testimony of those whom no one believed, the Jewish leaders condemned him ; and, after publicly proclaiming him innocent, and worthy of life, Pilate, the Roman magistrate, handed him over to be crucified, to avoid the necessity of encountering a tumult of the multitude, whose fury had been kindled by the fiery wrath of their unjust, ambitious, and blood-thirsty rulers.

While Jesus urgently and often declared that all his works proved that he was the Messiah, he especially referred to his last great work of rising from the dead. This he announced to be his own act, and no one will imagine for a moment that God would have ever given him authority or power to accomplish his prediction had he been an impostor. This was evident to his murderers ; and as they all knew this prophecy, they most zealously exerted themselves to secure his body in the tomb, for they distinctly perceived that its fulfilment would place their authority, interest, and honour, in greater hazard than ever. Every facility was given them by Pilate to avert the dreaded event ; and they sealed the stone, and set a watch, "lest," said they, "his disciples come and steal his body, and the last error be worse than the first." The Jewish rulers were, or pretended to be, as ignorant of the real character of his disciples as they were of his own ; for, instead of any attempt to retrieve his honour, fearful apprehensions of personal danger had seized the minds of every one of his followers. With the exception of a few females, all had sought safety in concealment ; and the women were wholly engaged in efforts to honour him in death, without any idea of his rising from the dead ; sorrow filled their hearts, and left no room for his former instructions ; they had forgot his predictions ; and his resurrection came on them probably with more surprise than it did on his most virulent foes. The evidences of this great event are numerous and irrefragable, as has been shown by many Christian authors ; but it is scarcely necessary to refer to any other than "West on the Resurrection,"

for this able work is sufficient to satisfy any candid person who feels the least doubt on the subject.

It is not possible to imagine any thing that could, equal to this event, demonstrate that Jesus Christ was the most beloved of God, and that all he had done was approved by him. It is therefore manifest that this is the perfect and immoveable basis of Christianity. One of the most important and most just inferences from it is, that Jesus must have suffered death, as he uniformly taught, for the sins of the world; and in him was, by consequence, accomplished the many predictions, that Messiah was, by his personal sufferings, to procure the redemption of all who should believe in him, or become his upright and willing followers. The very time of his death precisely corresponded to that, perhaps the most remarkable prediction concerning it, by Daniel, whom the angel in vision thus instructed: "Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people, and upon thy holy city, to finish the transgression, and to make an end of sins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up the vision and prophecy, and to anoint the most holy. Know, therefore, and understand, that from the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem, unto the Messiah the Prince, shall be seven weeks, and threescore and two weeks; the street shall be built again, and the wall, even in troublous times. And after threescore and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off, but not for himself: and the people of the prince that shall come shall destroy the city, and the sanctuary; and the end thereof shall be with a flood, and unto the end of the war desolations are determined. And he shall confirm the covenant with many for one week: and in the midst of the week he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease, and for the overspreading of abominations he shall make it desolate, even until the consummation, and that determined, shall be poured upon the desolate." A brief exposition of the various sentences of this interesting passage is given in the note on it in the Pocket Commentary. We deem it, however, expedient here to remark that, dating the commencement of the period predicted from the decree by Cyrus to build the temple of Jerusalem, and the termination at the utter desolation of the holy city and land by the Romans, it is incontrovertible that Messiah was to be cut off sometime before the latter great event; that he truly was put to death in the person of Jesus of Nazareth, for the sins of the people, and brought in an everlasting righteousness and

reconciliation, by which the most unrighteous may draw near to God and obtain justification from all their iniquity, are the subjects reported to us by all the holy apostles and prophets.

It is plain from Daniel, that soon after the death of Messiah, sacrifices were to cease to be offered in Jerusalem, and that the city should be desolated. These events unquestionably transpired, and he must therefore be come, if the prophet spoke by inspiration. The chosen witnesses of the resurrection of Christ were exclusively his faithful disciples. This was divinely proper, for how could he have appeared to others without being exposed to renewed sufferings and dishonour? The rulers of the Jews extolled over his fall, and the multitude were animated by the same spirit. No favourable change passed on the nation before the day of Pentecost. "They had not repented of the murder of the righteous One, that they might believe." His appearance among them could have had no salutary effect. They had seen Lazarus rise from the dead; and the only effect was increased enmity against the Author of the miracle. And, doubtless, considering the state of their minds, had Jesus, after his resurrection deigned to mix in their society, they would have risen like beasts of prey, and rushed on to devour him. His power might have crushed all opposers; but the time for thus exercising it was not come: for he was not yet exalted to judge and punish. Nor had the period of long-suffering and mercy towards the infidel Jews terminated. On the other hand, the day of his humiliation was ended. He had done all the will of his Father, which was necessary to expiate sin, and buy up his people from under the curse. Hence it was not compatible with his relation to heaven, that he should endure any longer the contradiction of sinners against himself. He was justified from all the charges laid against him: and he had magnified the law, and made it appear holy, just, and good. The period of his triumph was arrived, and he was about to enter into his glory. His disciples, especially those of them who had attended him, and seen him in all places and circumstances, were alone best qualified to identify his person. And as none could more certainly ascertain that he was indeed risen, so none possessed, to a higher degree, the integrity and love of truth requisite to the delivering a plain and true testimony. Though properly no more a man of this world, yet he condescended, during six weeks, to associate occasionally with his disciples, not indeed as the humble sufferer, but as the supreme Lord and Leader of his followers. He, in-

deed, gave them ample proof that he was the same being who had lived the man of sorrow. But his whole behaviour strongly marked the complete exemption from human infirmities and degradations. He no longer lived or lodged with his most beloved followers; he seemed no longer a sojourner on earth. During the intervals between his interviews with his beloved disciples, no one knew where he was, nor whence he came. It is most probable that he passed these seasons in the society of angels, whom Heaven appointed to wait on him. In all his meetings with his disciples, he appeared in all the dignity of their supreme Teacher, Saviour, and Lord, "speaking of the things concerning his kingdom." And the final meeting closed with the marvellous revelation of his glory, similar in kind and appearance to that in which he will descend to judge the world: "And, while they looked stedfastly toward heaven as he went up, behold, two men stood by them in white apparel; which also said, Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye gazing up into heaven? This same Jesus, which is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come in like manner as ye have seen him go into heaven."—Acts. i. 10, 11.

The administration which the Lord Jesus appointed for his kingdom completely vindicated him from all the false aspersions which had been cast on him. He recognised none as his subjects, nor attached value to the services of any one who declined to renounce himself, take up his cross and follow him. Worldly rank, human wisdom, mere confession of belief in him, or the most scrupulous external conformity to his law, were accounted by him as nothing. Those selected to represent him on earth as his chief ministers, had apparently no higher reputation in society than that conceded to the fishermen of Galilee, and publicans, or the collectors of the taxes imposed on the nations by the Romans. And these ministers he faithfully warned, not to assume their office till he endowed them from heaven, after his ascension to the right hand of God, nor to expect success in their labours, except by his invisible power working with them. What could more distinctly and decisively indicate that his "kingdom was not of this world?" They received no injunctions, which could, by any ingenuity, be interpreted to authorise them to form a community, for the attainment of any secular object; to prepare an army for defensive or offensive war in support of his interest or honour; or to accumulate a revenue for the support of the dignity, and honour, and ease, of his faithful servants. The entire object of the administration of the apos

ties was manifestly to originate and establish a spiritual, moral, and holy dominion over the hearts and lives of as many as chose to become followers of their Saviour, and Sovereign, and Judge.

To accomplish this divine and heavenly object, the commission which he gave his ministers proposed no other means than the proclamation of the gospel, which secured all spiritual blessings to every one who received it in love: and a course of religious instruction, embracing all the principles and laws, which he would reveal by the Holy Spirit, for the regulation of all his avowed subjects. Thus his last words to his ministers were, "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world. Amen." Matt. xxviii. 18—20.

The most satisfactory evidence was given all men that the apostles were perfectly qualified for the office of chief ministers in the kingdom of God, the Fifth great Empire of Prophecy. They maintained their fidelity to their heavenly Lord; and he faithfully fulfilled his promises to them. From the hour that the Holy Spirit descended on them, on the day of Pentecost, we have ample and conclusive proof, that they sacrificed every earthly consideration, and were daily prepared to present their lives as a thank-offering, to advance the dignity and honour of his name, and the glory of his kingdom. From this honourable position, no power in earth or hell could move them. Nor did they take up this position in ignorance of the consequences, for of these their Lord had fully warned them; and all their circumstances clearly admonished them. Had any secular motives lurked in their heart, they certainly pursued the only course which visibly and inevitably led to disappointment and misery. They had no reason to expect ease, abundance, wealth, honour, or pleasure, in announcing that He who was crucified as a reviler of God, and a pretender to the royal power of Cesar, was the only Saviour, Sovereign, and Judge of mankind. Indeed, they knew well that, in obeying him, nothing awaited them but shame, poverty, stripes, chains, imprisonment, and death. All this they were reconciled joyfully to endure, while they were enabled to testify the truth concerning their Lord, and to persuade men to believe their testimony, and share with

them in the obedience, sufferings, and blessings of his heavenly kingdom. And when all their apprehensions of danger were realized, and they were called to suffer death on account of their testimony, they held fast their integrity, and rejoiced to suffer and die in the discharge of their embassy. How richly they were fitted for their high office, and how abundantly the Lord gave testimony to them in the performance of its onerous and unparalleled duties, all perceive, who carefully peruse the Acts of the Apostles and the sacred Epistles.

Paul was the only one of the chief ministers of Christ who appears to have been distinguished by splendid natural talents and literary acquirements. He resolutely avoided the use of every thing suggested or supplied by human wisdom, which had a tendency either to obscure the gospel or conceal its power to save men. Nevertheless, the twelve apostles not only wrought miracles greater in number, and perhaps in many cases more striking, than those performed by Christ, but also were called to confer miraculous powers on many, by the laying on of their hands. But these powers they were careful to ascribe wholly to the presence of Christ; they did nothing in their own name, for they confessed that without him they could do nothing: and, like him, all their works were open to the inspection and investigation of all men. Nor did they desire secrecy; on the contrary, they selected the most public places, and the most enlightened communities, for their principal spheres of service; and urged on all to examine their testimony, their conduct and doings. To their ministrations may truly be applied the language of Paul, in relation to the events in his Lord's life, "these things were not done in a corner." In every place visited by the apostles, God recommended them, as his inspired servants, to the confidence of all the people by many signs and wonders, and divers miracles. To these they appealed to justify themselves in demanding those to whom they ministered to receive their message and instructions, as the expression of the mind of God. They never used their wonderful endowments to promote their own or their friends' worldly interest; such a thought was most abhorrent to their minds. They lived to magnify the Lord, to call all men to repentance, and to confirm and establish the belief and hope in Christ of all who received their testimony concerning him, not as the word of man, but as the word of the living God.

These alone were acknowledged by the Apostles to be the legitimate subjects of the kingdom. They formed these into distinct communities, exclusively for the purpose of observing the religious institutions which they by the Spirit, declared necessary for the honour of the Lord, and the prosperity, enlargement, and permanence of his righteous government in the world. Christian societies thus constituted interfered not with any worldly communities or human institutions. The great object of their establishment was the propagation and maintenance of divine truth among men. They were loyal and peaceable subjects under any government, and obeyed every statute of man which restricted not their obedience to the supreme authority of the Lord Jesus Christ.

The number of Christian societies rapidly increased ; and each of these received, under the direction of the twelve Apostles, as many rulers, teachers, and servants as were requisite for their instruction, peace and good order. The inferiority of these ministers to the Apostles was manifest by the fact that, in their official teaching, rule, and work, they were exclusively guided by the revelations which were immediately communicated to them by the Apostles, or which were sanctioned by them as divine, and consequently infallible truth. Thus in the kingdom of God, or Christian Church, the only judges acknowledged unerring, in their official character as the chief ministers, were the twelve apostles, appointed by Christ to sit on twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes, or entire nation of the true Israel ; and thus that nation is built on the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Christ Jesus himself being the chief corner stone. It follows, that from the time of the decease of the apostles, all ministers and members of the Christian Church could only hope to please the Lord in proportion as each one ascertained and submitted to his mind, recorded in the scriptures, which were written by holy men, as they were moved by the Holy Spirit. The sacred record is the exclusive judge of all religious controversy, and the infallible instructor into all the will of God. By the hands or ministry of the apostles, it seems probable that supernatural gifts were bestowed on some individuals in every Christian community. The most conspicuous, and perhaps the most common of these were the gifts of speaking various languages, healing diseases, and predicting future events. We have no instance in

the New Testament of such miraculous powers being possessed by any Christians who had not received the gospel direct from one or other of the apostles; and it may hence be concluded that to their age was confined the power of working miracles.



## CHAPTER II.

### THE ROMAN EMPIRE TRIUMPHANT.

OF all who had apparent claims to succeed Augustus, Tiberius, who actually ascended the throne, was perhaps the most appropriate instrument to sway the sceptre of that empire, whose proper emblem was the nameless wild beast that had great iron teeth, capable of devouring, breaking in pieces, and stamping the residue with his feet. He owed his honours and power to a series of calamitous events in the royal family, far beyond the prescience of man to have anticipated. He was the oldest, and the least esteemed by the emperor, the senate, army, and people, of almost all who were deemed at any time heirs of Augustus. These were chiefly Marcellus, Tiberius, and his brother Drusus and his children, Agrippa and his family.

Drusus was younger than Tiberius, but, from his earliest years, far more amiable, and his equal, if not superior, in intellectual talents, and military acquirements. Beloved by Augustus, they were appointed to important offices several years before the age fixed by law. They were distinguished as leaders of the armies which defended the northern frontiers of the empire. Drusus was not more admired as a soldier than loved as a man and a patriot. Truth regulated all his words and deeds; his general character was unblemished, and his political principles and views were those common to the Romans in their best age. While he maintained firm fidelity to his father-in-law, he was a sincere republican. His highest ambition was to advance the glory of the Roman name, and the welfare of all ranks. About B. C. 14, Italy suffered much from a horde of barbarians who laid waste its rich lands, and spared no one who fell into their hands. As a proof of their inhumanity, it is said that, when they found among their prisoners a pregnant female, she was instantly killed, if their augurs, whom they consulted, declared that she carried a male child. Against these fierce and cruel warriors, Dru-

sus was sent at the head of an army. He speedily overthrew them, with great slaughter. Those who escaped joined another race of their native country, Germany, and proposed to invade Gaul. That Drusus might be able to oppose them, Tiberius was ordered to join him; and under them the Romans successively repelled and subdued three of the most barbarous of the German races. Roman colonies were stationed to overawe them; and several cities were built; particularly Drusomagus and Augusta, the modern Meningen and Augsburg. A few years later, Drusus had the happiness of preventing a general revolt in Gaul; for he no sooner learned that the inhabitants were resolved to cast off the Roman yoke, in consequence of taxes imposed on them, than "he summoned all the chiefs to assist at the solemn ceremony of consecrating a temple which the Lugdunenses had built in honour of Julius Cesar. When they were all assembled, Drusus, by his address and engaging behaviour, won their affections to such a degree, that they not only dropped the design they had formed of shaking off the Roman yoke, but agreed to erect an altar to Augustus, and to pay him, even in his lifetime, divine honours. Sixty different nations concurred in this design, each of them contributing their quota, and sending a statue to adorn the new altar, which was consecrated with great solemnity on the first day of August, and became soon very famous all over Gaul, as is plain from the writings of almost all the ancients. Games were instituted in honour of the new deity, much of the same nature with the Nemæan and Isthmian games."

Having quitted Gaul, he led a powerful army into Germany, and reduced the nations on the Rhine, and triumphantly proceeded to the Northern Ocean. On his return, a vast multitude of the natives attempted, by an ambuscade, to destroy his army. Having discovered their treachery, he suddenly attacked and overcame them. In honour of his triumphs in Germany, he was named Germanicus, an honourable appellation retained by his family. His last campaign brought under the Roman yoke all the nations from the Rhine to the Elbe, on whose banks he erected several trophies. On returning to the Rhine, he was seized by a violent fever, which quickly cut him off, in his thirtieth year. He left three children, Drusus Germanicus, Livilla, and Claudius, by his wife Antonia, a daughter of M. Antony and Octavia, the admired sister of Augustus. His body was carried by the magistrates and officers from one Roman colony or city to another, till

the procession reached Rome, and his funeral was conducted with great pomp. Augustus delivered an oration, in which he entreated the gods "to grant him a death as glorious as that of Drusus, and make the grandchildren whom they had given him, to tread in their father's steps." Had he lived, probably the army and people would have raised him to the first place in the empire. But in consequence of his republican principles, or more probably the influence of his mother, he was less honoured by Augustus than his brother, whom the emperor, as well as all who knew him, rather feared than loved. Before the death of Drusus, Tiberius had been, at the death of Agrippa, appointed governor of Rome, and next in dignity to the emperor.

The probability is strong that the empress Livia, had long taught her favourite son Tiberius to aspire to the sovereignty of the empire ; and urged him to engage in such noble enterprises as should show that he was worthy of this most splendid object of human ambition. His military skill and bravery were frequently displayed ; and he acquired renown in defending the empire from the inroads of barbarians, particularly in Thrace. But his personal aspect and character procured him few friends. For many years his conduct was not very exceptionable ; but he was suspected to indulge the darkest and most malignant passions, and to be as capable of dissimulation and cruelty as his mother, in whom these destructive qualities predominated through a long life. Her partiality for him, and her power to do evil, were universally known, and the most atrocious crime, or most melancholy event, which tended to place him nearer the throne, was very generally conjectured or believed to have originated with her.

Marcellus, the interesting son of Octavia, was married to Julia, his aunt, who was the only daughter of Augustus. In a season of much sickness, he fell a victim to fever, in his nineteenth year. This fatal event was supposed by many to be produced by Antonius Musa, the physician, celebrated for having cured Augustus of a similar complaint. Antonius was believed to have, to please the empress, added poison to the remedies, which were considered, from their effect on the emperor, infallible.

The young widow was given to Agrippa, by whom she had three sons, Caius, Lucius, and Agrippa Posthumus. The two former were exceedingly beloved by their royal grandfather, and respected by the people, but they were too young at their father's death to enter on public life. The conse-

quence was, that his rank and influence at court were transferred to Tiberius; and to secure his fidelity, Augustus compelled him to dismiss his wife Vespasia, a daughter of Agrippa, by his first wife, and marry Julia, who, notwithstanding of her previous marriages, was one of the most infamous females of Rome. He was, at the same time, required, although he had a son of his own, to adopt Drusus Germanicus, the eldest son of his deceased brother Drusus. The sons of Agrippa were adopted into the imperial family, and intrusted with offices in the state before the legal age. They were soon discovered to be proud of their rank, and roused the jealousy of Tiberius and the hatred of Livia, his mother. Though he, therefore, had risen high in fame as a warrior, and was rewarded by great honour, yet he avowed his determination to retire from public life. His mother opposed this with tears, and Augustus would not consent till he found it impossible to change the mind of Tiberius, who, in sullen grief, had shut himself up, and abstained from food four successive days. He withdrew to Rhodes, under pretence of spending his time in study; and so provoked the emperor, that all his own or his friends' efforts failed for seven years to procure him liberty to return to Rome. To deprive the emperor of the society of his grandsons, Caius and Lucius, and, perhaps, secretly to destroy them, Livia prevailed on him to give them foreign appointments. Caius was made governor of Syria, and Lucius of Spain. The latter died suddenly at Marseilles, from poison administered by the emissaries of Livia; this, at least, is the report of some Roman writers. His body was carried in state to Rome, and magnificently interred in Augustus' own mausoleum. His brother was wounded in battle, in Armenia; and though the wound was not fatal, yet he never recovered health. He died in Lycia, it was imagined from the diabolical arts of Livia. The loss of these youths within eighteen months overwhelmed the spirit of the emperor; but Livia and Tiberius were unwearied in their services to administer to him consolation.

From this time Tiberius rapidly rose to dignity and authority in the state, and at the head of great armies made the power of Rome to be felt in Germany, from the Rhine to the Elbe, and in the regions of Dalmatia, Pannonia, and Illyricum. In the wars in these countries, his adopted son, Drusus Germanicus, acquired still more celebrity. The triumphant return of both generals diffused gladness and ex-

ultation among all ranks. Soon after the suppression of the most alarming revolt of the Germans, conducted by the famous Arminius, who almost cut off all the Roman legions, Augustus requested the senate to pass and proclaim the decree, which constituted Tiberius his equal. It run thus. "At the request of the people of Rome, we grant Caius Julius Cesar Tiberius the same authority over the provinces, and all the armies of the Roman state, which Augustus has held, which he still retains, and which we pray the gods he may long enjoy." The emperor scarcely survived this decree two years; and, as we have formerly noticed, his life was believed to be shortened by Livia, lest he should change his mind, and leave the crown to Agrippa Posthumus, in preference to Tiberius, whose ascent to the throne, in his fifty-sixth year, gave pleasure to no class of the community.

While Tiberius, with his usual dissimulation, publicly lamented that he was left alone to bear the burden of government, and consoled himself that many illustrious Romans remained to assist him, he instantly assumed the entire power of government, and ordered the murder of the only rival whom he dreaded, Agrippa Posthumus, who had been, from some imprudent acts, placed in a state of confinement. Germanicus would have been a more powerful rival, but his loyalty, integrity, and disinterestedness, were too well known to the emperor, his uncle and father by adoption, to occasion him, at this time, much uneasiness. He, however, very soon viewed him with suspicion; for he apprehended that he would have yielded to the temptation presented him on discovering the army were solicitous to exalt him to the throne. Besides, no one was more beloved than Germanicus by the Roman people, partly from their grateful recollection of his noble father, and partly on account of his own personal worth, and of the superior rank and excellence of his mother, Agrippina, the admired daughter of Agrippa and Julia, the wretched daughter of Augustus. The large army stationed on the Rhine were commanded by Germanicus, at the period of Augustus's death. They no sooner heard of this event than they invited their leader to assume the sovereignty of the empire. He declined the honour; and when some of the soldiers would have forced him to accept the honour, he hastily withdrew from them, exclaiming, "My duty to the emperor is more precious than my life." Nor was he satisfied in merely retaining his loyal fidelity; he allayed the passions of the soldiers for revolt, and employed them in

spreading the fame of the Roman arms and consolidating the empire in the North. His growing popularity alarmed the tyrant; and he resolved to remove him from his position in Germany to the command of the troops in the East. In compliance with the most flattering invitation of Tiberius, which was the usual indication that he premeditated evil against the object of his flattery, Germanicus left Germany. "On his arrival in Italy, only two cohorts or battalions were sent from Rome to receive him. But every circumstance tended to augment the jealousy of the emperor; the greater part of the prætorian bands, mingled with multitudes of the people of every sex, condition, and age, advanced of their own accord some miles from the city, and received him with uncommon acclamations of joy. Having made his entry, as had been proposed, in triumph, he was, with the emperor himself, put in nomination for the consulate of the following year. The popularity of which Germanicus now appeared to be possessed in the city, was no less mortifying to the emperor, than his power in the army was supposed to be dangerous. His presence, if it did not obscure the lustre of the emperor himself, seemed to place him in a continual state of competition with the other son of Tiberius; and the interests of these two princes, the one by adoption, the other by birth, the sons of the emperor, though supposed to be on the best terms with each other, had divided the court. Agrippina, the wife of Germanicus, inheriting the blood of Augustus, and ever carrying in her haughty looks the pretensions of the Cesarian family, was become to Livia, whom she considered as a stepmother, no less an object of animosity than she was to the emperor himself. Under these circumstances, the resolution to separate Germanicus from the German armies, and to place him in the command of the eastern provinces, a situation apparently honourable, but in which he should be surrounded with persons who might serve as a restraint, or as spies on his conduct, was now carried into execution. He was vested with a commission to restore the tranquillity of Asia, that was disturbed by some disputes which had arisen on the succession to the kingdoms of Cappadocia and Armenia." He left Rome for the East, in the end of the third year of Tiberius. Being placed over several provinces through which he was to pass, from the sea of Ionia to the extremities of Egypt and of Syria, he visited, as chief in command, the cities of Greece, still revered as the principal seminaries of philosophy and literature; and upon

his entry into Asia, proceeded to execute the commission on which he was sent. He reduced Cappadocia and Com-magene to the form of Roman provinces, making some abatement of the taxes formerly paid to their own princes, and settled Zeno, son to the king of Pontus, on the throne of Armenia. He afterwards ventured to continue his progress into Egypt, though contrary to an edict of the late emperor, which was still in force. On his return from thence he was taken ill, and died at Antioch in the thirty-fourth year of his age, with some suspicions of having been poisoned by Cn. Piso, the præfect of Syria, not without the connivance or the direction of Tiberius himself.

Whatever occasioned the death of Germanicus, it appears to have had a remarkable influence on the future conduct of Tiberius; for historians assert, that from this time he continued to discover, without disguise, the almost incredible malignancy of his nature. Hitherto, like a wild beast caught in the toils, his circumstances chained his mischievous propensities. The chief object of his future days seemed to be, to experiment on the diabolical power of man to inflict misery on his fellows. His personal appearance, till disfigured by age, debauchery, and disease, was commanding, and his mental capacities strong and somewhat improved by education; but his look and manner had always been repulsive, and he had often acted so as to excite in all ranks, suspicion that he was destitute of humanity, even when he performed the most generous deeds. It was, perhaps, in imitation of the policy of Augustus, that while Germanicus lived, he ostentatiously showed the greatest deference for the republican institutions of Rome. "He declined the extravagant honours which were offered to him; was easy of access; affected to live like a private citizen; returned visits, and accepted invitations to entertainments and feasts; visited the sick, attended funerals, and delivered orations in praise of the dead. He treated the titular magistrates of Rome with the same ceremonious respect that used to be observed in the times of the republic; rose, and stood, in the presence of the consul; took his place in the senate as a private member; was frequently seen in the courts of justice as an assessor, as an advocate, as an evidence, or as a spectator. To a person who saluted him with the title of master, 'Insult me not,' he said, 'with that odious appellation. I am the master of my slaves, general of the army, and no more than prince, or first in the rolls of the senate and people.' He took the title of Augustus only in his correspond

ence with foreign powers. In all his addresses, whether to particular members of the senate, or to this body at large, he was in the highest degree respectful and courteous. When engaged in debate, he endeavoured to qualify contradiction or difference of opinion with respect and regret. To a senator, named Haterius, on some such occasion, he said, 'I hope you will forgive me, if, in my duty as a senator, I differ from you somewhat too freely.' At a meeting of the senate, in referring some matter to their decision, he concluded with these words, 'I have formerly said, and now say, that it becomes the person you have intrusted with so large a share of the public affairs, to consider himself as the servant of this assembly, as the servant of the people, and of every individual; nor do I repent me of this saying; for I have found you, and still find you candid, indulgent, and kind masters.' He affected a continual deference to their judgment on every subject, whether of policy, revenue, or foreign correspondence; even seemed to wait for their orders in what concerned the command of the army, and pretended to be displeased when officers, employed in the provinces, made their report directly to himself, without communicating the subject of their despatches first to the senate. With these popular arts, which the senators indeed did not mistake for a real acknowledgment of their authority, he joined an administration in many things worthy of a wise and exemplary prince, indulged the people in the freedom of speech to which they had been accustomed, saying, that 'in a free country, the mind and the tongue should be free.' To those who brought him information of any slander spoken of himself he affected indifference. 'If you mind such accusations as these,' he would say, 'there will be no end of them.' He gave a ready hearing and redress to all the complaints that were made to him from the provinces, and carefully limited the exactions of his officers within the bounds of established and ordinary fees. To persons suffering by fire, earthquakes, or other public calamities, to the families of decayed senators, to the children of those who had bequeathed him their estates by will, he was munificent and liberal; took effectual measures to suppress the banditti which, from the time of the civil wars, still infested the country; and endeavoured to diminish that constant source of corruption, the idleness which the people contracted in the too frequent repetition of shows and of public entertainments. He gave an abatement of some taxes which had been imposed



by the late emperor, and, in particular, mitigated the penal ties which had been erroneously inflicted on celibacy."

But with all this affectation of respect for public opinion and desire to promote the general welfare of the community, from the moment that he obtained supreme authority, his conduct proved that he was determined to divide the imperial power with no one, and to make every personal enemy feel his vengeance. "Among the first discoveries which were made of his temper, it appeared that even his mother Livia had mistaken his disposition, or over-rated her own ascendancy over him. In procuring the empire to her son, she had joined to the zeal of a mother a high degree of ambition, and a desire to emerge from a species of obscurity, in which she had lived in the reign of her husband. She flattered herself, that upon the accession of Tiberius, she was to possess a great part of the imperial power, or to exercise the whole in his name. Trusting to the deference, which he had hitherto affected for all her opinions, or to the gratitude which he owed to her for the high obligations she had conferred upon him, she instantly assumed all the consequence she expected to reap from his greatness, laid aside the caution and reserve which she had ever preserved in the reign of Augustus, advanced into public view, and, as if she had taken possession of the empire for herself, under pretence of bestowing it upon her son, took a principal part in all matters of state, and appeared on solemn occasions with her lictors, and all the other ensigns or formalities of a public station. The senate, trusting to the mother's supposed knowledge of her son's inclinations yielded to her in all the prerogatives she was pleased to assume, inserted her name with that of the emperor in all public acts, and, in the titles of Tiberius, styled him the son of Augustus as well as of Cesar. They were not, however, suffered long to remain in this error. They were told by the emperor, with an alarming coldness of manner, which left no doubt of his sincerity, 'That the ambition of women should be kept within proper bounds, and that he should always endeavour to prescribe such bounds to his own.' From the time in which this declaration was made by the emperor, it appears that Livia entirely dropt her pretensions to any part in the government, and became no less reserved in the reign of her son than she had been in that of her husband."

Tiberius, although provoked by the infidelity of Julia, whom, from policy, he had married, pretended deeply to compassionate her when her royal father banished her, and even

often solicited him to restore her to her home ; it was soon plain that all this tenderness was feigned, doubtless to ingratiate himself into the favour of the afflicted father. Accordingly, among the first acts of his reign, he revenged himself on Julia, by ordering that she should never leave the house, in which she was confined, in the city of Rhegium, nor converse with any of the citizens. He also, it is said, withdrew the pension allowed her by her father, and slowly starved her to death. One of Julia's chief favourites was Sempronius Gracchus, who belonged to one of the first families of Rome. Augustus had exiled him to the island of Cercina. He had endured great misery fourteen years. A band of assassins were, by the secret order of the savage emperor, sent by Asprenas, proconsul of Africa, to put him to death.

Tiberius neglected no art to ensnare those whom he hated or feared ; but he generally attempted to destroy them under the form of law. In order to this, he demanded the enforcement of the law of majesty or treason, in relation to libels or words. Tacitus remarks, "that in the times of the republic, actions, and not words, were punished." Augustus first called the Romans to account for their words, and Tiberius and his successors brought multitudes to death for daring to speak disrespectfully of the sovereign. Nor is one surprised who knows the freedom of speech of the Romans, especially the poets, that the profligate emperors should exert their power to restrain their subjects from uttering their thoughts. Of the severity of reproof administered by poets, an idea may be formed from one specimen of the satirical verses dispersed in Rome and Italy, descriptive of Tiberius :

"Rough and inhuman ! much in brief exprest,  
Thy very mother did her babe detest.  
No knight art thou : thy fortune won't suffice.  
Besides, at Rhodes thy place of exile lies.  
Cesar, the golden age is changed by thee :  
In thy curst reign we nought but iron see.  
He nauseates wine, because he thirsts for gore ;  
Of that as greedy as of wine before.  
Sylla, behold, O Romulus, and mourn,  
Behold, too, Marius, after his return,  
And Antony, in civil wars embred,  
Whose hands were often crimson'd o'er with blood ;  
Then say, Rome's lost ; and floods of gore shall stain  
The hateful current of an exile's reign."

Speaking contemptuously of the state or constitution, or conspiring to overthrow it, constituted treason in past times ; but

now the sovereign occupied the place of the constitution, as if his will were the only law deserving universal reverence. In the former case, public informers were honoured, because they appeared solicitous for the public good, by defending the state; but in the latter they were regarded merely as the supporters of the emperor or chief magistrate, who was rarely worthy of popular esteem. Hence the character of a public spy or prosecutor, though disguised under the ancient forms and titles, was become, in the highest degree, vile and detestable; and it was found expedient to attach to the hateful office great rewards. Accordingly, it was decreed, that "whoever convicted a person of any public crime incurring degradation or forfeiture, should, be entitled to succeed to the dignity, whether of citizen, knight, or senator, from which the criminal was degraded. And lest even this consideration should not be sufficient to excite prosecutors, it was enacted, that a fourth part of the estate of the person convicted should be joined to the reward." Thus encouraged, spies and informers multiplied in the reign of Augustus, and still more in the times of his successors. Whatever implied, or was interpreted by interested judges to imply, disrespect to the person or family of the emperor, or even to interfere with his caprice, alarmed his jealousy, and was construed as treason. By consequence, the sovereign could, in general, easily inflict vengeance, under the semblance of law or justice, on any one who had the unhappiness to fall under his displeasure; for many were ever prepared to invent or discover crimes in any man, when they knew that their services would be acceptable to the sovereign dispenser of wealth and honour. Illustrative proofs of these were early seen under the hateful reign of Tiberius. Among the first that occurred were the cases of Scribonius Libo and Clemens. To effect their ruin the most deceitful means were employed, so as to conceal the murderous designs of the emperor; who was, during the earlier part of his reign, solicitous to be viewed by the public as the advocate of justice and humanity. S. Libo was a young man, nearly allied to the Cesars, being the grandson of Pompey the Great, whose daughter, Scribonia, was one of the wives of Augustus. Libo was suspected of cherishing ambition to rise above the rank of a subject; and Firmius Catus, a senator, under the pretence of friendship, flattered his vanity, and prevailed on him to consult certain Chaldeans and magicians, whether he might not hope to obtain the sovereignty of the empire. Having thus ensnared the simple and vain youth,

the unprincipled senator instantly informed the emperor, through the agency of Flaccus Vescularius, a Roman knight of the royal household. Tiberius declined to see the informer, but advised him to persevere in deluding the youth ; and, in the meantime, with the deepest dissimulation, he preferred Libo to the office of prætor, "entertained him at his table, and familiarly conversed with him, without ever betraying the least resentment either in his words or countenance. At length Libo having recourse to one Junius, who pretended, by charms and the superstitious rites of the magicians, to call up the infernal shades, and learn of them future events, the magician discovered this to one Fulcinus Trio, a famous informer, who, immediately hastening to the consuls, imparted the whole to them, and demanded that the senate might meet forthwith to deliberate upon an affair of so much moment, and of such dangerous consequence to the state. The fathers, not doubting but Tiberius was at the bottom of this prosecution, did not fail to assemble at the time appointed, when Libo appeared in the habit of a suppliant, and, presenting himself before Tiberius, who was present, endeavoured, by his tears and entreaties, to soften him. The emperor heard him with a countenance quite unmoved, and, instead of returning him any answer, recited to the conscript fathers the charge against him, and the names of the accusers, without betraying the least emotion of anger or resentment, or seeming either to lessen or magnify the crimes laid to his charge.

When the emperor had done, four informers appeared against the criminal, namely, Firmius Catus, Fulcinus Trio, Fonteius Agrippa, and Caius Vibius, and produced such extravagant, foolish, and chimerical articles of accusation, as rather deserved pity than punishment. The unhappy Libo, concluding from several steps that were taken, that Tiberius was resolved upon his destruction, begged the conscript fathers that they would put off till the next day the final decision of his cause. His request being granted, he returned to his own house ; whence soon after he sent Publius Quirinus to speak to the emperor in his behalf. Quirinus was nearly related to Libo, and in great favour with Tiberius, having been formerly, as we have related above, instrumental in reconciling Caius Cesar to him while he lived in the island of Rhodes, and by that means the chief cause of his returning into favour with Augustus. But, unmindful of ancient obligations, he received Quirinus with great coldness, and returned him no other answer, but that he must apply to the

senate. This answer threw Libo into a deep melancholy, which however he dissembled, and directed a great entertainment to be got ready, in order to pass the last night of his life in the company of his friends and relations. But the banquet was scarce begun, when a band of soldiers, surrounding the house, with a studied noise, and dreadful cries, so terrified the guests, that many of them, rising from table, endeavoured to make their escape. Libo, not doubting but they were sent to dispatch him, drawing his sword, offered it to his slaves, begging them to put an end to his unhappy life; but they, trembling, and shunning the sad task, fled with such hurry and confusion, that they overturned all the lights; and then Libo, in the dark, gave himself two mortal wounds. As he fell and groaned, his freedmen ran in; and the soldiers, seeing him dead, retired; for they had been sent on purpose to frighten him, so as to make him lay violent hands on himself, Tiberius hoping by that means to avoid the odium which he was well apprised the execution of one of the most illustrious citizens of Rome would reflect upon his person and government. The charge, however, was carried on in the senate, as if he had been still alive; but the deceitful Tiberius at the same time declared upon oath, that he would have interceded for his life, had he not prevented his clemency by laying violent hands on himself. The deceased was, by the senate, declared guilty of high treason, and his estate divided amongst his accusers: such of the informers as were of the senatorial order (for the first lords of the senate were not ashamed to debase themselves to this vile office) were, without the regular method of election, named prætors for the ensuing year. This was the most effectual means imaginable of multiplying these pests of the empire: they were raised to the highest offices in the state, and the metropolis of the world often saw her public dignities bestowed as spoils upon parricides for spilling her best blood. We may well imagine that the servile senate did not let slip so favourable an opportunity of gaining the emperor's favour, by branding the memory of the pretended criminal. It was not enough for the conscript fathers to have condemned Libo; they issued a decree for driving astrologers, magicians, and the whole herd of fortune-tellers, out of Italy; nay, Lucius Pituanus, one of them whom Libo had probably consulted, was thrown headlong from the Tarpeian rock; and Publius Marcus, another of the same profession, was, by the consuls,

sentenced to death, and executed accordingly without the Esquiline gate."

Clemens was a favourite slave of Agrippa Posthumus, whom he proposed to raise to the throne at the death of Augustus. Disappointed in this when Tiberius secretly murdered his master, he resolved to impose on the Romans, and, if possible, acquire for himself the sovereignty. He resembled his master in his personal appearance and age. This encouraged him to assume his name and claim his rights. By employing many persons throughout Italy to support his pretensions, multitudes celebrated his arrival in the country, and rejoiced in his escape from captivity. These things being reported to Tiberius, he was sometime in suspense "whether he should order his troops to march against the audacious slave, or suffer the imposture to vanish of itself, which he was well apprised must soon happen. On one hand, he was ashamed to betray any fear of a vile slave; and, on the other, he apprehended the danger which might arise from the credulity of the people, if they were not soon undeceived. In this perplexity he committed the whole affair to Sallustius Crispus, the same whom he had employed to dispatch Agrippa. Crispus chose two of his clients, or, as some write, two soldiers, in whom he could confide, and sent them to the supposed Agrippa with a considerable sum, directing them to feign that they believed him to be the true grandson of Augustus, to present him with the money, and to pretend a great zeal for his cause. They executed his orders with great address, and, finding that Clemens reposed in them an entire confidence, they, underhand, got ready a proper band of men, seized and gagged him while his guards were asleep, and carried him without noise to the palace. When he was brought before Tiberius, the emperor asked him how he was become Agrippa? Just as you became Cesar, answered Clemens. Though Tiberius had him wholly in his power, yet so great was his fear or policy, that he did not execute him publicly, but ordered him to be dispatched in a secret part of the palace, and his body to be privately conveyed away; and though many of the emperor's household, many knights and senators, were said to have assisted and supported him with their counsels and fortunes, yet no farther inquiry was made after his accomplices."

While Tiberius thus evidently considered every means lawful which seemed adapted to destroy those whom he deemed his personal opponents he for some time gave no en

couragement to informers and public accusers; in regard to other public matters, he treated many frivolous accusations with becoming contempt. Thus "Falenius, a senator, being accused of having included, with other furniture in the sale of his house, a statue of Augustus; another, of the name of Rubrius, being accused of having taken a false oath by the name of Augustus; and Granius Marcellus being accused of having taken the head from a statue of that prince, in order to substitute a head of Tiberius in place of it, a manner of paying his court rather ridiculous than criminal; in these and other instances of the same kind, Tiberius either took no part, or gave his instructions to the senate in very liberal and manly terms. On the subject of the prosecution that was raised against Falenius, 'My father,' he said, 'was deified, that his divinity might be a safeguard and a protection, not a snare to the people. His image may, no doubt, be included, with those of the other gods, as part in the furniture of a house that is sold.' With respect to the supposed perjury of Rubrius, he observed, that 'if any one swear and is perjured, the crime is the same, whoever be the god whose name is profaned. Augustus is no more to be regarded in this matter than Jupiter; and either of these gods, if offended, can avenge himself. The third offence, or the shifting of heads from one statue to another, being considered as a mockery of that adulation which was so easily transferred from one to another in the succession of princes, and as some degree of ridicule on the prince himself, was not so easily forgiven; though for the present overlooked, it was reserved as a subject of future resentment."

Though Tiberius was past feeling, cruel, and barbarous, yet he on some occasions performed most generous deeds. The third year of his reign was remarkable for one of the most tremendous catastrophes which the Asiatics ever witnessed. Twelve of the most famous cities of Asia-Minor were destroyed by an earthquake. The news of this event no sooner reached Rome, than the emperor ordered that the inhabitants should not only have their taxes remitted, but he also sent them large sums of money. To the citizens of Sardis, "who had suffered most, he sent an hundred thousand great sesterces, and to the rest relief proportionable to their losses; nay, he immediately despatched into Asia, Marcius Aletus, a senator, who had been prætor, to view the desolations on the spot, and make good the losses of every particular; for he was fond of being liberal, as Tacitus observes, on hon-

est occasions,—a virtue which he long retained after he had utterly abandoned all other virtues. The inhabitants of the cities thus rebuilt and, by the liberalities of Tiberius, restored to their former splendour, erected to their common benefactor a colossus in the Roman forum, surrounded with the statues of their twelve cities, as a lasting monument of the prince's generosity and their gratitude. The reputation which Tiberius gained by this noble bounty to the public, was greatly heightened by his private liberalities ; for the estate of a wealthy freedwoman, by name Emilia Musa, who died this year intestate, being claimed by the treasury, the emperor generously yielded it to one Emilius Lepidus, to whose family she seemed to belong. With the same disinterestedness he surrendered to Marcus Servilius the whole inheritance of Patuleius, a rich Roman knight, though part of it had been bequeathed to himself. Neither could he ever be prevailed upon to accept legacies but from his intimate friends, utterly rejecting the inheritances of such as were strangers to him, or, out of hatred to their relations, had appointed him their heir. His bounties were, generally speaking, well placed ; for, as he readily relieved such senators as were by misfortunes reduced to poverty, so he excluded without pity from the senate those who had wantonly squandered away their estates in luxury and debauchery."

No efforts of the emperor having procured him the confidence or esteem of the people, he resolved in the eighth year of his reign to withdraw himself from public notice, and intrust the administration of the capital to Drusus, his son by Vipsania, daughter of the celebrated Agrippa. To strengthen the favoured prince in his government, he was raised to the powerful office of tribune, and the senate associated him with his father in the honours which they conferred on him. But the principal power of government was committed to one whom the emperor supposed more disposed than his son to comply with all his wishes. This was the famous Ælius Sejanus, who, under guise of great modesty, cherished boundless ambition. He had been long connected with the court, and had contributed to establish Tiberius on the throne ; for he had directed or assisted Drusus in reducing to obedience the Roman legions on the Danube, who mutinied at the time of Augustus's death. The prince and his able companion, however, owed his success to the influence of superstition, rather than to their own wisdom or courage. Their reasoning with the soldiers provoked their indignation instead of dispo-



sing them to peace, and they were exceedingly afraid to remain in the camp. While they meditated to withdraw secretly, they learned with surprise that terror had seized the soldiers. "The moon, shining in all her splendour, all on a sudden began to darken, in the midst of a clear sky, till she was by degrees totally eclipsed. The soldiery, ignorant of the natural causes of this phenomenon, and imagining that the gods were angry with them on account of their revolt, and the crimes attending it, began to show some signs of repentance. Drusus did not fail to improve this their disposition; he immediately sent the centurion Julius Clemens, and other officers and soldiers, in whom he could confide, to mix with the mutineers, and try whether they could, while they were thus alarmed, inspire them with a love of their duty. These, pursuant to the prince's orders, going round from tent to tent, and insinuating themselves everywhere, first prevailed upon the legionaries to abandon the veterans, and the three legions to separate. After this, the love of duty and obedience returning by degrees, those who guarded the gates, to keep Drusus as it were besieged, retired from their posts; the eagles and other ensigns, which, in the beginning of the tumult, had been thrown together, were carried back each to its proper place, and, after so dreadful a storm, calm and tranquillity restored to every quarter of the camp." From this time Sejanus daily increased in favour with the emperor, who appointed him to the command of the prætorian bands; an office which the father of Sejanus had held in the former reign. But the first decisive sign of the favourite's ascendancy over the mind of the emperor was the marriage of the daughter of Sejanus to Claudius, one of the sons of the admired and honoured Germanicus. Though this young prince was indeed little regarded at court, yet he ultimately succeeded to the throne.

When Sejanus felt that he was the second man in the empire, he determined to be the first, and called up all his resources of invention and power to remove every one who stood between him and the throne of the world. In order to this he studied, by every device, to secure the interest of the prætorian guards. "They had been hitherto quartered all over the city, and dispersed about the neighbouring towns and villages. But Sejanus, pretending that while they were thus scattered, they lived loose and debauched, and could not be easily gathered together on any sudden emergency, obtained leave of the emperor to assemble them into one camp, where,

he said, the military discipline would be observed with more exactness and severity. As soon as the camp was finished, he made it his chief study to gain the favour of the common soldiers, by his affability and obliging behaviour: as for the tribunes and centurions, they were all chosen by him; and he took care to employ none but his own creatures and dependents. Having thus attached to his interest this formidable corps, the flower of the Roman forces, his next care was to gain a strong party in the senate, which it was no difficult task for a favourite to effect, at whose disposal were both the public money, and the public employments: for no senator, however distinguished by his birth or personal accomplishments, was employed, unless recommended by Sejanus. He is said to have gained over to his interest even the wives of all the men of quality in Rome, by a private promise of marriage to each of them, when he attained the sovereignty. This encouraged them to contribute all that lay in their power to his grandeur, which they looked upon as their own; and, at the same time, to acquaint him with the most secret counsels of their husbands. He did not even neglect the emperor's freedmen, but carefully cultivated their friendship too. In the meantime, Tiberius, though a man of great penetration, instead of curtailng the overgrown power of his favourite, was ever extolling him in his speeches, both to the senate and people, as the sharer of his burdens; and even suffered his effigies to be adored in all public places, nay, among the eagles of the legions; for they all carried the image of Sejanus in their colours, except those which were then quartered in Syria, which refused to follow the example of the rest."

Drusus, the emperor's only son, was exceedingly displeased at the sudden exaltation above him of Sejanus. But though he opposed, and on one occasion publicly insulted the favoured minister, yet he could do little to diminish his power. Drusus was, most probably, distrusted by his father, on account of his known regard for the family of Germanicus; and the people disliked him because of his haughty and insolent manner and intemperate habits. By placing himself in opposition to the chief minister, he hastened his own destruction. His wife, Livia or Livilla, sister of Germanicus, was seduced by his enemy, and prevailed on to poison him. The instruments employed by her and her paramour, to kill the prince, were her physician and a eunuch. This conspiracy was discovered after the lapse of eight years, by Apicata, Sejanus's wife,

whom he had repudiated to please Livia, whom he flattered that he would marry, and raise to the throne, which he confidently hoped to possess.

The death of Drusus was only the first act of the tragedy performed by his murderer, who had evidently resolved to remove out of the way every one who stood between him and the sovereign power. Drusus had left a son to whom he had given his own name. He was, however, less dreaded by the traitor of the royal house, than the sons of Germanicus, the great grandsons of Augustus. Two of these, Nero and Drusus, although under age, were presented to the senate, by Tiberius, soon after he had buried his own son. While he warmly recommended them to the care of the senators, it is said, that the universal joy expressed by the meeting on beholding them, roused the jealousy of him who had just pronounced them to be the future pillars of the commonwealth. The ambitious minister sedulously studied to inflame the jealousy of his master, and by various devices and insinuations, prevailed on him to view Agrippina, the widow of Germanicus, and her friends as his secret and most dangerous enemies. The immediate consequence of this was, that many of the most noble and virtuous Romans who adhered to this exalted family, soon fell victims to the diabolical schemes of Sejanus and the implacable wrath and dreadful revenge of the emperor, and the latter cherished his dark suspicions, even after he detected and punished the treachery and treason of the former, so that he successfully destroyed almost every branch of the family of Germanicus.

In the meantime, Sejanus believed himself so esteemed by Tiberius, or so necessary to promote his purposes, that he presumed to request liberty to marry Livia, the widow of his son. The refusal was conveyed in language expressive of strong affection and most flattering to his vanity, but still well understood by him to whom it was addressed, to indicate that he had offended his master. This, perhaps, suggested to him the propriety of preventing any one from having opportunity to acquire such an ascendancy over Tiberius as to supplant him in his esteem and confidence, the result of which he was well aware would be his disgrace and utter ruin. In order to this, taking advantage of the unsocial and suspicious nature of Tiberius, he exaggerated the evils, and dangers, and troubles to which his residence in Rome exposed him, and portrayed in glowing colours the felicity which he might command in a life of retirement. To this mode of life the

emperor had often showed a preference, and he eagerly entered into the plan of his politic minister. "Though deeply tinctured with the pride of his family, he had not any share of that vanity which leads men to display their fortunes and persons to the view of the world. Content with the gratification of his appetites, and joining hypocrisy with the worst species of sensuality, he could submit to obscurity; and, although the resources of solitude were now diminished by the effects of age, yet a temper become more jealous of the world, and more averse to its notice, inclined him more to withdraw from the city, and to maintain from a distance that watch which he had hitherto kept over the actions, words, and even thoughts of its inhabitants. He accordingly, in the twelfth year of his reign, under pretence of dedicating in Campania a temple to Jupiter and another to Augustus, withdrew from Rome, and after this time, during the remainder of his life, under various pretences, but with continual intimations of his intention to return, absented himself from the city. Having performed the ceremonies for which he had gone to Campania, he passed thence to Capreæ, a small island under a headland, which was called the promontory of Minerva, making one side of the bay of Naples. It is probable that, after mature deliberation, he had fixed on this spot as a place of security and an agreeable retreat. It was covered by the high lands of Minerva from the north-east winds, and was open to breezes from the sea on the south-west. It was accessible only to very small vessels, and this only at a single place. The seas were open to his scouts, and no sail could approach without his knowledge and permission. In this secession it appears, that he divided the guards, having one part in the island for the defence of his person, and the other at Rome, to enforce the mandates of his government."

In his retirement, it is said, he indulged in the study of astrology, to which he was strongly addicted, but his time was principally consumed in scenes of the lowest pleasures and dissipation. A few eminent Romans had access to him. "The society, however, in which he delighted most, was made up chiefly of Greeks, professed men of letters, but more eminent as flatterers and ministers of pleasure. For such men he had no respect, but suffered them to amuse him with their speculations, or rather with a kind of literary buffoonery, in discussing ludicrous questions which he was pleased to propose; such as, who was the mother of Hecuba, and what species of music was sung by the Sirens? These

literary buffoons, however, no less than the objects of his political jealousy, experienced occasionally the effects of his capricious dis gusts. One of them was banished to the island Cynaria for hinting a joke on the Doric accent, which the emperor had acquired at Rhodes in his pronunciation of Greek. Another, having found out that the emperor read books every morning, out of which he proposed his questions at night; and observing the book which the emperor had been reading, came so well prepared to answer every question, that his trick was suspected. He was banished from the emperor's company, and afterwards, by cruel usage, induced to lay violent hands on himself." The hateful tyrant, though withdrawn from the resentment of those he injured, did not suffer his vigilant jealousy to sleep over the rumours and reports of his informers and spies, but rather, with a more open and unguarded severity, watched over crimes which had no existence but in his own imagination, or in his remembrance of the countenance and aspect of the persons he disliked. In his present retreat, he seemed to multiply the objects of his hatred, in proportion as he himself was secure: and in order to compensate the distance to which he was removed, employed a proportional speed and decision to surprise, and to prevent those who were suspected of any designs against him. From Capreæ, his mandates, for the most part, were carried to the senate, and to the military officers at Rome, not as complaints against the supposed offender, or as instructions to the magistrate to make trial or inquiry into the guilt of the accused, but as warrants for their immediate execution.

Sejanus continued his machinations against the royal family. He surrounded them with spies, who endeavoured to lead them to commit treasonable acts; and failing to effect these, falsely accused them to the emperor. While, however, the mother of Tiberius lived, it is said, that her authority restrained him from injuring the sons of Germanicus; for though no one was less acceptable to her than his widow, yet she took the children under her protection. She died in the sixteenth year of her son's reign; and a few months after, the senate were called on to punish Agrippina for haughty looks, and her son Nero for licentiousness. These charges were at first not regarded by the senate as deserving serious deliberation. They were, however, soon compelled to examine them; and "after forty-four elaborate speeches had been delivered, all tending to prove the necessity of im-

mediate severities, it was resolved that Agrippina, with the eldest of her sons, should be banished; the first into the island of Pandateria, the place where her mother, the unhappy Julia, had been confined; and the other to Pontia, another island on the same coast. The younger brothers were overlooked on the present occasion. Drusus the second, being persuaded by Sejanus that the removal of his elder brother tended to his own advantage, by opening his way to the empire, took no part in the distresses of his family. He himself, however, was soon after put in confinement, and for some years kept a prisoner at Rome, in a secret recess of the emperor's palace."

While Sejanus, doubtless, flattered himself that he rapidly approached the goal of his lawless ambition, his royal master had already secretly resolved on his speedy destruction. Tiberius probably conceived that he could now dispense with his services; for he had completely succeeded in making the senators of Rome the abject slaves of the will of their sanguinary and revengeful sovereign, who had only to intimate his will, and they obeyed, without inquiry or reflection. A minister possessed of such tremendous power could not but excite the fears of a prince peculiarly disposed to regard every man as his enemy. From the time that Sejanus sought the daughter of his master in marriage, Tiberius could scarcely fail to suspect that he entertained views incompatible with the duties of a humble and obedient minister. But, if we may believe Josephus, the emperor had received from Antonia, widow of the elder Drusus Germanicus, a lady whom he esteemed, information of the treacherous designs and actions of Sejanus. As the influence of the minister seemed unbounded in the senate and army, it was expedient to proceed cautiously in any scheme devised for his ruin. Many had he destroyed by the arts of deceit and dissimulation; and by these arts he was effectually ensnared. Tiberius continued to heap on him every possible favour and honour till the very moment that he heard the mandate to try him as a criminal in the senate, which was understood to be assembled to place him nearly on an equality with the emperor. He was utterly confounded, and "on the first motion for a commitment, he was ordered to prison, and persons of every description began to give unfeigned or affected demonstrations of joy. From many who were present, the fear that was lately expressed in adulation and courtship, now burst forth in reproaches and insults. In others, who were

more nearly connected with the prisoner, or more likely to be involved in his fate, the terror with which they were seized was disguised under the affectation of joy. The populace, as he passed through the streets, took their part, as usual, in the storm which burst on this unfortunate man, and, that he might not have the consolation of passing unseen, tore away the lappet of his gown, with which he endeavoured to cover his face. On the same day, the senate met again in a temple contiguous to the prison in which Sejanus was confined, and, without any specific charge or evidence of guilt, gave sentence of death against him, which was accordingly executed. The dead body, as usual in the case of treason, being made fast on a hook, was dragged through the streets, and cast into the river, where it was thrown up, and continued afloat during some days, under the continual insults of a multitude of people." His innocent children were treated in the same barbarous manner; and all who were regarded his friends were sought out, and cut off. Sejanus perished A.D. 30, and, about the same time, Caius, surnamed Caligula, the youngest son of Germanicus and Agrippina, appeared to rise high in the favour of the emperor. This youth was the only one of his family who had not lost their life or liberty. The highest honours of the state were heaped on him. Though young, he was far advanced in moral degradation. "He had accompanied the emperor to Capreæ, and artfully concealed, under a deceitful appearance of modesty, his savage and inhuman temper. He had so well learned to hide his heart, that when his mother, and both his brothers were condemned, not a word, not a groan, escaped him, though all arts were used to draw words and resentment from him. Young as he was, he smothered, with the deepest dissimulation, all symptoms of tenderness and sorrow. He was so observant of Tiberius, that he made it his whole business to study the bent of his temper, and to second it in all things. He imitated his looks, affected his words and manner of expression, and conformed even to the change and fashion of his dress. Hence the observation of the orator Passienus, that never lived a better slave, nor a worse master."

During the administration of Sejanus, his barbarous sovereign escaped much of the public odium which he merited, for many of the oppressive and bloody acts originating with the master were ascribed to the unprincipled servant. The future years of Tiberius fully unveiled his real diabolical character. By the agency of Nervius Sertorius Macro, who

succeeded to the dignity of Sejanus, the imperial power over the army and senate was fully maintained; and Rome was drenched with the blood of her most distinguished citizens. Nothing seemed to give the emperor more pleasure than to disgrace and put to death all whose excellence and reputation he envied or whose hatred and power he dreaded. His private friends indiscriminately suffered from his caprice, suspicion, jealousy, or delight, in the extension of human misery.

Knowledge and virtue are not inseparable. Tiberius had acquired more correct sentiments on religion and morals than many princes, or others much less depraved in heart and conduct. He was rather proud than vain, and, accordingly, he looked with disdain on the mean submission to his will and pleasure of the senate. On one occasion, when leaving that assembly, he exclaimed, "What a collection of willing slaves." It was common for the chief persons in the capital and provinces, who wished the favour of the Roman emperors, to raise temples to them as if they were gods. This custom Tiberius perceived to be unreasonable and profane; but he countenanced it, he says, entirely from respect to the example of Augustus, and to the authority of the Roman senators. Such is the import of his remarkable address in the senate, when ambassadors from Spain requested liberty to erect a temple, after the example of Asia, to him and his mother. "I know, conscript fathers, that I am generally blamed, and taxed with inconstancy, for not opposing the cities of Asia, when they petitioned for this very thing. I shall therefore now acquaint you with the motives of my former silence, and, at the same time, with the rules I propose to follow for the future. As the deified Augustus did not oppose the founding of a temple at Pergamus to himself and the city of Rome, I, with whom all his actions and sayings have the force of laws, followed a precedent already approved the more willingly, because to the worship bestowed upon me was annexed that of the senate. But as the accepting of that honour, in one instance, deserves pardon, so to be adored in every province, under the sacred representations of the deities, savours of pride and ambition; besides, the rendering common, and, in a manner, prostituting this honour, would be detracting from the glory of Augustus. For myself, conscript fathers, I acknowledge to you, and would have posterity to know that I am a mortal man, and subject, like others, to the common functions of nature. It is enough for me to hold the chief place among you; and



posterity will sufficiently honour my memory, if they believe me to have been worthy of my ancestors, careful of your affairs, unmoved in dangers, fearless of private hatred for the public welfare. These are the temples which I would raise in your breasts, these the best and most lasting images. As for temples and statues of stone, if those who are worshipped in them come to be condemned by the judgment of posterity, they are despised, as their sepulchres. I, therefore, here implore our allies and citizens, all the gods and goddesses, beseeching the latter to grant me, to the end of my life, a mind undisturbed, and a thorough knowledge of the laws, human and divine; and the former to celebrate my actions, whenever my dissolution comes, with a kind remembrance."

Where the passions and gratifications of Tiberius did not interfere, he discovered regard for the general good. Hence, though the seat of government often presented a scene of disorder and wretchedness, peace and prosperity prevailed all over the empire. "He held the reins with a steady and well-directed hand. He preserved his authority in the provinces by a jealous inspection of those who were intrusted with the administration of his affairs; and in this was, no doubt, greatly assisted by his indifference to personal friendships, which, in princes better disposed than himself, have often the effect of pernicious predilections and partialities. He checked all attempts at conspiracies, by the impression he gave of his vigilance, and by the mutual distrust with which he inspired his enemies, making their treachery to each other the road to preferments, honours, and wealth. The ordinary rotation and succession to office and command, which Augustus, in continuation of the republican forms, had still maintained, Tiberius, by a very natural tendency of the monarchical spirit, in a great measure, or entirely, abolished. Such officers as were successful in keeping the peace of their provinces he generally continued for many years, and sometimes for life. He avoided, as much as possible, the necessity of employing, at the head of armies, men of enterprise, forward ambition, or even superior capacity. He left the disorders, or troubles, that arose in any distant province, to the effect of time, rather than be obliged to employ, in repressing them, men who were likely to eclipse his own glory, or to awaken his jealousy. But as such men were likely ill to endure the state of obscurity in which they were kept, he soothed their discontents, sometimes, by flattering them with extraordinary honours. He named them for stations of high command."

but still under various pretences detained them at Rome, where they were allowed to appear with the ensigns of their public character, but never to enter on the possession of its power. To these particulars we may join the advantages which Tiberius enjoyed by succeeding to Augustus, whose long and well-regulated government had left, throughout the empire, habits of submission and obedience, which could not be shaken by offences committed within the verge of the court, or in the capital, and against particular descriptions of men, in whom the empire at large took little concern."

According to the testimony of every historian worthy of credit, it is scarcely possible to conceive a more depraved character than that of Tiberius during the last years of his long and immoral reign. Tacitus remarks, "that he was deservedly esteemed while he was a private man, and commanded under Augustus; with cunning and address he feigned virtue while Germanicus and Drusus were alive; he practised much good, as well as evil, till the death of his mother; he fully discovered the cruelty of his nature, but carefully concealed his vilest and most abominable actions, while he loved or feared Sejanus; at last, he abandoned himself to all wickedness, unrestrained by fear or shame."

On finding his strength rapidly decay, he is said to have felt much perplexed from indecision respecting a successor. He was naturally inclined to leave the empire to his grandson Tiberius, the only surviving son of his son Drusus; but, on account of his youth, for he was not above seventeen years old, he preferred to declare Caius Caligula his successor. Accustomed in all things to dissimulate, he could not persuade himself to confess his weakness to those who attended him. To conceal his state of health from the public, he proposed, as he had often done, during his residence in Capræ, to visit Rome. He proceeded with his court over the bay of Naples, and took possession of his palace, which stood at the headland of Misenum. While he sat at table, and showed much attention to all the guests, he was suddenly seized with some complaint, which compelled him to retire to his sleeping apartment. There he instantly fainted, and was believed dead. The report quickly spread, and "all the officers of the guards in attendance, and all the members and followers of the court, repaired to Caius with congratulations on his supposed accession to the empire. But while they were thus employed in paying their addresses to the successor, a servant arrived, and, in great consternation, announced that the

emperor was revived, and called for assistance. The company, in a moment, was dispersed; and Caius, with extreme terror, saw the ruin which threatened him for his premature acceptance of the court that was paid to him. But Macro retained his presence of mind, and put a sudden stop to the feeble efforts of returning life in Tiberius by gathering up the coverlet of his bed, so as to stop his breath until he was suffocated."

Though this emperor was the votary of the most worthless and debasing pleasures, yet he patronised literature and the arts, and a number of eminent men were ornaments of his reign. Among those who distinguished themselves by their writings were Velleius Paterculus, the historian, whose history of the ancient Greeks and Romans still exists; Valerius Maximus, who left a collection of the memorable sayings and actions of the ancients; the celebrated geographers Strabo and Dionysius; Phædrus, who translated into Latin the fables of Æsop; Thrasyllus, the astrologer, who was famed for his general knowledge of the philosophy of Plato, and was in high favour with Tiberius; L. Fenestalla, who was generally esteemed as a poet and historian; and Verrius Flaccus, the preceptor of Caius Caligula, and celebrated as a grammarian. Science and philosophy continued to flourish in Greece, and were partially diffused wherever the Romans ruled. Civilization accompanied them into all countries. Nothing, perhaps, contributed more to this than their care to provide means of intercourse between all parts of the empire. This has already been adverted to, and, indeed, their success in uniting the many nations, whom they had subdued, is one of the most remarkable proofs of their political sagacity, and the energy of their government. Antonius informs us, "that in Italy alone there were 13,500 miles of systematically formed roads, and in Britain not less than 2,650, independently of similar works in the Roman provinces, which, according to the same authority, would bring up the total length to 38,290 miles,—when we know that they traversed the most western side of Spain and Barbary, and the eastern kingdoms of Media and Assyria, that they were entirely carried through Britain on the north, Gaul, Hungary, Scythia, and even through parts of Arabia, Egypt, and Lybia, in the south,—we may justly feel astonished that such stupendous works could ever have been completed. Yet numerous evidences of these vast labours still exist both in the Asiatic and European continent; the former

indeed, presents them as fresh and unworn as the first day they were laid."

These things were favourable to the interests of the Fifth Empire, which, as we have seen, had risen during the reign of Tiberius, for its extension, vigour, and triumph depend on the diffusion and reception, of truth. But probably no event was more conducive to the rapid dissemination of the truth of the gospel, than the unexpected change of mind or conduct of the emperor, in relation to the Jews, in the last years of his reign. They were cruelly oppressed by the Romans the whole period that Tiberius was directed by the counsels of Sejanus, who is said to have been their determined and implacable enemy; but immediately after his death, Tiberius issued an edict to all the governors of the provinces, commanding them to govern the Jews with justice and gentleness; for he was satisfied that the accusations of disaffection and treacherous designs, which had been brought against them, were false. That they now enjoyed peace a considerable time is distinctly stated by Tacitus. It is related that about two years after our Lord's death, L. Vitellius, the new proconsul or governor of Syria, visited Jerusalem at the festival of the Passover. His reception by the rulers was most honourable, and he expressed his satisfaction by conferring on the people several favours. He remitted the entire tax on the fruits; deposed Caiaphas from the office of high-priest, and appointed Jonathan, the son of Ananias, to succeed him; and intrusted to the high-priest the keeping of the pontifical dress, which the Romans usually deposited in Antonia, the fortress occupied by them near the temple. The Jews were still more obliged to this governor, when he delivered them from the tyrannous rule of Pilate, and placed over them Marcellus, an enlightened and generous minded officer. These circumstances may have imparted to the Jews the audacity to put to death, under the form of their law, Stephen, the holy confessor of Christ, without consulting the Roman procurator, who alone was invested with the power of life and death. Not being called to account for this daring act of contempt of Roman authority, the Jews seized the opportunity to revenge themselves on the followers of Christ. It was at the time that Stephen suffered for his confession of Christianity that the first great persecution of the Christian community commenced at Jerusalem, whence it extended over Judea, and threatened the Christians who resided in Damascus and Syria.

This persecution, we know, most unexpectedly proved the

means of the most glorious victory of the rising kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ ; for his disciples obeyed his injunction to flee from persecution, and proclaim everywhere his gospel. They had, very soon after the descent of the Spirit, exceedingly multiplied ; many thousands of the citizens of the metropolis had submitted to Christ, and a still greater number of strangers had followed their example. These, on escaping the revengeful power of their unbelieving countrymen, travelled over Judea, Samaria, and most probably all countries where Jews or Jewish proselytes resided ; for it is remarked by Luke, that they "went everywhere preaching the word." Indeed, he specifies Phenice, Cyprus, and Antioch the metropolis of Syria, among the places visited by those who had fled from Jerusalem. The greater number of the disciples confined their ministry to the Jews ; but a few who were natives of Cyrene, in Africa, preached to the Grecians, who had become proselytes. Their testimony was believed by multitudes, and these turned to the Lord. They were every where admitted into the synagogues ; for the Jews still continued in every place, except in Jerusalem, to regard their brethern who believed the gospel, only as a sect of their own religion. And they were long viewed in the same light by the Romans. By consequence, while the Jews were favoured by the Romans, and allowed to observe their own laws, the Christians enjoyed the unspeakable pleasure of announcing boldly the gospel. Accordingly, the only active opposers of the Fifth Empire, for a considerable period, were the impenitent Jews. These, in all places, endeavoured to rouse the indignation of the pagans against the ministers and followers of Christ. In some places they were successful ; but in others the inhabitants restrained their wrath, and protected the Christians, and permitted them publicly to proclaim their peculiar principles, and observe their laws and customs. Thus, during the last four years of the life of Tiberius, the favour which he showed the Jewish nation, was most conducive to the extension of Christianity, not only by the liberty which its advocates enjoyed to make it known throughout the whole empire, but also by the opportunity they had, as a community, of acquiring strength unobserved by the mighty power of the civil state, the pagan priesthood, and the various schools of pagan philosophy.

The short reign, however, of his successor Caius was much more favourable to the interests of the rising kingdom of Christ ; for the power of impenitent Jewish rulers and peo-

ple, the chief enemies of Christ, was for a time completely broken. They had enough to do to rescue themselves from impending ruin ; and consequently had no time to interfere with the proceedings of the Christian people. It is to this that the sacred historian is supposed to allude, when he mentions, that "Then had the churches rest throughout all Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria, and were edified ; and walking in the fear of the Lord, and in the comforts of the Holy Spirit, were multiplied."

Caius ascended the throne of the world under the most auspicious circumstances. As the only surviving son of Germanicus and Agrippina, he was loved and adored by the senate and people of Rome. He was not less beloved by the army. Tacitus observes, that he was born in the camp, nursed in the arms of the legions, and by them named Caligula, a military term for the boots of the soldiers ; for he wore the same kind common to the army, a condescension which won their affections, insomuch that his presence on one occasion quelled a mutiny. The most distant provinces participated in the joy of Rome on the accession of Caius to the imperial throne ; in the space of three months, it is reported, that in gratitude for this event, one hundred and sixty thousand sacrificial victims were slain throughout the empire.

The first acts of Caius indicated more wisdom and virtue than any one from his previous life, could have supposed, that he possessed, or had even capacity to imitate. In the court of Tiberius, he appeared to approve of the most barbarous and contemptible deeds of that monster of wickedness. The extreme sufferings inflicted on his mother, brother, and their friends, he contemplated with apparent indifference ; he seemed destitute of natural affection. He had, however, no sooner honoured Tiberius with a magnificent funeral, than he proceeded to the islands of Pandataria and Pontia where he gathered, with great reverence, the bones and ashes of his mother and brother Nero, brought them to Rome, and caused them to be deposited, with extraordinary pomp, in the mausoleum of Augustus. All the decrees of the senate enacted against them and against Drusus, who died at Rome, were annulled ; nay, a stately villa on the seaside, where Agrippina had, for some time, been kept under confinement, was levelled with the ground, that no monuments might remain of her misfortunes. Public sacrifices were, at his motion, appointed by the senate to be yearly offered to perpetuate their memory ; solemn games in the circus, and chariot-races, were

instituted in honour of his mother, in which her image was to be carried amongst those of the gods; and the month of September was, by a decree of the senate, to be thenceforth called by the name of his father, Germanicus. Having thus signalized his piety towards his father, his mother, and his brothers, he honoured his grandmother Antonia, with the name of Augusta, appointed her priestess of Augustus, granted her all the privileges enjoyed by the Vestals, and all the marks of distinction which had ever been conferred upon Livia, either by Augustus or Tiberius. The privileges of the Vestals he likewise granted to his sisters Agrippina, Drusilla, and Livilla or Julia; and ordained that their names should be added to his in all solemn oaths, with this clause, "Neither am I dearer to myself, nor are my children dearer to me, than Caius Cesar and his sisters." And to all the public acts the following form was ordered to be prefixed, "May it prove fortunate and happy to Caius Cesar and his sisters." All the papers, registers, and records, which Tiberius had left, relating to the proceedings against his mother and brothers, he caused to be brought publicly into the forum, and there to be committed to the flames, in his presence, after having solemnly called the gods to witness that he never read, nor even opened them. This he did, as he then declared, that no room might be left for fear or apprehensions in those who had been the occasion of the misfortunes which befell them. However, as they were all afterwards, to a man, cut off, under the imputation of various crimes, it was commonly believed, that he had burnt only the copies, and preserved the originals. In many other ways he manifested generosity and justice. He liberated all state-prisoners, and recalled all whom the late emperor had banished. He publicly declared that he would give no countenance to spies, or permit any one to be accused of treason. In reply to a note intimating a conspiracy to kill him, he said, "That he had done nothing to provoke the hatred of any one, and should therefore be deaf to the whispers of informers. He affected the greatest respect for the judgment of the senate and the approbation of the people; and on his birth-day honoured all ranks by the most magnificent shows which had ever been seen in Rome. He set aside all the most unpopular decrees and laws of Tiberius which affected Rome or the provinces."

His private friends largely experienced his bounty, particularly Agrippa, son of Aristobulus, one of the unhappy sons of Herod the Great who were put to death by their jealous and revengeful father. The youth, at his father's death, was

sent to Rome by his grandfather. He and Drusus the son of Tiberius were placed under the same tutor, and he was highly esteemed by both till the death of Drusus, when the father dismissed from his presence all his son's friends, under the pretence that they renewed his grief. By his agreeable manners and profuse expenditure, Agrippa had procured many friends at Rome; but being expelled from court, and overwhelmed in debt, he felt compelled to depart to Judea. His proud spirit being nearly broken by disappointments and poverty, he took refuge in a castle of Idumea, where he resolved to starve himself to death. His relations relieved him, but he soon forfeited their favour, and returned to Rome. Here he acquired the friendship of Caius. Their intimacy gave occasion to one of Agrippa's slaves whom he made free, to betray his master. The servant informed the emperor that he heard Agrippa declare to Caius that he wished most earnestly the death of Tiberius, because then the former had nothing to do but kill the young prince Tiberius, and take possession of the empire. In consequence of this accusation, Agrippa was bound and cast into prison. He not only was liberated by Caius a few days after he was proclaimed emperor, but received from him a diadem, and a chain of gold equal in weight to the iron chains with which he had been bound, also the tetrarchy of his uncle Herod Philip, and the region of Abilene in Syria, with the title of king. His kingdom was a short time after enlarged by the addition of the tetrarchy of Herod Antipas, who was deposed by Caius, and exiled to Lyons in Gaul, because he was accused of having pledged himself to support Sejanus in his conspiracy to destroy the late emperor and seize the empire.

The natural talents of Caius were respectable, and he had acquired the learning of the age. He spoke Greek, and was an eloquent speaker. He restrained his appetites and passions while he dreaded the displeasure of Tiberius: on obtaining the crown he gave himself up to intemperance and sensuality. Before the lapse of a year, a severe disease, ascribed to his vicious habits, threatened his life. The report of this event quickly spread, and plunged the provinces in distress. "At Rome, his palace was constantly crowded with multitudes of people of all ranks, inquiring about his health; many passed whole nights at his gate, and some, devoting their lives for him, promised to fight amongst the gladiators for his safety, and put up notices of this their resolution in the streets. At length he recovered, and, with his recovery, restored happi



ness to the whole empire. Innumerable victims were slain and sacrifices offered in the most distant provinces subject to Rome, by way of thanksgiving to the gods for so signal a favour. But how blind is man in his imagination! how vain in his hope, and ignorant of what is most to his advantage! This prince, so much beloved, and universally looked upon as the author of all public and private happiness, either changed all on a sudden his nature, or discovered that which he had some time artfully disguised." Some imagined that the disease had injured his brain, and left him void of judgment. Certain it is, that from this time he acted more like a maniac than a rational being. "Every species of brutal indulgence, qualified with the name of pleasure, deliberate murders, under the pretence of the execution of justice, ordered without any formalities of trial, and attended with expressions of insult and scorn from himself, characterised his future reign."

Young Tiberius seems to have been the first victim of his caprice and malice. When the youth put on the robe of manhood, he was presented by Caius to the public as the chief prince of the rising race of the nobles, and was adopted by him. In a few days he compelled the youth to stab himself in his presence. His illustrious grandmother, the aged and venerable Antonia, he treated so contemptuously that he was considered to have either killed her or hastened her death. When she ventured to give him advice, he was usually enraged, and called her to remember that "he could do what he pleased with whom he pleased."

The accounts of his cruelties would be deemed incredible, had they not been fully authenticated. "Among the rest, they tell us that one day, finding there were no criminals condemned to fight with the wild beasts, according to the barbarous custom which obtained at Rome, he commanded such of the people as were already come to see the shows, to be thrown to them, having first ordered their tongues to be cut out, that they might not disturb, with their cries and complaints, his inhuman diversion. Finding it very chargeable to maintain the wild beasts, which were kept for such entertainments, he often visited the prisons in person; and, ordering all the prisoners to be ranged in a gallery before him, sentenced many of them to be thrown to the wild beasts, without examining whether they were guilty or innocent. Once in particular, as they stood drawn up before him, he commanded all to be taken away to feed his beasts, *a calvo ad*

*calvum*, i. e. from such a bald head, whom he pointed out, to another. Great numbers of old men, of infirm persons, and of such as were reduced to poverty, met with the same cruel fate; the inhuman tyrant pretending that by such unheard of barbarities he consulted the public welfare, since he delivered the state from persons who were so many burdens to it."

Elated by absolute power, and the abject submission of all ranks, he pretended that he was a god, and claimed the same worship which was paid the chief gods, Apollo, Mars, and Jupiter. He ordered a temple to be built for his worship, and dedicated it to his own divinity, "placing in it his statue in gold, done to the life, and every day clothed in the same robes which he himself wore. He likewise instituted priests and priestesses, to officiate in his new temple, the greatest and richest men in Rome, so great was their debasement at this time, purchasing the infamous priesthood with vast sums; for Caius sold it at such an extravagant price, that his uncle Claudius, not having wherewithal to discharge the debt, eight millions of sesterces, says Suetonius, which he contracted on that occasion, was obliged to surrender all his effects to his creditors, who publicly sold them by auction. The sacrifices which his priests daily offered to him were peacocks, pheasants, Numidian hens, &c.; and, as though his other follies were not sufficiently extravagant, he became at last priest to himself, and admitted to the same dignity his wife Cæsonia, whom he married the year following; and also his horse, the most proper priest of all for such a deity.

The consummate folly of Caius in claiming divine honours was resisted by none but the Jews. He sent orders to Petronius, governor of Syria, to set up his statue in the most holy place. Though the noble Roman was aware of the danger to which he exposed himself by delaying to publish this extraordinary edict, yet he knew that the danger was equally great and more immediate, rashly to enforce it, from the Jews' utter abhorrence to idolatry. He accordingly proceeded in the affair with much prudence and caution. That he might appear zealous for the honour of the emperor, but chiefly with a view to avoid the threatened evil, he sent for the most celebrated artists, and the best materials for a statue, to distant countries, and collected many troops in Ptolemais and its vicinity. The appearance of an army alarmed the Jews, and to allay their fears he felt compelled to inform them of the orders which he had received. The chiefs of the Jews immediately assembled, and presented to him an ad

dress, in which they strongly expressed their respect for the emperor, but plainly stated that they would sooner all perish than allow their temple to be polluted. He replied that their resistance would be regarded rebellion. This they disavowed, and declared that they had no design of resorting to force, but that he could only enter the sanctuary through the blood of the whole nation.

Petronius having arrived at Ptolemais, Aristobulus the brother of Agrippa, and several others of the highest rank, visited him, and earnestly entreated him to grant them liberty to send an embassy to Rome, and to favour them with a letter to the emperor, whom they proposed to petition that he would condescend to recall the decree, to which they could not possibly submit. Petronius warned them not to apply to Caius, for their disinclination to do what he commanded would, he assured them, only bring on them destruction; but he pledged himself to write the emperor, and do nothing to offend them till he received an answer. The letter of the governor stated, "that he had met with difficulties in the execution of his orders, through want of proper hands; and that the statue, which he designed should be a masterpiece of its kind, was not yet reared, because he feared lest the taking of so many men from their other labours should bring a scarcity on the land, and lower the tribute;" with such other reasons, which, instead of appeasing, greatly exasperated the emperor. He was just reading the letter, and in the height of his resentment, when king Agrippa, who was then at Rome, came into his presence. He was greatly surprised to see such a mixture of passions in his looks and gestures, and began to fear he had either offended, or been in some way misrepresented to him; when Caius, who easily observed his disorder, broke the secret to him in words to this effect: "Your Jewish subjects are strange creatures, to refuse to acknowledge me for a god, and to provoke my resentment against them: I had commanded the statue of Jupiter to be set up in their temple, and they have, it seems, opposed it, and raised a kind of universal insurrection." This information overwhelmed Agrippa; he fainted, and continued unwell several days. On recovering, he wrote Caius, and earnestly besought him to regard the Jews with pity. He reminded him of the loyalty of that people, and of the many favours which his predecessors Augustus and Tiberius had conferred on them; and that the greatest favours which he had heaped on himself would only augment his unhappi

ness, if he did not allow the Jews to preserve their religion ; and that it was impossible for him to live, if the sacred place was profaned, and his nation disgraced. Caius answered not this letter, and this induced Agrippa to hope that he relented. The emperor, he believed, loved him ; and he therefore took the liberty to send him an invitation to a grand entertainment. This he readily accepted. In the course of the feast, when Caius was heated with wine, Agrippa, in glowing language, praised him for his generous deeds, and the noble gifts he had given him. Caius was highly gratified, and promised Agrippa whatever he would ask. The Jewish monarch instantly thus addressed his guest : “ Since it is your royal pleasure to add this new favour to all the rest, I will beg for such an one as will be at once an irrefragable proof of your goodness to me, and draw a plenty of heavenly blessings upon your head ; and that is, that you will lay aside your resolution of setting up the statue in the temple of Jerusalem.” This petition, which showed not only the greatest disinterestedness, but also the most unfeigned love for his country and religion, even at the hazard of his life, had such an effect on that emperor, that he wrote immediately to his governor, that “ if his statue was not already set up, he should forbear doing it ; adding, that he had altered his mind out of friendship to Agrippa.”

While the dreadful edict of Caius was suspended over the heads of the nation, the labours or practices of the followers of Christ would excite little concern in the minds of the rulers of the Jews. Besides, however much they might hate them, they would not presume to continue persecuting them, in opposition to the Roman laws, which protected all sects of the Jews. Thus the Christians would enjoy peace in Judea, Galilee, and Samaria, during a considerable part of the reign of Caius. It was about this period, that Saul, apparently the most active persecutor of the Christians, believed the gospel, and became the great apostle of the nations. This must have dissipated the fears of many disciples of Christ, who sojourned in Syria, whom he had authority to imprison and destroy. While a great and effectual door was thus opened for the preaching of the gospel in this season of public calamity, it seems, we think, plain from the Acts of the Apostles, that the Christian ministers and people received remarkable increase of divine knowledge, fitting them for the extended labours to which they were called ; for they were now taught to proclaim the gospel indiscriminately to all nations.

From the time of the descent of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost, they were confident that their Lord was ordained to conquer all nations. It is, however, questionable if any of them had hitherto acquired any distinct ideas of the means which he was to employ to accomplish this great and glorious enterprise. His first commission to his ministers was confined to the Jews; for he prohibited them from going to any of the nations, or from even entering into any city of the Samaritans. And when he commanded them to "Go into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature, and teach all nations," he expressly enjoined that they should commence their mission at Jerusalem. Nor does it appear that the apostles or their associates proclaimed the gospel beyond that city, till persecution compelled them to seek an asylum in the surrounding regions. They had been educated in all the religious opinions and prejudices of their nation, originating in imperfect views of the Divine purposes and plans respecting the redemption of mankind by the Messiah. By the covenant made with Abraham, and still more explicitly, by the Sinai covenant, the Jews were intrusted with the keeping of the law and the promises. Through them alone could the nations obtain the knowledge of Divine Revelation. All the visible privileges of the true religion were granted them; and every one belonging to another nation, who worshipped God, learned to regard the Jews as a people honoured by God above all other races of man. While, therefore, the covenant made with the Jewish Fathers remained in full force, it was divinely proper that every new revelation of the will of Heaven should be communicated first to the Jews. Accordingly, John the Baptist, Messiah's forerunner, Jesus Christ himself, and all his first ministers and followers, were Jews; and none were received into the congregations of Christians for several years, except those believers in Christ who were previously proselytes to the religion of the nation of Jews. The Christians, in common with their unbelieving and impenitent countrymen, viewed every man of another nation, till he was circumcised and had submitted to all the rites and institutes of Moses, as unclean; and, consequently, they neglected to proclaim salvation to the uncircumcised, for they evidently supposed them not qualified to receive it.

Thus the kingdom of God received no subjects direct from the nations before the reign of Caius Caligula. The apostle Paul was probably the first Christian who preached Christ to all men without respect of persons; for he was con-

missioned to proceed at once to minister to the nations, and he readily obeyed. The first three years of his ministry were passed in Arabia, and we have reason to conclude that he made no distinction between Jews and Gentiles, for he considered himself appointed chiefly to convert the latter to the faith of Christ. Not long after his conversion, Peter was instructed by a vision to preach to the uncircumcised, and to acknowledge those of them who believed in Christ, and received the gifts of the Holy Spirit, proper subjects of his divine kingdom. And from the time of the conversion of Cornelius and his friends, all the chief ministers of Christ engaged with great zeal in raising congregations every where from all the uncircumcised, who received their message concerning the Christ. Nor does it appear that any Gentile was in future deemed disqualified to worship God, because he declined to be circumcised and to obey the law of Moses. This sentiment was indeed strongly maintained and zealously propagated by a few proud Jews, who aspired to be leaders in the Christian community, and they succeeded in procuring many disciples; but the assembly of the chief ministers, and the whole congregation in Jerusalem, publicly condemned their conduct, and sent a decree to all Christian congregations, declaring that no Gentile was required to become a Jew, or to keep the law of Moses, in order to the enjoyment of the blessings of the kingdom of God. This was one of the most important and most memorable events in the history of the primitive church. It caused great joy among all the Christian community, and their ministers engaged with exceedingly invigorated zeal in the propagation of the gospel. The whole world actually became the field of their missionary work. They were no longer shut up in synagogues: they all, like Paul, proclaimed everywhere, to all people, salvation through faith in Christ Jesus; and the power of the Lord was with them, and multitudes turned from idols to serve the Living and True God.

It is probable that the ministers of Christ had now more liberty to advance his kingdom than was usually granted, not only in Judea, but also in the other parts of the empire. They interfered not with the political or religious arrangements of the empire. They took no part in the contentions of the Jews with the Romans, occasioned by the imperial command to worship the emperor as a god. The purity of the temple-worship was not now an object of interest to them. Nor did they revile the gods, or rob the temples of idolaters.

They quietly proceeded to announce the gospel, and to call on all men to renounce all idols, and worship the Lord Jesus Christ. No law of the empire disapproved of this conduct, and few opposed it, except the unbelieving Jews, and those whom they persuaded to join them in persecuting the followers of Christ. The Jews, however, had completely lost their influence for a time, by their resolute determination to resist the decree of Cesar in relation to their temple. Not only were they so opposed in their own land that they ceased to persecute the churches in Judea, Galilee, and Samaria, but they were also in a similar depressed condition in other countries. They were, in particular, exposed to dreadful sufferings in Egypt.

The country prospered in the last years of Tiberius, for its Roman governor Avilius Flaccus, ruled with much wisdom and justice. But, being at heart an enemy of the Jews, when he learned that they had subjected themselves to the displeasure of the emperor, he joined the idolatrous Egyptians, who eagerly embraced the opportunity which the decree of Caius gave them of inflicting every kind of evil on the Jews, of whom there were about one million in the kingdom. He regarded with indifference or pleasure the lawless conduct of the multitude, who plundered the Jews of their property, destroyed their places of worship, or defiled them by placing in them statues of the emperor. He published an edict declaring them aliens in Alexandria. Immediately the idol-worshippers rose against them, expelled them from their houses, and shut them up in a small unhealthy part of the city, and attempted to prevent them from procuring provisions. The Alexandrians watched them narrowly night and day, to prevent them from making their escape. But, in the end, hunger prevailing over fear, several found means to withdraw either to the sea-side, or to some remote burying-places; but such of them as were discovered, were tortured in a most cruel manner, put to death, and their bodies ignominiously dragged through the streets of the city. Those Jews who, not having any notice of the uproar, happened to come to the city from their country-houses, were treated with the same cruelty, and hurried away to the torture, or torn in pieces by the enraged multitude. Some of the rioters lay night and day on the banks of the river, waiting there for the Jewish merchants; and as soon as any vessel arrived belonging to that nation, they leaped into it, seized the effects, and then burnt it, together with the owners. In short, when Jews ap

peared in any part of the city, except the narrow quarter allotted to them, they were sure of being tortured in a most barbarous manner and massacred. The least inhuman among the rioters despatched them with the sword, or with fire, often burning whole families, without respecting the old men, or pitying the infants ; and employing for fuel such of their effects as no one thought worth purchasing. Others, more cruel, to prolong the torments of those unhappy wretches, having tied them to the stakes, kindled round them fires of moist and green wood ; so that, after they had long borne the torment of a slow fire, they perished at length, suffocated with the smoke, when their bodies were but half burnt. Others, with ropes fastened to their feet, were dragged through the streets and public places of the city, the populace insulting their bodies even after they were dead, trampling them under foot, and mangling them with such brutal cruelty, so that not one member remained entire to entitle them to a funeral. They then, by way of mockery, pretended to bewail those whom they had thus inhumanly butchered : but, if any of their friends or relations lamented them in earnest, they were immediately seized, whipped without mercy, and, after suffering all the torments which cruelty itself could invent, condemned to the ignominious punishment of the cross. Flaccus might, with one word, have put a stop to the fury of the populace, but he the whole time pretended ignorance of the very things he saw and heard. However, he sent at last for the leading men amongst the Jews, as if he designed to make up all differences between them and the people of Alexandria. The Jews had at Alexandria an ethnarch, or chief of their nation, whom Josephus calls, as is commonly believed, alabarch ; they had likewise a council, which was established by Augustus ; and out of this Flaccus caused thirty-eight persons to be seized, to be bound like criminals, some with cords, others with chains, and in that condition to be dragged through the great market-place to the theatre, where the people were celebrating the birth-day of Caius, and there, in the presence of their enemies, to be whipt so unmercifully, that some of them died soon after. In inflicting this punishment, he chose the most ignominious method, (for different methods were then in use,) treating them as public thieves and robbers. Those who outlived this cruel punishment were imprisoned and kept under close confinement, till Flaccus himself was arrested, that is, from the thirty-first of August, which was Caius's birth-day, to the latter end of September.



During this solemnity, which seems to have lasted several days, many Jews were crucified, after the people assembled in the theatre had diverted themselves with scourging, racking, and torturing them at their pleasure. With these scenes of cruelty they were daily entertained, till the Jews, either expiring on the rack or hurried away to execution, gave room to dancers, players, and other diversions in use amongst the Romans ; diversions truly less horrible, but perhaps not more innocent. Such women as were suspected to be Jews, were by the insulting populace seized, carried into the market-place, and there exposed to public view. Those who proved not to be Jews, were immediately dismissed ; but to the Jewish women they caused hog's flesh to be immediately brought, which, if they ate, they too, were dismissed untouched ; but if, on the contrary, they adhered to their law, they were exposed to the greatest indignities imaginable, racked with all manner of torments, and put to a cruel death. Such was the condition of the Jews at Alexandria for the space of about two months," in the second year of the reign of Caius. Their sufferings were mitigated by the intercessions of Agrippa ; and the unjust governor Flaccus, who was recalled to Rome, was tried, condemned, and banished. But the Jews in Egypt endured much till the reign of Claudius. Thus the Divine indignation was manifested against them because of their apostacy from the true religion, and their hatred of its faithful followers.

Those Jews who resided east of the Euphrates were not less afflicted than those in Judea and Egypt. About the time that the latter groaned under the tyranny of Caius, many thousands of the former were destroyed. The causes of this catastrophe are minutely related by Josephus. Very many Jews evidently dwelt in Mesopotamia and Babylon, if their historian be correct when he says, that they sent thousands with their collection for the temple, lest the treasure should be seized by the Parthians, who ruled over the region of ancient Assyria. Two Jews, brothers, named Asineus and Anileus, early lost their father ; their mother, from poverty, could not afford to give them either a good education or respectable trade : in their youth they deserted society, and became captains of a number of the destitute among their own people who sojourned in Babylonia. These supported themselves partly by keeping flocks, but chiefly by robbery and plunder. They erected a strong fortress, and demanded tribute from the inhabitants of the surrounding districts, as a compensa-

tion for exemption from their depredations. The report of these, and of their courageous daring and heroic exploits, roused the Parthian governor of Babylon to attempt the destruction of their fortress, and their dispersion. He led a considerable band against them, and proposed to attack them on Sabbath, which, it was believed, they held so sacred as not to engage in warfare, not even in self-defence. His plan was anticipated by the Jewish band; they suddenly fell on the army, killed many, and put the survivors to flight. The defeat of his general astonished Artabanus, king of Parthia, and, instead of resolving on revenge, he sought the friendship of the Jewish heroes, and committed to them the government of Babylonia. The brothers strongly fortified the places exposed to the inroads of enemies, and acquired celebrity in the Parthian empire. The younger brother, Anileus, unhappily married the widow of a Parthian general, and permitted her to continue worshipping the gods of her people. This exceedingly offended the Jews, and they implored her husband to repudiate her. His love for her was stronger than his reverence for the laws of his nation; and his brother declined to compel him to comply with the wishes of their followers. The Parthian lady, being apprehensive that Asineus should be persuaded by his countrymen to urge his brother to divorce her, killed him by poison.

Anileus, possessed of the entire government of Babylonia, sought to enrich himself by plundering other provinces. He led an army against some villages belonging to Mithridates, one of the king's sons-in-law. The Parthian, in defending his province, was defeated and made prisoner. He was, however, from respect to his rank, liberated by Anileus; and very soon raised a new army to oppose him. The Jews now sustained a total defeat, and were forced to flee from Babylonia. Those who escaped the sword of the enemy sought refuge in Seleucia, where they united with the Syrians to resist the oppressive measures of the Greeks, who had long possessed the government of the city. The latter, however, maintained their authority and power, and severely punished the Jews, of whom they slew fifty thousand. The few who escaped fled to Ctesiphon, the winter residence of the Parthian kings; but, dreading the vengeance of the Greeks, the principal citizens, they returned to Babylonia, and settled in Nisibis and Neerda, two strong cities on the Euphrates.

While the Jews thus endured calamities not less dreadful,

than those which they inflicted on the Christians whom their power could reach, the latter persevered, through evil report and good report, to make the gospel known in every region of the Roman empire, and even beyond its boundaries. Nor is it probable that their labours were much interrupted by the pagans in the reign of Caius: for their minds were fully occupied by the political affairs of that dreadful period. Every day almost threatened new evils on all ranks. Every one respected for wisdom, valour, or riches, provoked the envy, hatred, and revenge of the selfish, sensual, cruel, and sanguinary emperor.

In the second year of his reign, one of his acts to gain celebrity exhibited at once the consummation of folly and unparalleled prodigality, which occasioned inexpressible suffering to his subjects. He fixed his court at Puteoli, and, to display his power over sea and land, ordered an innumerable multitude of vessels to be collected or built, sufficient to form a bridge, extending from Puteoli to the opposite point of the bay of Baiæ. "These vessels were placed in two rows in the form of a crescent, being fastened and moored together with anchors, chains, and cables. So many ships were employed in this foolish undertaking, that, none being left to convey corn to Rome, the city was greatly distressed by famine, which continued to the reign of Claudius, and, to the great satisfaction of Caius, swept off daily great numbers of the people. Seneca tells us, that, when Caius was killed, there was not sufficient corn in the public granaries to maintain the people eight days longer. When the ships were well fastened and secured, vast quantities of large planks and boards were laid over them, and covered with earth. Then to make this stupendous work the more magnificent and surprising, he sent for an infinite number of artificers and workmen, who, at an immense charge, and with incredible expedition, Caius punishing the least remissness with present death, built houses, and convenient inns, on the bridge, for the reception of the emperor and his numerous retinue. Into these public houses was conveyed fresh water in pipes from the land, Caius taking delight in such things only as to others seemed impossible. When this wonderful work was completed, Caius repaired to it with all the great lords of Rome, being attended by immense crowds of people, who flocked from every quarter to behold this mighty pomp. Upon his arrival at Baiæ, he offered solemn sacrifices to the gods, especially to Envy, lest the other deities should be touched with

jealousy in seeing their glory eclipsed by his. Then proudly adorned with magnificent robes of gold, and armed with the breastplate of Alexander the Great, having a civic crown on his head, accompanied with the great officers of his army, and all the nobility of Rome, he mounted on horseback, and, entering upon the bridge at Baiæ, rode with an awful majesty to Puteoli. There he resided the greater part of the day and the following night, when, with an infinite number of torches, lanterns, and other lights, placed in different parts of the work, the sea, the neighbouring mountains, and the shore were illuminated to a vast distance, Caligula boasting that he had turned the night into day, as well as the sea into land. The next day he appeared in the habit peculiar to the charioteers in the circus, and in a chariot drawn by two stately horses, being attended by young Darius, the Parthian hostage, a squadron of his guards in bright armour, and a great train of his friends magnificently attired, and likewise in their chariots: he set out on his return to Baiæ, but halted about the middle of the bridge; and there ascending a magnificent throne, made a solemn oration in praise of his own exploit in riding so many miles upon the sea, and of the pains and care taken by his soldiers and workmen, among whom he distributed large rewards. He spent all the day and the next night in this place, revelling and banqueting with his friends; and when he began to be heated with wine, that he might perform some memorable action before he left his bridge, he all on a sudden caused great numbers of people to be thrown into the sea, without distinction of friend or foe, noble or ignoble; and when they attempted to climb up into the vessels, he ordered them to be thrust off; so that many perished, though a greater part saved themselves by swimming, the sea proving extremely calm and smooth the whole time, which Caius foolishly ascribed to the respect Neptune had for him as a more powerful deity.

Caius having, by this and many other similar extravagances, exhausted and drained his exchequer, betook himself to all manner of rapine, inventing such kinds of penalties, confiscations, and imposts had never before been heard of. He would not allow any one to be legally a citizen of Rome whose grant ran in the following terms, "To him and his posterity," unless he was his son, pretending that the word posterity did not extend beyond that degree; so that most of the Roman citizens were obliged to purchase their freedom anew. He declared the wills void of all from the beginning

of Tiberius' reign, who had not named that prince or himself amongst their heirs. Hereupon several persons named him in their wills amongst their friends and children, which he knowing, caused them, under several pretences, to be put to death, that he might receive his share the sooner; nay, he was once heard to say that it was a great presumption in them to live and keep him out of his inheritance. No commodity whatever, not even the necessities of life, were exempt from some tax or other. For all actions at law, in whatsoever place commenced, he exacted the fortieth part of the thing in controversy, and laid heavy fines on such as were convicted either of compounding or dropping the suit. He enacted a law, enjoining all artificers, labourers, porters, carriers, &c. to pay into the exchequer the eighth part of their daily gains. Every prostitute was obliged to pay a certain portion of what she earned; nay, he was not ashamed to turn his own palace into a brothel-house, maintaining there great numbers of prostitutes, and sending his officers to invite people of all ranks to his diversions."

Towards the end of the year, Caius determined to distinguish himself as a great general and mighty conqueror. He ordered a large army to be raised to make war on the Germans. His march from Rome presented the most extraordinary scene ever witnessed in any country. He moved sometimes with such haste "that the prætorian cohorts were obliged to have their standards brought after them on their sumpter horses; at other times so slowly, that he seemed to walk only for his amusement. He was carried the greatest part of the way in a litter on eight men's shoulders, having dispatched messengers, commanding the neighbouring cities to have their roads well swept and watered, that he might not be troubled with dust. He was attended in this mock expedition by Herod king of Batanea and Trachonitis, and by Antiochus king of Comagene, and followed by a train of gladiators, comedians, buffoons, and loose women, with whom he spent his whole time. When he arrived at the place where the legions were encamped that guarded the banks of the Rhine, he reviewed his forces, which amounted to two hundred or two hundred and fifty thousand men. To acquire the reputation of a rigid observer of military discipline, he dismissed, with ignominy and disgrace, several old officers, pretending that they were unfit for the service, but in reality to exempt himself from the obligation of paying them the rewards due to veterans. He passed the Rhine; but after advancing a few

miles into the country, he returned without having killed, or even seen, a single enemy, though it might have been expected from his preparations that he would have overrun the whole country. Tacitus tells us that one Brinio or Brenno, prince of the Caninefates, ridiculed with impunity this foolish expedition of Caius. And indeed there was reason to censure his absurd conduct; for while he who had threatened the barbarians with utter destruction was passing in his chariot through a narrow lane, and his troops were forced to break their ranks on account of the narrowness of the place, an officer observing that great would be their confusion if the enemy should appear, Caius immediately threw himself out of his chariot, mounted his horse, and galloped to the bridges with a design to repass the river; but finding them crowded with the servants and baggage of the army, he made them hand him from one to another, and convey him over their heads, thinking he could not too soon get out of the enemy's country. Being afterwards recovered from his fright, and assured that there was nothing to fear, he ordered some of his German guards to cross the Rhine, and afterwards having concealed themselves for some time in a neighbouring forest, rise out of their ambuscade in great tumult and hurry; and that upon the alarm which this would occasion, word might be brought him that the enemy was at hand; which ridiculous order being obeyed, the mock hero, starting from table, and putting himself at the head of a party of the prætorian horse, hastened to oppose the enemy, and, advancing to the forest, spent the remaining part of the day in cutting down trees to erect trophies for so signal a victory. Upon his return he reproached with cowardice those who had not followed him, but rewarded such as had borne the brunt of the day with a new sort of crowns, which, to distinguish them from all others, he called *exploratoriæ*."

The Germans, soon after the departure of Caius, invaded Gaul and were repulsed by his general Galba. The emperor rewarded him, but claimed from the Roman senate all the glory of the victory. About the same time he commanded the troops to march to the coast of Gaul, opposite to the island of Britain, which he proposed to reduce entirely under Rome. On joining the troops, "he drew them up along the coast, embarked in a magnificent galley, and, having advanced a small way from the shore, returned suddenly, and, ascending his tribunal, ordered the warlike engines to be disposed in order and to the best advantage, the trumpets to sound, and

the signal of battle to be given. Neither soldiers nor officers could conceive what he had in view, till at length, all on a sudden, he ordered them to gather the cockle shells on the shore, and to fill with them their laps and head-pieces, saying, 'These are spoils of the conquered ocean, due to the palace, due to the capital.' Then, to reward his fellow-soldiers for so glorious a victory, he distributed among them a very inconsiderable sum, bidding them be merry, and enjoy in safety the rewards of their valour. And, that so glorious a conquest might never be forgot, he caused a high tower to be erected, according to the model of the pharos at Alexandria for setting up lights to direct ships at sea in the night. And now Caius thought of nothing but the preparations for a triumph due to his noble achievements. Accordingly, he wrote to his officers at Rome, enjoining them to get every thing ready for the most magnificent triumph that had ever been seen; but at the same time warning them not to put him to any extraordinary expense, since every man's estate was at their disposal. Before he left Gaul he chose the tallest men of that province, without distinction of rank or condition, to grace his triumph, giving them German names, and obliging them to learn that language, to let their hair grow, and colour it red, that they might pass for Germans. He likewise commanded the galleys, in which he and his chief officers had put to sea, to be conveyed to Rome for most part of the way by land." On approaching Rome he sent messengers prohibiting any of the senators to meet him, and on entering he refused the honour of a triumph. From this time he purposed to extirpate the senate, and several of the most eminent senators were put to death; and had not his life been shortened, he, doubtless, would have fulfilled his designs. He was justly universally hated and dreaded; but the Romans had so completely degenerated, that they endured his outrageous actions nearly four years, and left it to the soldiers to betray and assassinate their sovereign. Cassius Chærea, a tribune of the prætorian band, was eminent for his bravery and honourable actions; his personal appearance was, however, remarkably disadvantageous. On this account, Caius, who knew that he disapproved of the injustice and cruelty of his government, took every opportunity to speak of him as an effeminate coward. This contemptible conduct of Caius provoked the indignation of the noble soldier, and he determined to risk his life to free the empire from the power of the savage tyrant. Chærea easily found numbers to join him in the conspiracy, and many of

these hurried him on to execute his purpose, lest he should be betrayed. He struck the first fatal blow while Caius amused himself with some Asiatic youths who had been trained to dance in the theatre. The fellow conspirators of Chærea quickly followed his example, and some of them seemed to derive pleasure from mangling the body of their victim, even when his life was extinct. The body of the emperor was left on the spot where he fell, till night, when it was privately removed to the Lamian gardens, and, after being half burnt, was interred without the least sign of regret or respect. The hateful tyrant's wife and only daughter, an infant, were not permitted long to survive, and the Romans eagerly desired that his name should be declared infamous. The senate succeeded to procure the abolition of all his acts, the destruction of his statues, and the melting down of all the coins on which his name was engraved.

Caius was succeeded by his uncle Claudius, who owed his exaltation chiefly to the will of the army. Most probably he had never entertained for one moment the hope of ascending the throne of Rome, nor had any one ever dreamed of such an event. Upon the first report of the death of his nephew, Claudius in extreme terror sought refuge behind curtains in the dark corner of a room in the palace, where he heard the noise of the tumult, and trembled lest his breathing should attract the attention of any one. A common soldier named Gratus, in passing through the palace in quest of plunder, discovered Claudius, who earnestly implored his compassion. This Gratus not only showed, but instantly saluted him emperor. He conveyed him to his companions, from whom he received the same honour. They placed him in a chair, and as they passed through the city to the camp, the people lamented over him, for they imagined that the soldiers carried him away to be executed; a fate which they felt he had not merited. "He was well received in the camp, but, as he was naturally timorous, he passed the night in no small apprehension. He was inclined not to accept the empire; but king Agrippa, who had just interred the body of Caius, arriving in the camp, and hearing the army designed to raise Claudius to the sovereign power, went immediately to him, encouraged him to lay hold of the present opportunity, and, leaving him in that resolution, returned home. On the other hand, the soldiery, convinced that the state could not long subsist without an emperor, and reflecting that it would prove far more advantageous for them to give than to receive a sover-



eign, the very next day, the twenty-fifth of January, took an oath of allegiance to Claudius, who promised them fifteen sesterces a man. He was the first emperor, as Suetonius observes, who distributed money to the soldiers upon his accession to the empire, but his example was followed by most of his successors."

The views of the soldiers ill accorded with those cherished by the senate and people. The consummate fool or monster of wickedness Caius, had not been interred before the senate proposed to restore the constitution of the Roman republic, and abolish for ever the name of Cesar. Chærea was appointed commander of the city guards, and was ordered by the consuls to adopt for the watchword, *Liberty*. The people rejoiced in the restoration of Rome's ancient glory. They, however, quickly deserted the senators; for no sooner did they learn that the army had called Claudius to the throne, than they loudly expressed their approbation, and cried, "We prefer one prince to many tyrants." Thus the citizens were divided and distracted; and the report of the discussions of the senators enraged the thoughtless multitude, who longed for the presents and shows with which they were gratified by the emperors. The simple and temperate manners of the early days of the republic no more suited the Romans. The population of Rome, degraded by poverty, dazzled and blended by the pageantry of the court, intoxicated by low pleasures, and drenched in licentiousness, surrounded the senate, and clamorously called for the soldier's emperor. The senators were alarmed; a few only declared their determination to restore the institutions of the republic, but these were powerless against the fearful apprehensions which agitated the bosoms of the many. The senate requested king Agrippa, who still remained in the city, and was known to have considerable influence with Claudius, to assist them with his counsel. That ambitious prince and able statesman appeared among the senators, and after carefully concealing his interview with Claudius in the camp, announced his willingness to sacrifice his life for the glory of the senate and the Roman people. Most gladly, he said, would he witness public liberty restored; but he entreated the senators to reflect that, from the resolution of the prætorian bands, it was evident that Claudius must be raised to the throne, if a civil war was to be avoided.

His counsel to them, therefore, was, to send a deputation to the prince, urging him not to accept the empire. He and two tribunes were immediately commissioned to visit Clau-

dius. The tribunes, by representing the danger, which the timid prince exposed himself to if he persisted to oppose the will of the senate, would have easily prevailed on him to comply with their wishes, had not Agrippa in a private interview convinced him that the senators possessed little power. While the latter continued to indicate their purpose to hazard a civil war rather than renounce the noble enterprise of emancipating the Romans from imperial despotism, the tumultuous cries of the people that they would never submit to the senate, and especially the desertion of the city guards, rendered their cause hopeless. The few senators who ventured to assemble next day banished all thoughts of liberty, and proceeded with the usual ceremonies to declare Claudius emperor. He immediately left the camp accompanied with the senators who had joined him and the prætorian guards, and, entering the city in triumph, offered a sacrificial thank-offering in the capitol to the gods, who had raised him to the sovereignty of the world. In the first council which he held, two of the principal conspirators were condemned to death, and all others were pardoned; some of these were indeed afterwards chosen to the most honourable and lucrative offices. "The senate decreed him all the honours which they had conferred on other emperors; but he modestly declined the greater part of them, and caused a decree to be passed in the senate, forbidding any one to pay him divine honours, or style him a god. Having, a few days after he was declared emperor, married his daughter Antonia to Cn. Pompeius, he would not suffer the people to make any public rejoicings on that occasion, nor even on his own birth-day, or on the anniversary of his accession to the empire. He no sooner began to exercise the authority with which he was vested than he suppressed the law of majesty, which, under the two preceding emperors had proved fatal to Rome. At the same time he called home all the exiles, eased the people of the tributes with which Caius had loaded them, forbade such as had any relations of their own, however distant, to name him among their heirs; restored the estates which had been unjustly seized by Tiberius and Caius, to the owners or their heirs; ordered all statues, which Caius had caused to be brought to Rome from Greece and other countries, to be carried back and restored to the cities whence they had been taken. With these and numerous other instances of his clemency, justice, and good nature, he won the hearts of the people to such a degree, that, upon a groundless report of his being

assassinated, they raised dreadful disturbances in the city, calling the soldiers traitors, the senate parricides, and loading with horrible curses and imprecations all whom they suspected to have been any way accessory to his death. The tumult continued till the magistrates assured the people from the rostra that Claudius was only gone to Ostia, whence he would return in a short time.

It is, however, scarcely possible to conceive of a well educated man less capable than Claudius to hold with dignity and honour the iron sceptre of Rome. No prince had ever been more unjustly and cruelly used by his friends. They treated him, from his infancy, with contempt, and left him to be governed by servants or slaves, either with kindness or rigour, as they were inclined. His presence shed a gloom over the minds of his family, not excepting his mother, the admired and almost adored Agrippina. The only plausible reason for this unnatural treatment seems to have been his total want of the family pride, ambition, and violent spirit of revenge. The consequence of this was most serious, and the source of all his future helplessness and misery. He lost all moral courage, and became the servile instrument of any one in whom he could place confidence. In intellectual acquirements he unquestionably was superior to many princes, and his bodily frame was not defective. "From his childhood he applied himself to the study of the liberal sciences, and frequently gave public testimonies of his proficiency in them. He arrived at no small perfection in oratory; and his discourse was not without elegance, when it was the result of study. He was well skilled in the Latin and Greek tongues, wrote several books and added three letters to the ancient alphabet, which, however, continued in use no longer than his reign. Seneca commends his works, and speaks of him as an encourager of learning. He was tall and well-shaped; but had something very disagreeable in his mein, something very unbecoming in his action, which, together with his feeble voice, and inarticulate pronunciation, is the chief subject of Seneca's raileries." His extreme distrust of all men, and feebleness of resolution, totally disqualified him for the active business of society. At the very time that he had ample proofs of being universally loved, he was every moment in dread of being murdered. His friends could not prevail upon him, during the first month of his reign, to appear once in the senate, because Cesar, the dictator, had been murdered there. He caused all whom he admitted to

his presence to be first carefully searched, lest they should have some weapon concealed under their garments. It was a long time before he could be persuaded to excuse women, and even children from being examined in a very rude and unbecoming manner. At public entertainments he was constantly surrounded by his guards, whom he also obliged to attend him at table, distrusting the domestics even of his most intimate friends. He never failed to visit in person such of the senators as were indisposed ; but always sent his guards before to search every corner of the house. These unnecessary and ridiculous precautions did not render him so contemptible in the eyes of the multitude as the weakness and want of judgment which he betrayed in the administration of justice. He was totally unqualified for that office, but, nevertheless, could not be prevented from hearing and deciding the most intricate causes, which served only to expose him to public derision, and often to insults, which he bore with incredible patience.

This weak man, invested with sovereign authority and absolute power, was a proper instrument by which the unprincipled, ambitious, and selfish might advance their base designs, when they acquired influence over him. Accordingly, during his reign of more than thirteen years, he was preyed on by his successive wives and freedmen, who surrounded his person, and he was at last the victim of the fears, hatred, or revenge of one of the most depraved of her sex.

Claudius was about fifty years old at the time of his exaltation to the sovereignty of the world, A. D. 41. He had already divorced two wives, who had born him children ; and his present wife was his cousin, named Valeria Messalina, who governed him according to her pleasure ; aided by several of his freedmen, particularly Narcissus, Pallas, Calixtus Messalina, and her successor Agrippina, she administered the whole affairs of the empire. The favourites amassed immense wealth ; each was, Pliny says, richer than Crassus.

Among the first acts of Claudius may be noticed the reward which he granted king Agrippa for his important services. He added to his dominions Judea and Samaria ; in consequence of which the kingdom of Agrippa was scarcely of less extent than that of his grandfather Herod the great, in the days of his greatest prosperity. To Herod, the brother of Agrippa, was granted the kingdom of Chalcis, lying at the bottom of Mount Libanus. And, to augment the honour and happiness of these princes, he constituted them senators

of Rome, with the privilege of appearing arrayed in the prætorian dress; and issued edicts in favour of the Jews throughout the whole empire, and particularly for the benefit of those in Egypt. He commanded the governor to put them in possession of all the immunities which had been granted to them by the princes of Egypt, who had most highly esteemed and exalted them; and, according to Josephus, he enjoined that the Jews in every other part of the empire should, like those in Egypt, be raised to the enjoyment of all the privileges which were granted to their respective fellow-citizens. The copy of the decree sent to every province merits insertion, it was passed A. D. 42. "Tiberius Claudius Cesar, Augustus, Germanicus, high priest, tribune of the people, chosen consul the second time, ordains thus:—Upon the petition of king Agrippa and king Herod, who are persons very dear to me, that I would grant the same rights and privileges should be preserved to the Jews which are in all the Roman empire, which I have granted to those of Alexandria, I very willingly comply therewith; and this grant I make not only for the sake of the petitioners, but as judging those Jews for whom I have been petitioned worthy of such a favour, on account of their fidelity and friendship to the Romans. I think it also very just that no Grecian city should be deprived of such rights and privileges, since they were preserved to them under the great Augustus. It will therefore be fit to permit the Jews, who are in all the world under us, to keep their ancient customs without being hindered so to do. And I do charge them also to use this my kindness to them with moderation, and not to show a contempt of the superstitious observances of other nations, but to keep their own laws only. And I will that this decree of mine be engraven on tables by the magistrates of the cities and colonies, and municipal places, both those within Italy and those without it, both kings and governors, by the means of the ambassadors, and to have them exposed to the public for full thirty days, in such a place, whence it may plainly be read from the ground." These events, we doubt not, contributed to facilitate the labours of the primitive Christians, because they continued to be viewed as a sect of the Jews everywhere, except in Judea. Hence we find them freely admitted, in all Greece, Asia Minor, and Macedonia, into all the synagogues, and permitted to teach in every public place the things concerning the kingdom. But the result of Herod Agrippa's acquisition of Judea and Samaria was disastrous to the disciples settled in these

countries. For their great increase and prosperity exceedingly grieved the Jewish leaders, whom Agrippa was, from interest and inclination, most desirous to please.

That prince remained not long in Rome after the settlement of Claudius on the throne. Having returned to Judea, he assumed extraordinary zeal for the law and for the welfare of the Jews. He not only revered the worship of the temple, but he performed the remarkable vow of a Nazarite, and adorned the city of Jerusalem with beautiful buildings. He proposed to render it impregnable, by surrounding it with a strong wall ; and only deferred completing the work, on discovering that it was disapproved by the Roman governor of Syria. The golden chain which he had received from the emperor Caius, he consecrated as a grateful monument to Jehovah, by fixing it in a conspicuous place in the temple. And to testify his great zeal for the law, and his delight to gratify the strongest passions of the Jews, he gave orders to seize James the Less, and condemned him to be beheaded as a transgressor of the institutes of Moses. The very mode of putting the just man to death was adopted from the Romans, and showed that the king's veneration for Moses was more pretence than reality ; and, perhaps, this unjust and bloody act was performed from revenge on observing the surpassing excellence of the lives of the apostles, and the esteem in which they were held, which at once exposed and condemned his ostentatious vanity and pride, and tended to withdraw from him the popular gaze and admiration. Whatever be in this, when he saw that his injustice and barbarity ministered pleasure to the Jews, and gained their applause, he commanded that Peter should be cast into prison. He would have instantly put him to death, had it not been the season of the passover, when his executioners would have, by the deed, been disqualified from keeping the festival. A miracle, in answer to the prayers of the Christians, saved the apostle of the Jews, and utterly, confounded his powerful persecutor who allayed his wrath by murdering the innocent keepers of the prison.

Though Herod attempted, by putting to death the guards of Peter, to induce the Jews to think that he had no belief that the apostle was delivered by the Divine interposition, yet he was probably convinced by it of the folly of expecting to acquire fame by persecuting the Christians, and therefore resolved to seek it by means more appropriate. His obstinate impenitence and daring impiety, however, speedily brought on him the Divine vengeance ; he eagerly sought the praise

of men, and became a remarkable monument of the just displeasure of Heaven.

Humbled and mortified in Jerusalem, he descended to Cesaria, and by a magnificent display of his princely dignity, and an ostentatious exhibition of his wisdom and oratorical power, he gave occasion to the people to admire his greatness and flatter his vanity, by adoring him as if the Divinity resided in him. A pagan king, by approving such conduct, might plead as an apology the example of those of his rank, who discovered their folly by accepting religious homage; but Agrippa knew that the people reviled the God of heaven, and acted contrary to the constitution of the nation, and the example of the kings of the Jews. His sin was not greater than it was inexcusable; and it became the Majesty of Heaven to inflict on him signal punishment, by immediate death in one of its most dreadful forms. Luke gives a simple, unadorned, but awfully impressive narrative of the death of Agrippa; and his record is amply corroborated by Josephus, when he says,—“Agrippa had reigned three years over all Judea, he came to the city Cesaria, which was formerly called Strato’s Tower; and there he exhibited shows in honour of Cesar, upon his being informed that there was a certain festival celebrated to make vows for his safety. At which festival, a great multitude was gotten together of the principal persons, and such as were of dignity through his province. On the second day of which show, he put on a garment made wholly of silver, and of a contexture truly wonderful, and came into the theatre early in the morning: at which time the silver of his garment being illuminated by the fresh reflection of the sun’s rays upon it, shone out after a surprising manner, and was so resplendent as to spread a horror over those that looked intently upon him: and presently his flatterers cried out, one from one place and another from another, though not for his good,—that he was a god: and they added,—‘Be thou merciful to us; for although we have hitherto revered thee only as a man, yet shall we henceforth own thee as superior to mortal nature.’ Upon this the king did never rebuke them, nor reject their impious flattery. But, as he presently afterwards looked up, he saw an owl sitting on a certain rope over his head, and immediately understood that this bird was the messenger of ill tidings, as it had once been the messenger of good tidings to him; and fell into the deepest sorrow. A severe pain also arose in his belly, and began in a most violent manner. He therefore looked upon

his friends, and said; 'I, whom you call a god, am commanded presently to depart this life; while Providence thus reproves the lying words you just now said to me; and I, who was by you called immortal, am immediately to be hurried away by death. But I am bound to accept of what Providence allots, as it pleases God; for we have by no means lived ill, but in a splendid and happy manner.' When he said this, his pain became violent. Accordingly he was carried into the palace; and the rumour went abroad everywhere, that he would certainly die in a little time. But the multitude presently sat in sackcloth, with their wives and children, after the law of their country, and besought God for the king's recovery. All places were also full of mourning and lamentation. Now he rested in a high chamber, and as he saw them below lying prostrate on the ground, he could not himself forbear weeping. And when he had been quite worn out by the pain in his belly for five days, he departed this life, being in the fifty-fourth year of his age."

Luke emphatically remarks of Herod Agrippa, "he was eaten up of worms; but the word of God grew and multiplied." The success of the first ministers of the gospel in Judea, the most demoralized of all countries, was as wonderful as if a handful of corn sown on the top of Libanus, had become so productive, and endowed with such power, as to disperse itself over all countries, and yield a produce sufficient to support the whole race of man. The vitality and divine excellence of the word of God became the more conspicuous from the political and social condition of the Jews subsequent to the death of Agrippa.

That monarch left a son of the same name, and three daughters, Bernice married to her uncle Herod, king of Chalcis, Mariamne and Drusilla, the former betrothed to Julius Archelaus and the latter to Epiphanes, son of Antiochus, king of Comagene, the northern region of Syria, of which Semosata was the metropolis, situated on the Euphrates. Herod, Agrippa's son, was educated in Rome, and being only about seventeen years old at the time of his father's decease, was considered too young to succeed him. On this account the kingdom, of which he was the heir, was constituted a Roman province, and the government was committed to Fadus. Under his administration visibly commenced the fearful judgments of God on the apostate Jews, predicted by the Lord Jesus Christ.

When Caspius Fadus arrived in Judea, the inhabitants



were subjected to various calamities. Travelling was dangerous, and property everywhere insecure, from the numerous and powerful bands of robbers who traversed the land ; and a species of civil war prevailed between the Jews of Perea and the citizens of Philadelphia, in Gilead. Fadus was successful in restoring peace to Judea ; but it was transitory. The proud race of Abraham had rejected Jesus Christ, notwithstanding the irrefragable evidence which was given them that he was their promised Messiah, whose presence they and their fathers had for ages evidently desired. Having despised the truth, and persecuted to death its advocates, they seem to have lost the power of discerning between right and wrong. Hence, any man who appeared zealous for their traditions and prejudices found it easy to persuade them to admit his claims to be the Messiah, without the least plausible proof of their validity. A remarkable illustration and confirmation of this view of the Jews we have in the second or third impostor of the name of Theudas or Judas. The first and second were of an earlier date than the time of Fadus, as is evident from Acts v. 36, 37. The third Josephus calls a magician, who pretended to be a prophet. A great multitude believed him when he promised to divide the river Jordan. The historian, indeed, says that a great part of the inhabitants of Judea, in obedience to his word, followed him, carrying their movable property with them. Their number alarmed the procurator, who immediately sent against them a company of cavalry, who suddenly attacked them, killed many, and took not a few of them prisoners, among whom was the leader, who was carried to Jerusalem, and beheaded.

About the same time, the sufferings of the Jews were aggravated for two or three years by a dreadful famine, which had been predicted a short time before by a Christian prophet named Agabus. The feelings awakened in the Christians at Antioch by the announcement of Agabus beautifully and forcibly illustrate the spirit of Christianity. They knew that their brethren in Judea were ill-prepared for a season of want ; for besides the miseries which they endured in common with their countrymen, from national commotions, they had suffered the loss of their property for Christ's sake. Their persecutors had either seized or destroyed the greater part ; and many of the Christians had sold their possessions and cast the price into the treasury or fund destined to supply the wants of their brethren who were poor, or had willingly

renounced the means of getting rich, and devoted themselves to go as missionaries, preaching to all the gospel freely.

This mode of raising a fund for the comfort of the church and the advancement of the new and heavenly empire, was the suggestion of Christian wisdom and benevolence ; but it was not imposed on individuals as a burden which Christians were indispensably called to bear. Considering the prediction of Christ of the destruction of Jerusalem, and the deliverance of Judea over to the Gentiles, wisdom dictated to the Jewish Christians that it was prudent to turn their property into money as early as possible, and benevolence moved them to appropriate it to the kingdom of their Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ. But this appropriation was a voluntary act, as we learn from Peter's address to Ananias, who dissimulated in the disposal of his property : " While it remained, was it not thine own ? and after it was sold, was it not in thine own power ? " Neither the Lord nor his apostles ever proposed, as a general test of unfeigned belief of the gospel, that Christians should dispose of all their property for the advancement of Christianity. The test given was, that every Christian should chiefly seek the glory and extension and triumph of Christ's kingdom, and do his utmost by word and deed to attain this end ; and nothing distinguished the disciples of Christ and his first ministers from all other communities more than their love to one another, and compassion and kindness towards all men, expressed by liberal distribution of whatever they possessed for the supplying of the wants of one another and of all men. In this they had no example to imitate among the nations. The laws of no country, except those delivered by Moses, made provision for the destitute and afflicted ; and the Jews were the only ancient people who, wherever they went, remembered the poor of their own land, and collected money to send to Jerusalem. The money, however, was generally considered an offering to the temple, and was consequently, we have reason to suspect, treated as the property of the priests, rather than a gift to the destitute. The contributions of the first Christians were not received by the ministers who were wholly consecrated to spiritual services, but intrusted to a class of what we may call laymen, denominated deacons or servants, who had no personal interest in the money which they pledged themselves to distribute impartially as every man had need. These servants were selected for their special service on account of their known

fidelity to Christ, fervent zeal for his honour and kingdom, and disinterested love for all his followers.

The prophet Agabus had no sooner announced to the great multitude of Syrian Christians that Judea was to be visited by famine, than they raised a fund to be forwarded to their poor brethren in that country. From the fourth to the seventh year of the reign of Claudius, the Jews, in their own land, endured extreme want. Josephus distinctly refers to it, for it was during the administration of Fadus, who retained not the office of procurator long, or of his successor Tiberius Alexander, son of the chief of the Jews in Egypt, but an apostate from the religion of his father, that Helena, queen of Adiabene, a Jewish proselyte, visited Jerusalem, after she had resigned the kingdom to her son Izates, a more zealous Jewish proselyte than even she was. She was deeply affected on witnessing the sufferings of the people, thousands of whom died from want. To relieve them, she imported a large quantity of corn from Egypt, and a cargo of figs from Cyprus. "And when her son was informed of this famine, he sent great sums of money to the principal men in Jerusalem." That fraternal love and liberality for the sake of Christ were prominent features in the character of the first generations of Christians is manifest from the New Testament, and is attested by the common historians of their age. Nor indeed could we otherwise account for the rapid spread of Christianity; for how could the gospel have been propagated widely without innumerable preachers, and how could they have travelled into all countries and freely preached to all, had not the rich abundantly contributed to their support, and all the brethren, according to their ability, ministered to their aid? Other pecuniary aid their Master did not call them to expect, nor, indeed, was it natural or desirable that Christian ministers should have been supported by any persons who refused subjection to the government of their supreme Lord and Master. He desires not the services of any who despise his authority, and have no solicitude to obtain his favour, or respect his laws. Could the gifts of such persons bring honour to the kingdom of God?

The most intelligent enemies of Christianity ascribed its triumphs over idolatry chiefly to the universal benevolence which characterised its enlightened and sincere advocates and followers. Hence Julian, the philosophic emperor and devout worshipper of idols, called on all who, like him, desired the re-establishment of idolatry in the Roman empire, in the

fourth century, to neutralize the influence of Christians in society, by showing sympathy for the afflicted, and exercising liberality to the poor. Unless the priests of idols followed this counsel of his, he seems to have had no hope in the mighty enterprise which he entered on,—the destruction of the kingdom of God, and the re-animating with his original vigour the fourth beast, which had crushed to death his predecessors. And the Lord Jesus himself testifies that the manifestation by Christians of mutual love will convince all other men that he alone is the Saviour, whom God ordained and promised by all the holy prophets to restore the human race from moral degradation and misery. This is obviously implied in his prayer recorded in John xvii. 21.

Though the Christians in Judea were assisted by their brethren in Syria during the famine, yet it is probable that many of them would, every passing year, emigrate to foreign lands; for their countrymen, who persevered in the rejection of the gospel, continued to become more and more depraved, till they neither feared God nor regarded man.

About the eighth year of Claudius, he appointed Agrippa, only son of his friend Herod Agrippa, to the throne of Chalcis, vacant by the death of his uncle Herod; and Ventidius Cumanus to the office of procurator of the kingdom of Judea. The former event was favourable to the Jewish nation, for Agrippa stood high in the esteem of Claudius. Of this, indeed, the gift of Chalcis was a strong proof, for it properly belonged to the son of the late king Herod. Agrippa had shown himself the ardent friend of the Jews on all occasions. One instance is particularly noticed by Josephus. Cassius Longinus, governor of Syria, demanded the Jews to deposit the sacred vests of the high-priest in the fortress named Antonia, where they had been kept some time, to the great grief of the Jewish people. Vitellius had gratified them much by intrusting the vestments to the care of the priests. They declined to obey Longinus, and pacified him by giving him for hostages the sons of their chief men, till they should receive an answer to the petition which they proposed to send to Cesar. That petition was strongly enforced by Agrippa, to whom the emperor granted the request, so that the Jewish nation escaped the attack of the Roman army, with which they had been threatened by the governor of Syria. Agrippa succeeded his uncle not only to the kingdom of Chalcis, but also to the superintendency of the temple of Jerusalem, and of the treasury, with authority to choose the high-priest,

Probably, among the last acts of Claudius Cesar, was his exaltation of Agrippa to a much larger kingdom than Chalcis, and one which enabled him to promote more effectually the interests of the Jews ; for it comprised Batanea, Trachonitis, Gaulonitis, and Abilene. This accounts for the conspicuous part he took in the affairs of the kingdom of Judea, of which we have a remarkable example in his being chosen to judge Paul when he was accused by the Jews before the tribunal of the Roman procurator, Festus.

The unbelieving Jews in Judea, however, had not the wisdom to improve the advantages which they might have derived from the exaltation of their friend Agrippa. The event seems to have so elated them, that they became impatient under the insults of the Romans, to which they were exposed, and rashly plunged themselves into great distress. Had they wisely reflected on their dependent condition, they would not doubtless, on very slight provocation, have braved the power and revenge of their Roman rulers. This, however, they frequently did, especially when they had reason to flatter themselves that they were sure of the imperial protection. The perversion of their judgment, and the haughtiness of their spirit were productive of incalculable evil during the short administration of Cumanus, the successor of Longinus. The vastness of the multitude, amounting sometimes to more than a million, who assembled in Jerusalem to keep the great festivals, suggested to the Roman procurator the expediency of placing a guard of his soldiers before the gates of the temple, to maintain the peace of the city. One of these profane soldiers shocked the devout worshippers by exposing his nakedness. This they regarded as an indignity, not to them only, but to the God whom they adored. They became infuriated, and some of them went to the procurator and insolently reproached him with having ordered his soldiers to pour contempt on them and their worship. In vain did he attempt, by reasoning, to appease their anger or subdue their fury. To prevent, if possible, a popular tumult, he summoned his army to assemble in Antonia, the fortress which overlooked and commanded the temple. The appearance of the army terrified the multitude ; a panic seized them, and imagining that the soldiers would immediately fall on them, they fled. The passages were narrow, the crowd pressed on, and crushed to death not less than twenty thousand, according to the extant copies of Josephus ; but in those used by Eusebius and Jerome, the number killed was thirty thousand

This calamity was followed by another equally illustrative of the impetuous passions of the Jews. The Galileans who kept the national festivals usually travelled through Samaria to Jerusalem. A company of them were attacked, insulted, and many of them killed by the inhabitants of the village of Ginea. The chief men of Galilee appealed to Cumanus for redress. He refused to hear them, being bribed by the Samaritans. A number of Galileans resolved to be revenged on their enemies. Conducted by Eleazar, a famous chief of a banditti, they plundered many villages of Samaria. Cumanus sent an army against these lawless men, killed a number of them, and made many prisoners. These prisoners were afterwards most unjustly put to death by Quadratus, governor of Syria, even after he had, on an appeal to him by the Jews and Samaritans, left the affair to be judged by the emperor. He ordered Cumanus and one of his chief officers, Celer, to proceed to Rome, and he sent thither in chains a few of the principal persons who accused them. Agrippa was present at the trial in Rome, and to him the Jews believed they were indebted for the decision passed in their favour. The conduct of the Samaritans and the Roman officers were condemned; three of the chief men of Samaria were sentenced to die; Cumanus was banished, and Celer was sent to Jerusalem to be dragged through the city, and put to death. This remarkable decision strongly indicates the disposition of the imperial court to protect the Jews; and it must have had a salutary tendency on the ministry of the Christian church, which in the first age consisted chiefly of believing Jews. They could everywhere claim the right conferred on their nation, by which they had liberty to confess their religious sentiments and observe their religious rites. Nor would the Roman governors be indisposed to protect them against the hatred and malice of their unbelieving countrymen, as well as from the persecution of the votaries of the idolaters. The Romans tolerated all religions, and the educated among them in general regarded all with equal indifference or contempt. Christians were not recognised by law as followers of a new religion till after the death of Claudius, nor was there any edict proclaimed against them. During the preceding fifty years, the Jewish religion had made great progress in the empire. Many Greeks and Romans, including some of rank, had become proselytes. Rome was filled with them; and that they were numerous in other great cities is plain from the Acts of the Apostles. Converts to Christ would not be

exposed to more odium than Jewish proselytes, while Christians were universally regarded merely as a sect of the Jews. Thus the whole empire was opened to the ministers of Christ, and most diligently did they labour to advance his kingdom. They suffered in travelling, and much more from the sudden impulse of the jealousy, indignation, and revenge of those deeply interested in the support of the synagogues of the Jews and the temples of the Gentiles ; but while protected to a considerable degree by law, they triumphantly preached the gospel throughout the whole empire. The most able and zealous minister of Christ was a Roman citizen as well as Jew ; and consequently could in every place, when expedient, as we find he did, claim the protection of law : and by him, aided by a number of persons less gifted, the gospel of Christ was, during the reign of Claudius, successfully published throughout all the most civilized and richest provinces of the empire. It was at least not four years later when Paul informs the Romans of the fact, the truth of which they had ample opportunity to judge, that he had ministered in all those countries of the empire lying eastward of Rome, from Illyricum, the first region beyond Italy which Rome subdued, to Jerusalem, the capital of Judea, which of all kingdoms of the Greek empire, was the last to acknowledge the supremacy of the Roman people ; and we know that the hand of the Lord was with Paul in all places, so that multitudes turned from idols to serve the living and true God ; Rom. xv. 17—27.

Though he and his associates were regarded with aversion, or scorn and contempt, by those accounted the most devout and the wise and powerful in every nation, yet they proceeded on their mission, accompanied with the most illustrious tokens of moral conquerors,—the most marvellous phenomenon the human race ever beheld. Not less beautiful than brief and emphatical is this sentiment expressed by Paul : “ Now thanks be unto God which always causeth us to triumph in Christ, and maketh manifest the savour of his knowledge by us in every place,” 2 Cor. ii. 14. To the same purpose, addressing the Colossians, he says : “ We give thanks to God and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, praying always for you, since we heard of your faith in Christ Jesus, and of the love which you have to all the saints ; for the hope which is laid up for you in heaven, whereof ye heard before in the word of the truth of the gospel ; which is come unto you, as it is in all the world and bringeth forth fruit, as it doth also

in you, since the day ye heard of it, and knew the grace of God in truth," Col. i. 3—6. *The world* spoken of in this passage, according to the most limited interpretation, critics agree, must denote all the countries constituting the Fourth or Roman empire; and the probability is strong that the apostle Paul had, in the course of less than twenty years, ministered in all of them which were not situated westward of Rome. He perhaps spent nearly the first three years after his conversion in Arabia; and Syria enjoyed next for a long time his ministry. He afterwards successively proclaimed the gospel in the vast regions of Asia-Minor, Greece, Macedonia, and Illyricum. Ephesus was the centre of his labours for about three years, and Corinth, two. His generous principles were not acceptable to many Christians of Jewish descent, and by consequence the greater number of those belonging to other nations may be considered to have been converted by him, or ministers who travelled with him, preaching the gospel to all who were disposed to hear them. When he had the felicity to witness the triumph of Christ in all the above mentioned nations, he resolved to commence a mission to Rome and the regions of the western division of the empire. Previously to this, he proceeded to Jerusalem, to deliver up the fund which he had raised among the churches, which he had established for the benefit of the Christians in Judea, Acts xxiv. 17. Happily for the world, his arrival in Jerusalem terminated for more than four years his missionary labours; and afforded him time to commit to writing many Epistles, which have instructed, and will continue, till the consummation of all things, infallibly to instruct the human race, and guide all who receive them as the truth of God to peace, purity, and eternal blessedness.

The Jews had, as we have noticed, not long before Paul's ascent to Jerusalem, received strong testimony of the favour of the emperor Claudius, by the severe punishment inflicted on their inconsiderate and oppressive procurator Cumanus. This was calculated to excite hopes that his successor Felix would the more readily listen to their accusation against Paul. On the apostle's appearing in the temple, they raised a tumult, and would have at once murdered him, had the captain of the Roman band who guarded the city, not rescued him out of their hands. This noble soldier discovered sacred regard for justice, and would doubtless have gladly liberated Paul; but the violence of the Jews, and the singularity of their loud accusations against him, compelled him, apparently



as much from regard to Paul's safety as from dread of being himself charged with neglect of the honour of the emperor, to send him to Cesarea, that Felix might investigate the case.

This Roman procurator was more destitute of moral principles, selfish, and reckless than any one that had hitherto governed the Jews. Passion or expedience, rather than law or justice, regulated his conduct. He governed without much dread of being called to account by the Roman court; for, being the brother of Pallas, one of the emperor's freedmen, and one of his chief favourites, he trusted to his brother for protection against any charges which might be brought against him, on account of the injustice, cruelty, and oppression of his government. Nor in this was he disappointed, for when he was, after four years, accused by the Jews before Nero, he escaped punishment in consequence of the influence which Pallas retained at court in the first period of that monarch's reign. The Jewish nation was almost entirely disorganized at the time when Felix entered on his office of procurator. Numerous banditti traversed the country, and robbery, plunder, and murders were everywhere common. An association of assassins existed, named Sicarii, who, under pretence of patriotism and zeal for religion, justified the assassination of all whom they chose to reckon enemies of their nation or religion. Such were the persons who pledged themselves by a solemn oath, to kill Paul. No man of authority or respectability was safe from their murderous purposes, secret conspiracies, and desperate deeds. The ignorant, superstitious, and inconsiderate, were deluded by many pretended prophets, several of whom avowed themselves to be the promised Messiah. Of these the most powerful was an Egyptian Jew, who gathered around him about thirty thousand men. He seems to have announced that he was appointed to accomplish the remarkable prophecy recorded in Zech. xiv. He summoned the blinded multitude to meet him on mount Olivet, when, at his command, they should behold the walls of Jerusalem fall down, that they might take possession of it, and give laws to the world. Felix ruled with an iron rod; and succeeded in the suppression of turbulence, and the partial restoration of order; but not before many thousands of the Jews were killed. Cesarea seems, however to have been the principal scene of blood, in the time of Felix. The citizens included many wealthy Jews; but the majority were Greeks, Syrians, and Romans. The former claimed the right to rule, because their king, Herod

the Great, had built the city; but the Syrians insisted that they had stronger claims to the government of the city, for their ancestors had possessed it long before the Jews, under the name of Strato's Tower. This absurd dispute produced anarchy, strife, and fighting. Felix interposed to restore peace; and his soldiers put many of the citizens to death, made many more prisoners, and plundered the houses of a number of the richest citizens.

This Roman ruler had opportunity of knowing well the laws of the Jews; for he had by marriage connected himself with the best educated family. Herod Agrippa's daughters possessed the talents of their family, but excelled not their ancestors in moral excellence. Bernice, repeatedly married, was considered restless, except when living with her brother Agrippa in incest. Drusilla was celebrated for her beauty. Her family always professed veneration for the law; and she was not given in marriage to Epiphanes, son of Antiochus, to whom she was betrothed, in consequence of his declining to be circumcised. Her brother gave her to Azizus, king of Amesa; but she deserted him and married Felix. That Roman, perhaps, spoke respectfully of Moses' law. It is, however, certain, that he preferred the gratification of his evil desires. Accordingly, the reigning high-priest was murdered at the instigation of Felix, because of his daring to reprove him for his many lawless actions. No judge was ever more partial in judgment than this ruler; and his treatment of Paul corresponded with his general conduct, when, although convinced of his innocence, he kept him in prison two years, in expectation that the apostle or his friends would purchase his freedom. And when he was disappointed in this, he left him in chains to please the Jews, for he knew the enmity and malice which they cherished against the apostle of the Gentiles, and hoped, doubtless, by persecuting him, to appease their wrath against himself.

It is remarkable that, notwithstanding the uniform kindness of Claudius to the Jews, he, on one occasion, banished them all from Rome. The cause assigned is, that they were accused of frequently raising tumults. The time that they were thus disgraced was probably soon after the death of their able and unalterable friend Herod Agrippa, and before his son was honoured with the friendship and confidence of the emperor. An anecdote recorded in Acts xviii. 2. seems to imply that the adoption of Christianity was not regarded by the Romans a renunciation of Judaism, for the Jewish be-

lievers in Christ shared in the suffering of the Jews. Hence we may certainly conclude that they participated also in their prosperity, so far as that depended on the protection of the laws of the empire, during the reign of Claudius.

That emperor was personally, perhaps, one of the feeblest that occupied the throne of Cesar. Nevertheless, Rome not only maintained its sovereignty, but also extended its dominions, while he held the sceptre. This, we conceive, is a remarkable proof of the wise, and almighty superintendence of Him who rules supreme over all the earth; for it afforded ample opportunity to the ministry of Christ to disseminate widely the knowledge of his name, and establish and enlarge his empire. The very weakness of this emperor permitted Christians to proceed, without much opposition, compared to that which their successors had to encounter, in their labours to convert the nations. His court was a scene of most atrocious wickedness and moral confusion; and the chief administrators of the government inflicted incalculable misery on the Romans. They were, however, so completely occupied with their own affairs, and even so destitute of reverence for religion in any form, that they regarded with indifference the advancement of an empire that had no threatening aspect, in relation to the objects which they esteemed worthy of their pursuit.

Claudius was inclined to promote the welfare of all his subjects; and he enacted many laws, and performed many deeds calculated to promote their happiness, and the dominion was enlarged somewhat in his reign. The inhabitants of the African kingdom of Mauritania attempted to expel the Romans in revenge for the death of their king, whom Caligula had employed some one to assassinate. The Roman troops, after repeated victories, reduced the kingdom, and it was divided into two provinces of the empire.

Aulus Plautius landed in Britain an army of fifty thousand men; the second officer of this army was the celebrated Vespasian. The natives were thrice defeated; but still were so formidable that the emperor conducted a strong reinforcement to his army, which subdued the southern division of the island, over which the Roman general Plautius was appointed governor, with Vespasian for his lieutenant. Ostorius Scapula succeeded Plautius in the government, extended a chain of forts along the Wear and Severn, and made the Roman power to be acknowledged as far north as the Tyne; but the fatigues he endured in his battles with the able Briton Carac-

tacus, whom he made prisoner, exhausted his strength, and he died in the midst of his triumphs.

The Germans about the same time were divided ; some of them sought the alliance of Rome, and others raised armies to oppose her. The Roman arms were triumphant, and had the emperor not dreaded the power of his generals more than that of the enemy, his dominion would have been greatly extended in Germany. He made important regulations to secure for the provinces a wise and just government ; and severely punished those governors who had been guilty of oppressing the people intrusted to their care. He was not less solicitous to advance the grandeur of Rome and Italy, and the comfort of the community. " He formed a noble harbour at the mouth of the Tiber, chiefly that Rome might be well supplied with provisions ; he ordered a canal to be cut, with a view of reclaiming the land usually inundated by the lake Fucinus ; and finished the stupendous aqueduct begun by Caius, which abundantly supplied the city with the best water from the neighbouring hills." He seems, indeed, to have done whatever was suggested by his friends calculated to exalt or render the Romans happy. But, unhappily, he was equally pliant in committing the most unjust and even barbarous actions, which his most hateful wives and favourite ministers deemed necessary for their honour, safety, aggrandisement, or sensual indulgences. Messalina held him in abject bondage, and her power over his ministers was absolute. " Many ladies of the first distinction, among whom was Julia, the niece of the emperor, were put to death at their instigation ; and upwards of three hundred knights and senators fell victims to their suspicion and vengeance." The sensual passions of Messalina were ungovernable ; and the simple Claudius was the last to discern the inexpressible vileness of her conduct. She had at last the audacity publicly to marry a young Roman of noble birth, whom she flattered with the hope of obtaining the imperial crown. This outrageous act forced the emperor to consent to her being put to death. But he soon was ensnared by the wiles of his niece Agrippina, who ruled over him with a tyrant's power. This infamous female had been the wife of Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, by whom she had a son, named L. D. Ahenobarbus, better known as the emperor Nero. After her husband's death, her impure conduct occasioned her banishment by Caius. On being recalled by Claudius, she married a rich noble, murdered him, and robed on his inheritance. She lived with Claudius some time

without marriage, for the law did not sanction the union of uncle and niece; the senate, however, abolished the law, to please the guilty pair, and Claudius became the slave and, at last, the victim of one of the most imperious and base of the female sex.

To procure the crown for her son was the great and exclusive object to which Agrippina sacrificed every other. The first step which visibly showed this, was her successful manœuvring to induce the senate to implore Claudius to betroth his daughter Octavia to her son, by which he was raised nearly to an equality in rank with the emperor's own son and legitimate heir, Britannicus. She next proceeded to remove out of the way every female whom she apprehended might rival her in the affections of the emperor; and, in effecting this, she hesitated not the murder of the objects of her suspicions or fear. After this, by the agency of Pallas, Claudius was prevailed on to adopt, as his son and heir, her son, instead of Britannicus, on the plausible pretence that the former was three years older than the latter. This adoption was highly approved by the senate, and the young prince received the name Nero Claudius Cesar Drusus Germanicus. Britannicus was from this time, although nine years of age, confined to the nursery, and excluded from all society, except those who complied with all the wishes of Agrippina, while this subtle woman employed every artifice to fix the eyes of the public on her own son. Accordingly, she persuaded the emperor to present Nero, in his fourteenth year, with the robe of manhood, which intimated that he was qualified for the honours, offices, and employments of state. The senate, at the same time, decreed that he should be chosen consul in his twentieth year, and, in the mean time, invested him with proconsular authority, and styled him prince of the Roman youth. To honour him in the presence of the people, he was also introduced to the Circensian games, in a triumphal robe, the mark and ornament of the imperial state; and to attach the soldiers to him, they received a largess from the emperor. Britannicus was now not only neglected, but all the officers at court who were believed to pity or love him, were, under various pretences, removed or killed. The prætorian cohorts were commanded by two officers whom the empress believed devoted to the interests of her predecessor Messalina, the mother of Britannicus; to reconcile the emperor to their removal from office, Agrippina asserted that the fidelity of the troops would be more secured by being placed under

one commander. She knew that Burrhus Afranius would execute her counsels, and she easily procured for him the command of the troops, because he was universally esteemed by them.

Nero, in his sixteenth year, was married to Octavia, and appeared before the royal tribunal as an orator and advocate of the oppressed. At his intercession, the Ilrians, as ancestors of the Romans, obtained an immunity from all tribute and taxes; the Rhodians were restored to their ancient liberty; and the Roman colony of Bononia, who had lately suffered much from a great fire, received a large grant of money. It now became common for the deputies of the provinces to apply to Nero to plead their cause before the emperor and senate, and they readily procured his efficient services. The licentious habits and violent measures pursued by Agrippina were at length so conspicuous that the simple Claudius perceived them, and was heard to lament, "that it was his fate to bear the iniquities of his wives, and at last to punish them." This saying soon reached the empress, and excited no pleasant thoughts; and she was still more alarmed when she learned that the emperor had showed to his despised son strong marks of love, and expressed his purpose to give him soon the manly robe, in order, he said, "that the Roman people may have, at last, a true Cesar." These incidents probably determined her to destroy her husband speedily, to prevent her own ruin and that of her son. Claudius in his sixty-fourth year, feeling indisposed, proposed to visit Simnessa, to enjoy its fine air and famed waters. While there, his infamous wife succeeded in poisoning him by the agency of his physician, Xenophon. The court assumed the appearance of astonishment at the suddenness of his death, and many means were used to recall life, on the supposition that he had merely fainted. This conduct was adopted by the murderer that she might have time to employ proper means to secure the empire for Nero; and, "with this view, affecting inconsolable grief, and pretending to seek, on all hands, some allay to her sorrow, clasped Britannicus fast in her arms, styled him the true image of his father, and, by various devices, kept him in the chamber, and likewise his two sisters Octavia and Antonia. At the same time, she posted guards in all the avenues, shut up all the passages, and from time to time gave out that the prince was recovering. At last, when she had taken all possible precautions to prevent any disturbance, at noon the gates of the palace were unexpectedly thrown

open ; and Nero, accompanied by Burrhus, captain of the prætorian guards, walked forth to the cohort which was then upon duty. There, by the command of Burrhus, he was received with shouts of joy, and instantly put into a litter. Some, indeed, hesitated, frequently looking and asking where was Britannicus ? but, as he was detained in the chamber of the deceased emperor, and no one appeared to propose him, they presently joined the others, and embraced the choice which was offered them. Thus Nero was caried to the camp, where, after a speech suitable to the exigency, and the promise of a largess equal to that of the late prince, he was saluted emperor. The declaration of the soldiers, was followed and confirmed by the decrees of the senate, which were, without reluctance, accepted by the people, both at Rome and in the provinces. To Claudius was decreed a solemn and pompous funeral, the same as had been ordained to Augustus, Agrippina emulating the magnificence of her great grandmother Livia Augusta." Thus Nero attained the empire of the world, A. D. 54, in his seventeenth year.

## CHAPTER III.

### THE ROMAN EMPIRE TRIUMPHANT—CONTINUED.

THE mighty influence in early life of example and circumstances in the formation of the human character was, perhaps, never more clearly seen than in Nero, the Roman emperor. He must have conceived, for the first seventeen years of his life, that his mother lived and acted almost wholly for him ; and he could not therefore fail to fix his eyes on her conduct, and regard her as the pattern most deserving his imitation. From her he was fully taught to consider happiness to consist in the uncontrolled gratification of every passion and appetite, and the possession of power and popular admiration. To procure these objects, Agrippina exerted all the energies of her vigorous mind, and applied the varied arts of deceit and malignity, the knowledge of which she had acquired by a long period of observation of the ways of men, and of intimacy with those of every rank who were most familiar with the practice of these destructive arts. She purchased, at any price, the agency of the most depraved to execute the schemes which she judged most suitable to destroy the power or life of all whom she envied, feared, or hated ; and that she might the more readily command the services of such, the most unprincipled and profligate were her favourite associates. With what perseverance and fearful success her son trode in her paths, the records of his wretched reign afford large evidence. This, however, was far from her wishes ; for, in proportion to the intensity of her ambition that Nero should ascend the throne, so was she solicitous that he should be acceptable to the Roman people ; and this she well knew he could not be, unless he discovered virtues becoming the sovereign of the world. In order to this, she placed him under the tuition and direction of the able military commander, F. Burrhus, and the eminent philosopher Lucius Annæus Seneca. As these men owed their exaltation to Agrippina, and were known for their integrity, she doubtless expected that they



would instruct the young prince to respect her counsels. On Seneca's gratitude she had especially strong claims. His family were more honoured for their talents than their rank. His father was a Roman knight, but apparently was one of a colony sent to Corduva, in Spain, where the philosopher was born. Marcus A. Seneca, the father, was a famous rhetorician, some of whose writings remain. His youngest son A. Shela Seneca, was the father of the celebrated poet Lucan, and the eldest was the wise and candid Gallio, proconsul of Achaia, who protected Paul from the vengeance of the Jews. The family removed to Rome, where the children received the best education. L. A. Seneca was instructed in the philosophy of Zeno by several admired stoics; and he was long one of the most enlightened and virtuous of the sect. His father urged him to apply himself to the bar, and aspire to public distinction; and he is said to have obtained successively the offices of quæstor, prætor, and consul. That he was admitted to court in the reign of Claudius is certain, for he was one of those accused of adultery with the princess Julia, and suffered exile with her. He lived in exile eight years, during which he wrote several of the works which have procured him the applause of posterity. Agrippina persuaded the emperor to recall him, that her son might be improved by his wisdom.

Burrhus and Seneca acted together harmoniously; the former taught Nero the duties of the supreme chief of the army; the latter instructed him how to conduct himself as the principal ruler, legislator, and judge of the empire. The tutors were highly esteemed by their royal pupil, and rose to the dignity of the first ministers of the state, which they governed for several years, with such consummate wisdom, that "the first five years of Nero's reign have been considered a perfect pattern of good government." Nero most liberally rewarded and honoured both his ministers. Burrhus amassed immense wealth; and Seneca was accounted still richer. "His houses and walks were the most magnificent in Rome. His villas were innumerable; and he had immense sums of money laid out at interest in almost every part of the world. Dion Cassius, the historian, reports him to have had £250,000 sterling at interest in Britain alone, and reckons his calling it in at once as one of the causes of a war with that nation."

While Burrhus secured the obedience of the army to Nero, Seneca recommended him to the esteem of the Romans, and both did much to promote the welfare of the provinces. Nero

profited little by the instruction of his philosophical tutor; for he had no taste for intellectual improvement. This was concealed from the public on his first appearances before them, for his addresses were composed by his teacher and guide. After the magnificent funeral of the late emperor, he proceeded to the senate and delivered an oration calculated to please his audience, and to raise the most consoling expectations of a prosperous reign. "Having acknowledged himself indebted to the authority of the senate, and the concurrence of the soldiery, he declared in what manner he designed to govern; that he claimed not the judgment and decision of affairs; that the whole power and authority should not be confined to a few persons, but every magistrate should have his peculiar jurisdiction; that nothing should be saleable within his walls, nor any access there to informers; that, between his family and the republic a just distinction should ever be maintained; that the senate should preserve their ancient jurisdiction; that Italy, and the provinces belonging to the people, should apply only to the consuls, and by them procure access to the fathers; that to himself he reserved what was especially committed to his care, the direction of the armies. He concluded with assuring them, that he designed to govern his people according to the model of the deified Augustus. The senate ordered this speech to be engraved on a plate of silver, and to be annually read in the senate by the new consuls. At the same time, they heaped all kinds of honours upon him; which he accepted, without refusing any, except that of Father of his Country, in consideration of his youth: even this, however, he assumed before the second year of his reign expired, as appears from some ancient medals. He seemed, at first, inclined to perform the mighty promises he had made to the senate; for this year he gave numerous instances of clemency, moderation, and affability; to the people he distributed four hundred sesterces a man; to such of the senators as were descended from illustrious families, but reduced to poverty, he allowed annual salaries; to some five hundred thousand sesterces, besides a certain quantity of corn, which he likewise distributed monthly to his guards. Many impositions he utterly suppressed, and retrenched others to a fourth; he redressed several disorders; restrained the profuse luxury of feasts and banquets which had obtained during the late reign, Claudius being greatly addicted to feasting; with the approbation of the senate he published an edict, prohibiting the selling of

any thing boiled in public houses, except pulse and greens; he suppressed a kind of sport, in which certain persons, running about the city, pretended to have, by custom, acquired a right of robbing, as it were, in jest, all they met, and carrying off whatever they could seize. The senate likewise, depending upon the prince's declaration, began to exercise their ancient jurisdiction; and made various regulations; among the rest the two following; that no orator or pleader should receive any fee, payment, or present, for defending a cause; and that those who were appointed quæstors, should be no longer obliged to exhibit public shows of gladiators. All this was opposed by Agrippina, as annulling the acts of Claudius; but Nero preferred the counsels of Burrhus and Seneca to those of his mother; and the fathers prevailed. Towards the end of this year, Nero bestowed the Lesser Armenia on Aristobulus, the son of Herod king of Chalcis; to Sohemus he gave, with the ensigns of royalty and title of king, the country of Sophene, lying between Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Comagene; and added some towns of Galilee to the territories which Claudius had given to Agrippa, the son of Agrippa, king of Judea."

The mother of the young emperor much obstructed the beneficent administration of his ministers. She soon showed that she had procured the sovereignty for her son, chiefly that she might exercise it herself. She at first daringly assumed absolute, irresponsible authority, and gratified her revenge by imprisoning or putting to death, without any regard to law or justice, those who had opposed her ambitious schemes. Thus she ordered Narcissus, one of the favourite ministers of Claudius, to be cast into prison, because he had discovered affection for his master's son Britannicus, and spoken contemptuously of her conduct. His many crimes may have merited death, but he had always maintained his fidelity to his sovereign. He was either murdered in prison, or took his own life to escape an ignominious death. The Romans had spoken of the proconsul of Asia, Junius Silanus, as worthy of the empire; Agrippina, on learning this, employed emissaries to remove him by poison. Though the Romans deemed it the greatest degradation to be supposed capable of submitting to be ruled by a female, yet this proud and impetuous princess attempted to sit on the throne with her son, "to answer foreign ambassadors jointly with him, to write letters to princes and kings, to dispatch orders to the governors of provinces and commanders of armies, to preside among the Ro-

man eagles, and, in short, to be called and acknowledged a partner in the empire which her ancestors had acquired, and she had conferred on her son. She always accompanied him in the same litter, was attended by the same guards, and at first prevailed upon the young prince to assemble the senate in the palace, that posted by a door behind a curtain, she might overhear the debates without being seen." The ministers of Nero would probably have vainly endeavoured to humble his mother, and compel her to retire into private life, had he not soon felt that she was resolved to prevent him from following his own inclinations. He resembled her in the violence of his passions; and she no sooner sought to restrain them, than she forfeited his affection and confidence, and awakened in him aversion and unconquerable hatred. He had not reigned two years when it became manifest that early example had prevented him from deriving profit from the instructions of philosophy. He allowed himself to be carried whithersoever his perverted heart, impure imagination, and undisciplined passions impelled him; and those only who hurried him on in his course to disgrace and ruin were his chosen companions. His young wife Octavia, illustrious by birth, and admired for propriety of conduct, lost all influence over him; he regarded her with utter dislike. He passionately loved Acte, a liberated slave, and selected for his confidential friends profligate youths, who clandestinely procured for him illicit pleasures. His ministers scarcely used any effort to restrain his passions, because he had gratified them by casting off the authority of his mother, and surrendering himself to be guided wholly by them in all the affairs of government; but the haughty princess was indignant, and used every art to regain her power over him. When he appeared insensible to the meanness and shame of his conduct, she proposed to assist him in obtaining whatever he desired; in order to which she expressed her willingness to expend all her wealth, which nearly equalled the imperial treasures. She found her spurious submission and ostentatious generosity produced no favourable impression on him. The disgrace of her chief advocate at court roused her wrath, and almost deprived her of reason. Pallas had the management of the finances under Claudius, and acted more like the sovereign director than a minister of the empire, and had accumulated great riches. He continued in office while Nero respected the opinion of his mother, whom Pallas always supported. Although dismissed from the palace, he was neither stripped of his wealth, calculated at seven mil-

lions of our money, nor even called to render an account of his administration.

"The disgrace of Pallas provoked Agrippina to such a degree, that, not able to restrain her rage, she abandoned herself to it without control, uttering dreadful threats and curses, even in the emperor's hearing. Britannicus, said she, is now grown up, the true and worthy son of Claudius; he is now fit to assume the empire of his father; an empire which one who is a son only by adoption holds, to the prejudice of the lawful heir, and exerts his ill-acquired power chiefly by abusing and insulting his mother. She threatened to lay open to the world all her infamous practices, all the steps she had taken to secure the empire to the ungrateful monster her son, the surreptitious adoption, her own guilt in poisoning her husband, the crying calamities she had brought upon her own family, the unhappy house of Germanicus, &c. She added, that only one comfort, by the providence of the gods, remained to her, that her step-son was still alive; with him she would repair to the camp, and there leave it to the decision of the soldiery whether the prating pedagogue Seneca and the maimed Burrhus, or the son of the deified Claudius and the daughter of the renowned Germanicus, should have the sovereign rule of mankind. At the same time, she shook her fist at the emperor himself, tossed her hands, uttered all manner of reproaches, curses, imprecations; devoted the monster, so she called her son, and his governors, to the infernal furies; invoked the manes of her husband Claudius, of the Silani, and many others whom she had murdered, to no purpose.

"This alarmed Nero; and as Britannicus the next day ended the fourteenth year of his age, when he was to take the manly robe, the emperor began seriously to reflect now on the violent temper of his mother, then upon the promising genius of the youth, of which he had given in the late feasts of Saturn, a glaring proof, and gained by it the favor and esteem of all." Among the amusements of the festival of Saturn, it was the custom for the Roman youths to choose one of their number to act as a king, all whose commands they were to obey. The noble youths chose the young emperor. After giving a variety of orders to his companions, he requested Britannicus to stand up and sing, in the hope that his bashfulness, occasioned by seclusion from society, should expose him to ridicule or contempt; "but Britannicus, to the great surprise of all, with a becoming modesty, and an undisturbed address, though the eyes of the whole court were upon him, raised his

voice, and sung a few verses, importing that he was bereft of his natural inheritance, and unjustly deprived of the authority to which he was born. The modest and comely aspect of the youth, the deep concern he betrayed in every note, and the reflections which all who were present made within themselves, drew sighs and tears from the whole company. Nero, struck with the address of the youth, but more with the verses he sung, immediately withdrew, as did all the rest, in silence, to give free vent to their grief in private, and let their tears flow unrestrained." This incident, and the threatenings of the princess, cost the royal youth his life. He who had supplanted him, and who called him his brother, and who, when called to sign a warrant to execute two robbers, declined again and again, and at last reluctantly complied, exclaiming, "O! had I never learned to write," secretly commanded the keeper of the prince to poison him. His progress in every species of folly, wickedness, and cruelty, from this time was rapid, till his name justly became proverbial for a bloody tyrant, meriting the execration of mankind.

His ministers were convinced of his guilt in the murder of Britannicus; but the most virtuous of them, instead of resenting it, appear to have actually shared in his crimes, by consenting to be enriched by the property of the murdered prince. The historian observes that "he distributed the possessions of Britannicus, his palaces in Rome, his manors and villas throughout Italy, like spoils taken in war, among the chief persons of his court, to purchase, by such donations, their approbation, or at least their silence. In this distribution Nero did not forget his mother, but could by no liberalities calm her tempestuous spirit. She caressed Octavia, the deceased prince's sister and the emperor's wife; held frequently secret cabals with her confidants, and was on all hands amassing treasure, as if she had some great design to support with it; she paid great court to the tribunes and centurions, and received, in the most obliging manner such of the nobility as came to wait upon her. These measures were known to Nero, who thereupon withdrew the prætorian guards which attended her as consort to the late emperor and mother to this, and also the band of Germans which, as a farther honour, had been added to the former; at the same time, he commanded her to quit the palace, and retire to the house which had belonged to her grandmother Antonia. He repaired thither now and then to visit her, but always surrounded with a crowd of officers, and withdrew after a short compliment.

Agrippina was immediately deserted in her new habitation ; the throng of courtiers, who daily frequented her levee while she lived in the palace, instantly vanished ; no one appeared to comfort her in her disgrace, no one to visit her, except a small number of ladies, and these not from any friendship or affection, but to watch all the words and actions of the disgraced princess, and carry them, with the usual aggravations of talebearers to the emperor."

One of her most attached friends, a lady remarkable alike for her rank, beauty, and licentiousness, determined to be revenged on her for her freedom and boldness, in preventing a noble youth from marrying her. She, accordingly, persuaded two of her dependants to accuse Agrippina of proposing to marry Rubellius Plautus, great grandson of Augustus, with a view to raise him to the throne. This alarmed Nero, and he resolved to put the parties to death, and remove Burrhus from the command of the prætorians, because he had been raised to the office by the princess. The charge brought against her was fully investigated, and she was not only declared innocent, but she was received into partial favor by her son, her friends were exalted and honoured, and her enemies banished or put to death.

While the Roman court was thus agitated by intrigues, and degraded by vice, even in the best period of Nero's reign, his able ministers maintained, on the whole, the peace and integrity of the empire. In Germany the troops were employed in works of public utility ; they were, however, occasionally called to reduce to obedience a few tribes, who discovered the love of independence. Thus while Dubius Avitus governed Lower Germany, A. D. 57, the Frisians seized "certain lands, which, being void of inhabitants, had been applied to the use of the Roman soldiers, who were wont to send their horses and cattle to graze there. They had already founded their dwellings, and sown the fields, when Avitus threatened to drive them from thence, unless they first obtained from the emperor a grant of those territories. Hereupon the two chiefs proceeded to Rome, where, while they waited for access to Nero, among the several sights which were usually exhibited to strangers, they were conducted to Pompey's theatre, to assist at a public show. There, while they were gazing round them, surveying with astonishment the multitudes of people, and informing themselves which were the Roman knights, where sat the senators, &c., they spied certain persons in a foreign dress sitting among the latter, and asked who they

were. 'This is a distinction,' answered the interpreter, 'conferred by the Roman people on the ambassadors of such nations as have signalized their bravery in war, and fidelity towards us.' If so,' replied the two chiefs, 'we claim a right to sit there too; for, amongst men, there is not a nation which, in fidelity and feats of arms, surpasses the Germans;' and thus, leaving their seats, they placed themselves among the senators; a proceeding highly applauded by the numerous assembly, as the effect of an honest emulation. Nero honored them both with the rights of Roman citizens, but commanded them to abandon their new possessions; which their countrymen refusing to do, Avitus, by a sudden irruption, put many of them to the sword, and forced the rest to comply with the emperor's orders. Some time after, the Ansibarri, being driven from their own country by the Chauci, took possession of the same lands, supported by the neighbouring nations, who pitied their forlorn condition, and led by Boiocalus, a man of great renown, and of known fidelity towards the Romans. He represented to Avitus, in behalf of himself and his people, that on the revolt of the Cherusci, when Varus and his legions were slaughtered, he had been thrown into bonds by Arminius; that he had afterwards served under Tiberius, then under Germanicus, and to the merit of fifty years service was ready to add that of submitting his people to the empire of Rome.

He remonstrated, that the territory in dispute was large, and lay waste; that he might allow to an unhappy people, driven from their own habitations, settlements in it, and at the same time retain wide tracks for the horses and cattle of the Roman soldiers to graze and range in; that it was inconsistent with humanity to famish men, in order to feed beasts; and incompatible with religion to devote to dismal deserts and solitude any part of the earth which was by the gods appropriated to the children of men; that such parts of it as none possessed were free and common to all. Then raising his eyes to the sun, and the other celestial luminaries, he asked them how they could bear to behold a desolate soil? and asked, if they would not more justly let loose the sea to swallow up usurpers who thus engrossed the earth? Avitus, provoked at this language, made no other reply than, that the weaker man must submit to the more powerful; and that since the gods, to whom they appealed, had left the sovereign judgment to the Romans, they would suffer no other judges than themselves. This answer he gave in public; but to



Boiocalus had privately offered lands as an acknowledgment of his long attachment to the Romans. This offer the brave German considered as a price proposed for betraying his people, and rejected it with indignation, adding, 'A place to live in we may want, but a place to die in we cannot.' Thus they parted with mutual animosity. The Ansibarii invited into a confederacy the bordering nations; but Curtilius Mancias, who commanded in Upper Germany, passing the Rhine at the head of his legions, threatened them with desolation and slaughter if they afforded any assistance to the enemies of Rome. On the other hand, they were awed by Avitus, who likewise appeared with his legions on the bank of the Rhine; so that the unhappy Ansibarii, deserted by all, had recourse to the Usipites, the Tubantes, the Catti, and the Cherusci, begging leave to settle in their territories; but being every where driven out as enemies and intruders, in the course of these long and various peregrinations, the people perished. This year the Juhones, a people in alliance with Rome, who are supposed to have inhabited the countries of Nassau and Isenburgh, were afflicted with a sudden irruption of subterraneous fire; which consumed their farms, towns, and dwellings, and was advancing with great fury to the walls of Cologne, when certain boors, after having in vain attempted to extinguish it with water, and other usual expedients, transported with rage, attacked it at a distance with volleys of stones. This assault, to their great surprise, allayed its fury; which no sooner began to abate, than they proceeded to a closer attack with clubs and blows, as in an encounter with an enemy; and at length, which is still more surprising, they quite vanquished the conflagration, by throwing their garments upon it."

Domitius Corbulo, the greatest general of the age, acquired great fame by the complete conquest of Armenia, the acquisition of its capital Artaxata, and the expulsion of its king Tridates, who had declined to be tributary to Rome. His defeat was the more gratifying to the Romans from the circumstance that he was brother of Vologeses, king of Parthia.

The beneficial influence of the administration of Burrhus and Seneca was not felt by the Jews; they had evidently lost the respect of the Romans; and the governors, in general, appointed them were little disposed to sympathise with their national prejudices. The government of Felix had exceedingly provoked them; and some of the principal men fol-

lowed him to Rome to accuse him of injustice and cruelty. Happily for him, his brother Pallas still retained great political power; Josephus says, that he was at that time highly honoured by Nero. He must, therefore, have reached Rome before the end of A. D. 59, for Pallas seems about this time to have been deprived of office and of the favour of the emperor. At his intercession, Felix escaped punishment. Nor were the Jews more successful in their appeal respecting their privileges as citizens of Cesaria; for the Syrian inhabitants were declared to have superior claims to the government of the city. Porcius Festus, the new procurator of Judea, appears to have been an enlightened, candid, and just ruler, compared, at least, to his predecessors. This may be inferred from his treatment of the apostle Paul. That he might understand his case, he had recourse to Agrippa, who had the entire management of the temple, and, consequently, might be supposed best qualified to judge one who was accused of defiling it, and subverting its worship. These judges announced the apostle innocent, and were disposed to liberate him had he not appealed to Cesar. He was probably immediately sent to Rome, where he remained two years a prisoner before he was publicly tried and acquitted.

We know not the reason of this most unrighteous delay; it probably was chiefly occasioned by the absence of accusers. That his enemies in Judea did not send messengers to Rome to demand his condemnation, is obvious from what the Jews said to him when they assembled to hear him, Acts xxviii. 21, 22. This singular conduct of those who violently and incessantly sought his death most probably originated in their consciousness that they could only provoke the Roman emperor and his ministers by accusing a man whom they knew that they could not prove guilty of any word or deed which the Romans regarded deserving punishment. Why then did the noble minded Burrhus or Seneca order him to be watched in his own hired house, and kept in safety by a soldier chained to him? Was it because he was known to be at the head of "the sect everywhere spoken against?" That his opponents afterwards summoned courage to appear against him before Nero, the lion, may be accounted for from the change produced in their favour at court by the infamous Poppæa. That she early interceded for the Jews is plain from an anecdote of Agrippa, during the time of Festus. The king "came often to Jerusalem, and had a lodging near the temple, (of which he had the superintendency given

him) after his uncle Herod took it into his head to build himself a palace there, of such an height, that he could oversee all that was done in the innermost court of it. The Jews were the more displeased at it, because Festus and the Romans would likewise come and take a view of it from thence; for which reason they built a partition-wall high enough to cover that sacred place, which the king and governor taking as an affront, ordered it to be pulled down. The Jews, after much opposition, obtained leave at length to send deputies to Rome; and these, by the intercession of Poppæa, got a grant from the emperor for keeping up the wall. Ishmael, the then high-priest, being at the head of this embassy, was, for his laudable zeal, deposed by Agrippa, who bestowed that dignity on Joseph, surnamed Cabbis, the son of the late pontiff Cantharas. Josephus adds, that Poppæa detained Ishmael and Chelcias as hostages at Rome."

That Paul owed not his discharge from the Roman tribunal to Nero, seems suggested by the apostle's remark, that he was "delivered out of the mouth of the lion." The royal court was still under the direction of Seneca, for he retired not from office till a later period. It is well known that he was a candid and just judge; consequently, as nothing could be proved against Paul, except that he was "ringleader of the Nazarenes," Nero may have reluctantly submitted to the judgment of his minister, who must have perceived that the apostle had done nothing worthy of death, even judging by the law of the Romans as hitherto interpreted by their legislators and judges. The ancient laws of Rome, like those of all ancient idolatrous nations, were, in relation to religion, most intolerant. No religious worship was allowed different from that sanctioned by the state. Of this Waddington has, in few words, adduced conclusive evidence, and exposed the fallacy of the opinion that paganism was tolerant.

It can scarcely be doubted that these laws applied only to Roman citizens; for the Romans imposed not their form of idolatry on other nations; on the contrary, they sometimes adopted foreign gods. And it is equally clear that the intolerant laws were neglected by the Romans, in imitation of the Greeks, in proportion to their progress in philosophy, literature, and the arts. Facts attest that the Jews not only publicly assembled to worship God in Rome, but also made a number of proselytes. They consisted of different sects; and, as one of these, the Christians were numerous in Rome, in the reign of Claudius. This is manifest from the epistle ad

dressed to them by Paul, a few years before his imprisonment. The Christians, however, considered themselves not properly a sect of the Jewish religion, but the exclusive followers of it, as it was received by the ancient Jews, by Moses, and the prophets, and, by consequence, pronounced all the Jews who received not the gospel apostates from the religion of Divine Revelation, which they ignorantly boasted in as the glory of their nation. But this view of the Christians was confined to themselves; their principles and practice were not comprehended by either the apostates or the worshippers of idols. The former hated them as the enemies of religion; and the latter regarded them as almost destitute of all religion,—a community of atheists. Nor is this surprising, for the unbelieving Jews and idolatrous Gentiles agreed in calling the observance of a system of rites and ceremonies religion, although that system was neither founded in religious principles nor accompanied with any moral precepts or practice. It is not, therefore, to be supposed that the Christian religion would generally be looked on as a rival of the popular religion of the empire, as long as Christians adhered to the simplicity of the doctrines and institutions taught them by the Lord and his apostles.

On the supposition, however, that Christians were regarded in the first period of Nero's reign, as we know they were sometime later, inventors and propagators of a new religion, or, in the language of their enemies, a new superstition, that emperor was not then disposed to punish them as transgressors of the Roman law. Accordingly, Tacitus informs us, that about the fifth year of Nero, among other generous deeds, when a lady of great distinction, Pomponia Graccina, was publicly accused of having embraced a foreign superstition, instead of judging her, he committed the inquisition to her noble husband, Aulus Plautius, who had acquired fame by his military victories and conquests in Britain. This officer assembled his relations, examined in their presence the accusation brought against his wife, and pronounced her innocent. The probability of the opinion that Nero was not yet disposed to persecute on account of religion, is much strengthened by an incident recorded of Albinus, who was appointed to succeed Festus, in the government of Judæa. During the interval between the unexpected death of Festus, and the arrival of Albinus, the high-priest Ananias, a haughty Sadducee, summoned before the sanhedrim, James the apostle, called the Greater, because he superintended the churches of Judea, Sa-

maria, and Galilee. He was tried for blasphemy, condemned and stoned to death. The Jews might call offenders of their law before their national councils and lesser courts, and inflict the punishment of whipping; but to take life was a direct violation of the law of the Romans, which they were bound to obey. The Christians in Alexandria complained to Albinus on his arriving there, of the presumption and wickedness of Ananias. He immediately wrote a threatening epistle to the guilty priest. This alarmed Agrippa, who had the appointment to this high office. To appease the wrath of Albinus, he deposed Ananias, and conferred the priesthood on Jesus, son of Damneus, who was not less wicked than his predecessor. We have no instance on record of a Roman prince or governor hitherto viewing Christianity in any other light than Gallio, the elder brother of Seneca, did, who held it merely a question or disputable subject of the Jews' religion; and hence did not oppose it in his official capacity. It seems, therefore, evident that the government of the Romans rather protected than persecuted Christians, for nearly the first thirty years after the Lord Jesus delivered to them his commission to preach the gospel to every creature, and to teach those who received it all that he revealed to his inspired ministers. With great fidelity did his followers generally obey him; and most abundantly did he prosper them in their labours, so that Christian communities were established in the great cities, towns, and villages of the empire, and even beyond its boundaries.

Thus the Fifth Empire gradually advanced "without observation." Its grand characteristics, "righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Spirit," mild and salutary as the dew of heaven, were neither loved nor feared by the princes of this world. Nevertheless, Christians were, in every place, exposed to great opposition. The great and wise of this world contemptuously treated them as fanatics or enemies of all religion, and the masses of the lower classes were forward in tumultuously insulting them. None sympathised with them, except such as truly felt the unspeakable worth of their immortal spirits, deplored their depravity and guilt, and were persuaded that Judaism, paganism, or philosophy, possessed no power to give them peace of conscience or purity of heart or life. All such gladly received the word spoken by the ministers of Christ, and joined their society, sacredly obeyed their instructions, and joyfully suffered with them reproach, threatenings, imprisonments, public shame, and loss of pro-

perty, and sometimes of life, for the sake of the Lord Jesus. The Jews, boasting in their religious superiority in the sight of God, indulged implacable hatred and revenge against the followers of Christ, because they taught that righteousness acceptable to God, is obtained only by faith in Christ, and is equally attainable by Jew and Gentile. The learned despised a scheme of mercy which set at nought their treasures of wisdom and speculations on the chief good; and they laughed to scorn the advocates of a scheme which proclaimed that the first step to true wisdom is profound humility before God, because he has no respect to the wisdom of this world, and admits equally and readily to his favour the illiterate and the wise, the peasant's child and the illustrious philosopher. The hosts of priests and artists who subsisted by the magnificence and pageantry of idol-worship, would have trodden to the earth the community who pronounced idolatry hated by Heaven, and doomed to utter destruction.

Nero quickly became a proper instrument to gratify the malice of the numerous enemies of Christianity; but, like all its enemies, he perished, while "the word of the Lord grew and multiplied." His impetuous passions were somewhat restrained till the sixth year of his reign, the twenty-third of his age, by the respect which he entertained for Burrhus and Seneca. He had, indeed, frequently acted contrary to their advice; and flattered and stimulated by the profligate youth whom he chose for his companions, he had debased himself in the eyes of all ranks, by frivolous pursuits, sensual indulgences, and acts of extreme folly and wickedness. His companions now succeeded, by plausible argument or ridicule, to induce him to disregard the authority of his able ministers; and their power was completely destroyed by the subtle arts of one of the most depraved of females, the infamous Poppæa Sabina, who governed him with uncontrolled sway. She was the daughter of a senator named Titus Ollius, and her mother had fallen a victim to the envy and revenge of Messalina, one of the wives of Claudius. Poppæa was admired for all the superficial ornaments of her sex; but no one was ever more destitute of moral worth. Josephus calls her a religious lady, of which, however, the only evidence referred to by him is, that she was a zealous friend of his nation. From this we may conclude that she was a proselyte of the sect of the Pharisees, who were remarkable for claiming religious reputation even while they violated every moral precept, and practiced every species of immorality. Their religion re-

quired only belief in the Scriptures, in common with their traditions and observances of their ritual, which comprised many traditional ceremonies. Poppæa was first married to R. Crispinus, a Roman knight, to whom she had a son. She deserted him for Otho, a young man, and the chief favourite of Nero. He imprudently daily spoke of her with rapture in the hearing of his sovereign, who became impatient to see her. In his first conversation with her, he was fascinated, and conducted her to his palace, from which Otho was immediately excluded and appointed to the government of Lusitania, where he acquired great fame by his able administration, and was scarcely less admired for propriety of conduct than he had been infamous in youth for a life of pleasure, dissipation, and profligacy. His abandoned wife, on becoming the mistress of Nero, aspired to be his wife, and employed all her seductive arts to obtain this object of her ambition. In order to this, she resolved completely to alienate the emperor from his mother, who had to a considerable degree regained her influence over him, and to persuade him to divorce Octavia, his lawful wife. She succeeded in her diabolical schemes; for Agrippina's opposition to Poppæa, enraged her son, and induced him to believe all the reports and calumnies propagated against her by the adulteress. Violent hatred of her expelled from his debased mind all natural affection, and he determined to take her life. Several attempts to effect this by poison failed, from her skill, it is said, in remedies to counteract its power.

In these circumstances Nero was perplexed, for he was not more desirous to put his mother to death, than he was to conceal the dreadful crime. He soon found one ready to effect his malignant purpose. Anicetus, a franchised slave, who had been his tutor when a child, was now commander of the fleet stationed at Misenum. "As he was an implacable enemy to Agrippina, and Agrippina to him, he undertook so to contrive a vessel, that, by a sudden and artificial bursting in the open sea, it should overwhelm and drown her, without the least warning or apprehension. If she were thus dispatched by shipwreck, no one, he said, could ascribe her death to the malice and contrivance of men. Nero was pleased with this device the more, because he had a favorable opportunity to put it in execution, as he was then celebrating at Baïæ the solemn festival of Minerva, called Quinquatrus, which began on the nineteenth of March, and lasted five days. In order to entice his mother thither, he pretended a desire to be reconciled to her, declaring that children ought to bear

with the humours of their parents, and that for himself, it behoved him to forget all past provocations, and be sincerely reconciled to a tender mother, whose gift was the power and empire which he swayed. A general rumour of this pretended disposition, which was immediately spread abroad, reached Agrippina and found credit with her, women being naturally prone to believe what feeds their wishes, and promises matter of joy. At the same time he wrote a letter to her, filled with the most tender expressions of filial affection and duty, inviting her to pass the festival with him at Baiæ. Agrippina, not suspecting any treachery, though well practised in the dark devices of the court, deferred no longer her departure; but, embarking at Antium, where she then was sailed to Bauli, an imperial villa between the cape of Misenum and the gulf of Baiæ. Thither Nero hastened to receive her, met her upon the shore, presented her his hand, embraced her, and conducted her to the castle. Not far from the shore, amongst several other vessels belonging to the emperor and the noblemen of his court, rode that which had been contrived by Anicetus, more pompous and gaudy than the rest, as if Nero, by that distinction intended fresh honour to his mother; but she, having had some intimation of the plot, though doubtful whether she should believe it or not, when invited on board, declared she chose to go to Baiæ by land, and accordingly was carried thither in a sedan.

Upon her arrival, the behaviour of Nero, obliging beyond expression, and free from all manner of affectation, allayed her fears; for Nero, during her stay there, treated her with the utmost magnificence, yielded to her at table the most honourable place, entertained her with great variety of diversions, granted her all the favours she asked in behalf of herself or her friends, and, in conversing with her, broke sometimes out into sallies of youthful gaiety, discoursing at other times, with a composed and grave air, of weighty affairs, as if he reposed in her an entire confidence, and sought her counsel. Having, with these ensnaring caresses and hollow fondness, removed all her suspicions, he drew out the last banquet till the night was far spent, and, in the meantime, gave private orders to the commander of one of his galleys to run foul of that which had conveyed Agrippina to Bauli and disable it, that she might be obliged to embark on the fatal vessel. When the banquet was over, Nero acquainted her with the misfortune which had happened to her own vessel, begged her to accept of the other, and ordered the admiral him



self, Anicetus, to attend her to Antium. The emperor accompanied her in person to the shore, and at parting hung upon her neck, kissing her eyes, kissing her bosom with such tenderness, that he left it uncertain, as our historian observes, whether he meant, by that passionate behaviour, to cloak his horrid design, or whether his spirit, however fierce and savage, could not withstand the more powerful efforts of nature at the last sight of a mother just going to perish. The sea proved smooth and calm, the night clear, and the stars shone in full lustre, as if all this, says our historian, had been concerted by the providence of the gods, that so black a murder might not remain undiscovered, by being ascribed to the malignity of winds and waves. Agrippina, when she embarked, was attended only by two persons, Creperius Gallus, who stood in the steerage, and a lady named Aceronia Polla, who lay at her feet, and was entertaining her with the pleasing discourse of the remorse of her son, and his sincere reconciliation; when all on sudden, upon a signal given, the deck over that quarter was loosened, and, being purposely loaded with a great quantity of lead, sunk violently down, and crushed Creperius to death. Agrippina and Aceronia were defended by the posts of the bed where they lay, which happened to be too strong to yield to the weight; neither did the vessel open as had been concerted, such of the mariners as had not been intrusted with the plot obstructing the measures of those who were. The latter, finding this expedient defeated, strove to bear the vessel down on one side, and so sink her; but the other mariners, not privy to the design, at the same time struggling to preserve her, by balancing the contrary way, she was not at once swallowed up, but sunk by degrees; so that Agrippina and Aceronia fell softly into the sea. The latter, screaming out for the more speedy relief that she was Agrippina, and passionately calling upon the mariners to succour the prince's mother, was by them pursued with their poles and oars, and so slain. Agrippina never opened her mouth, and, being therefore less known, escaped, with one wound only on her shoulder; and what with swimming, what with the timely assistance of some fisher boats which rowed out to succour her, reached the lake Lucrinus, and was thence conveyed to her own villa. There, reflecting upon the danger which she had escaped, the fate of Aceronia, mistaken for herself, and designedly slain, the manner in which the vessel, under the shelter of the shore, not tossed by the winds nor striking upon the rocks, had yielded in its

upper part, and been purposely overset, she concluded that for this very end she had been enticed by the fraudulent letters of her son, and for this reason treated by him with such extraordinary marks of honour. However, she thought it advisable to dissemble the whole, and, although well apprised of these black devices, to act as if she saw them not. With this view, she dispatched Agerinus her freedman, to acquaint the emperor with the danger she had escaped, by the providence of the gods and his imperial fortune, and to entreat him that, however alarmed at the misfortune which had threatened his mother, he would postpone the trouble of visiting her, for what she only stood in need of at present was rest. In the meantime, disguising her fear, and counterfeiting perfect security, she caused her wound to be dressed; and, calling for the last will of Acronia, ordered all her effects to be registered and sealed up. As to Nero, he had passed the night in great uneasiness and anxiety attending the success of his design; and, while he was hourly expecting expresses to apprise him that the parricide was executed, tidings arrived that his mother had escaped with only a slight wound. At this he was struck with terror and dismay, not doubting but her fierce spirit, bent upon hasty revenge, would either arm the slaves, stir up the rage of the soldiery against him, or recur with a tragical representation of the whole plot, to the senate and people. Thus terrified and dismayed, he immediately sent for Burrhus and Seneca, who perhaps had not before, says Tacitus, been acquainted with the conspiracy. To them he notified his disappointment, and told them that, in the present emergency, he had no resource, no protection, no one to advise with, but them. They both kept long silence, either because they thought it in vain to dissuade him from a design on which they saw him bent, or because they believed matters already pushed so far that, unless Agrippina soon perished, Nero certainly must. At length Seneca, who used always to speak the first, looked at Burrhus, as if he asked him whether orders for the dispatching of Agrippina might not be trusted to the soldiery under his command. Burrhus understood him, and answered, that the prætorian guards were so zealously attached to the name of the Cæsars, so fond of the family and memory of Germanicus, that they would never engage in any cruel or bloody attempt against their descendants. He added, that Anicetus ought to accomplish what he had begun. Anicetus undertook, without hesitation, to acquit himself of his engagement; and Nero, crying out

that Anicetus presented him that day with the empire, urged him to use dispatch, taking with him whom he pleased to assist him. In the meantime, Agerinus, arriving from Agrippina with the news of her disaster and escape, was immediately admitted to the emperor; by whose orders, as he was delivering his message, a dagger was dropped between his legs; and then, as if he had been sent to murder the prince, he was immediately loaded with irons and dragged to prison. This fable was forged to support another; for Nero intended to give out that his destruction had been concerted by his mother, and that she, upon the discovery of her treason, had put an end to her own life, to avoid the punishment she deserved.

"In the meantime, the danger which threatened Agrippina at sea, and was looked upon as the effect of chance, flying abroad, the people from all quarters flocked to the shore to assist her; some crowded into barks and skiffs, others entered the sea, and waded as deep as their height would permit, nay, some stretched out their arms as it were to catch and receive her; so that the whole coast resounded with lamentations for her misfortune, vows for her deliverance, and the indistinct clamour of a multitude solicitous about her safety. When they understood that she was out of danger, they all hastened to congratulate her upon her escape. But Anicetus presently arriving with an armed band of marines, they all dispersed; and the franchised slave, having beset the villa with a guard, burst open the gates, secured such of her slaves as offered to stop him, and advanced to the very door of her chamber, which he found guarded by a small number of her friends, who, at the sight of so many armed men, betook themselves to flight, and left her with one maid only, who lay in the room with her. She was already very anxious and uneasy that no person had yet arrived from her son, nor had even Agerinus returned, when she heard a sudden noise and tumult at the door of her chamber, which so terrified her maid, that, starting up, she too was about to depart; which Agrippina perceiving, 'Thou likewise,' said she, 'art going to abandon me;' and that moment Anicetus, having forced open the door, entered her chamber, accompanied by Hercules, captain of a galley, and Olearitus, a centurion of the navy. The princess, though well apprised of their design, yet addressing them with great intrepidity, 'If you are come,' said she, 'from the emperor, to be informed of my health, I can acquaint him that I am well refreshed and recovered; if upon any bloody design, I will never believe you commissioned by my son:

my son cannot command a parricide.' But the assassins, without returning her any answer, placed themselves round her bed (for in her chamber was a small light); and Hercules first discharged a blow upon her head with a great club. Olearitus the certurion instantly drew his sword to dispatch her; but she, notwithstanding the blow she had received, starting up, presented her belly, crying with a loud voice, 'Strike me here; this carried and brought forth such a monster as Nero.' In uttering these words, she was pierced with a multitude of wounds, and expired. Thus died the celebrated Agrippina, daughter to Germanicus, grand-daughter to Agrippa, and great grand-daughter to Augustus, sister to one emperor, wife to another, and mother to a third. This doom she had deserved by a train of iniquities, long before it overtook her; nay, we are told that she was warned of it many years before by the Chaldeans, who being consulted by her concerning the fortune of Nero, and answering that he would certainly reign and kill his mother; 'Let him kill me,' said she, 'so he do but reign.'"

The conscience of the royal matricide still lifted its voice, and on reflection he was filled with inexpressible horrors. Unhappily, he had no faithful monitor: his most enlightened guides or ministers were more solicitous to please him than to correct his defects, or suppress his evil propensities. To withdraw him from one series of follies or crimes they seldom did more than substitute others less offensive to the public mind. On this occasion, they acted as if they believed that he was grieved for the loss of his mother, whom he had been compelled to kill to avoid being himself murdered. Accordingly, Burrhus persuaded his officers to congratulate the emperor on his deliverance from his mother's conspiracy to destroy him. Their example was imitated by the principal persons in the cities of Campania, who expressed their joy by presenting addresses to Nero, and sacrifices to the gods. Seneca composed letters, which were addressed by the emperor to the senate; in them it was falsely asserted, that Agrippina had sent Agerinus, one of her freedmen, to assassinate him; the principal crimes of Claudius were recalled and ascribed to her; and that, therefore, the Romans ought to regard her death rather as a public blessing than a calamity. Apparently guided by the policy of his ministers, Nero honoured the enemies of his mother, and used every means to render her memory detestable. His courtiers persuaded him that the public were convinced of his innocence; and prepared the various

classes in Rome to confirm him in this unfounded opinion. Accordingly, on returning, from Naples, where he had retired to dissipate his melancholy, "several tribes, in distinct bodies, and the senate in their robes, with an immense multitude of women and children, met him, on his approach to the metropolis; and wherever he passed, plays and shows were exhibited with all the pomp and parade of a solemn triumph. Elated with pride at such a reception, he repaired, like a triumphant victor, to the capitol, and there paid his vows and oblations. All these tokens of joy and approbation could not alleviate the reproaches of his own conscience: the horrors of his guilt never forsook him; he owned, that the furies pursued him with stripes, and rage, and burning torches; his dread was sometimes so great that all his joints trembled; he applied to the magicians, and endeavoured, by one of their sacrifices, to call up the ghost of his mother, and entreat her to forgive him: some time after, when he travelled into Greece though he was extremely desirous of assisting at the Eleusian ceremonies, yet his heart failed him, and he withdrew as soon as he heard the crier commanding with a loud voice, all impious and profane persons to depart. As no one would take upon him to give the emperor wholesome advice, but, on the contrary, all conspired to deceive him with servile flattery, and to commend even his most enormous excesses, he abandoned himself, without restraint, to all his extravagant passions. He was chiefly fond of two diversions, both highly unbecoming his rank and station, namely, of driving a chariot, and singing to the harp in a theatrical habit. Seneca and Burrhus indulged him from the beginning in the former, in order to divert him from the latter, which they thought a more shameful and unmanly employment. Thus, a piece of ground in the Vatican was inclosed with a wall, that he might exert his dexterity in driving, without being exposed to the view of a promiscuous crowd of spectators; but now he was desirous of being publicly seen by the populace, who failed not to gratify him with encomiums and loud acclamations. As the emperor imagined that by bringing many others under the same infamy he should lessen his own, he introduced, as actors into the theatre, several noble Romans, descended from illustrious families, but, through indigence, become venal. He likewise engaged, with great rewards, many Roman knights to undertake the acting of parts in public representations. However, that he might not yet debase himself in the common theatre, he instituted a sort of plays called

Juvenales, which were exhibited in private houses or gardens, persons of the first quality, and many who had borne the chief offices, in the state, acting in them, and degrading themselves to imitate the port and buffoonery of the Greek and Roman mimics, even in their most obscene gesticulations."

Nero, finding that neither his most atrocious crimes nor most vain and contemptible pursuits diminished the flattery of his court or the applauses of his senate, cast off all moral restraint, and preferred for his counsellors, as well as friends, the most unprincipled and immoral among the chief men of Rome. He ceased to reverence Seneca for his wisdom and virtue, and despised the political sagacity of the accomplished statesman Burrhus. The latter died about the ninth year of Nero; and from certain circumstances his ungrateful master was suspected to have caused him to be poisoned. The prætorian guards were placed under the command of F. Rufus and S. Tigellinus. The former was respected for his integrity, but so noted for indolence that his authority was viewed merely nominal. His colleague possessed the entire confidence of the emperor, for he was admitted to all his secret revels and debaucheries. When Tigellinus was known to be Nero's chief counsellor, all who envied or hated Seneca openly reviled him, and a number of the courtiers were assiduous in stimulating the emperor to dismiss him. The philosopher anticipated the wishes of his enemies; he retired from court, laid aside all his usual splendour, and assumed the manners of a philosopher rather than a statesman. Tigellinus now directed the emperor in all things, executed his will, whether it was regulated by justice or not. He hesitated not to disgrace or murder any one obnoxious to his master's displeasure; nor to promote any measure on which he set his heart. Nero longed to gratify Poppæa's ambition by publicly marrying her. In order to this, it was necessary that Octavia should be divorced or put to death. He divorced her on the frivolous pretence that she was barren. Immediately after Poppæa was declared his wife; but this detestable female rested not till, by false accusation of adultery, she procured first Octavia's banishment, and then her death, of which proof was given her, by the murderers presenting to her the head of her victim. Soon after this event Poppæa's power over the emperor was strengthened by bringing him a daughter. His joy was great on this occasion; the infant he named Augusta, and the mother was honoured by the same lofty appellation. The senate had made vows for her happy

delivery; "and now many more were added, and the whole amply fulfilled: days for solemn processions were appointed, a temple was decreed to Fecundity, golden images of the Fortunes at Antium, where the child was born, were ordered to be made, and placed on the throne of Jupiter Capitolinus: but short-lived was the prince's joy; for within four months the infant died, a disaster which gave occasion to new strains of flattery. She was placed among the gods, and divine worship, with a priest, altars, and sacrifices, were voted to her. As the emperor had rejoiced, so he grieved, beyond all measure."

Grief or reflection suited not the vain mind and sensual heart of the emperor, and he had removed far from him all who were disposed or qualified to preserve him from acts of either imprudence or mischief and folly, in which alone he delighted. He now became remarkable for almost nothing but acts of despotic cruelty and barbarity, or the chief actor in scenes of dissipation. After the loss of his infant, he departed for Naples, to exhibit his skill in singing and acting on the stage, purposing to proceed thence to Greece, to contend for the prize for music at the Olympian games. He was accompanied, as usual, on his journey, "with a thousand chariots, his horses and mules all shod with silver, his grooms and muleteers clad in the richest cloth of Canusium, and attended by a band of prætorian guards, and a body of African horse, most pompously attired. Soon after his arrival at Naples, he mounted the stage, and sung, for several days together, to an immense multitude, all the rabble of Naples, and incredible numbers, from the neighbouring cities and colonies, flocking to such an extraordinary spectacle. In this exercise he passed his whole time at Naples, repairing to the theatre in the morning, and continuing there till night, allowing himself now and then a small respite to take breath, and refresh himself, which he did publicly, in the presence of the multitude." Some unknown reasons induced him to defer his voyage to Greece and return to Rome, where, to display his magnificence, or gratify the citizens, he held a succession of banquets in the public places and squares. These assemblies included the most infamous persons in the city, and the scenes exhibited not only almost every species of grandeur and luxury, but almost every kind of the most sensual and abominable pleasure, such as none pretending to virtue would deign to witness or even describe.

It had, however, been well for society had this wild beast

been satisfied with rioting in the lowest and most beastly indulgences, which the virtuous might avoid. Unhappily, he delighted to spread as widely as possible misery, by every device, suggested by his polluted imagination and brutalized passions. In proof of this, history appeals to the dreadful fire which threatened the entire destruction of Rome, about A. D. 64, in the eleventh year of his reign. Its origin was indeed never fully ascertained; but no one seems to have hesitated to ascribe it to the diabolical or maniac emperor. He may have caused it to be raised on reflecting on the dreadful scene of the burning of ancient Rome by the Gauls, for the fire, it is said, commenced on the day of the year corresponding with that in which that tremendous catastrophe happened. It was first kindled in certain shops which contained the most combustible articles, and, of course, spread with the utmost rapidity. An ancient inscription, near St. Peter's church, attests that it continued nine days. At the end of six it seemed arrested; but it was rekindled with augmented fury, and raged three days more.

Besides the destruction of innumerable common dwellings, "all the noble monuments of antiquity, all the palaces, temples, porticoes, with the goods, riches, furniture, and merchandize, were consumed. The shrieks of the women, the various efforts of some endeavouring to save the young and tender, of others attempting to assist the aged and infirm, and the hurry of such as strove only to provide for themselves, occasioned a mutual interruption, and universal confusion. Many, while they chiefly regarded the danger that pursued them behind, found themselves suddenly involved in the flame before and on every side. If they escaped into the quarters adjoining, or into the parts quite remote, there too they met with the devouring flames. At last, not knowing whither to fly, nor where to seek sanctuary, they abandoned the city, and repaired to the open fields. Some, out of despair for the loss of their whole substance, others, through tenderness for their children and relations, whom they had not been able to snatch from the flames, suffered themselves to perish in them, though they had easy means to escape. No man dared to stop the progress of the fire, there being many who had no other business but to prevent with repeated menaces all attempts of that nature; nay, some were in the face of the public, seen to throw lighted fire-brands into the houses, loudly declaring, that they were authorized so to do; but whether this was only a device to plunder more freely, or in reality they had such



orders, was never certainly known. Nero, who was then at Antium, did not offer to return to the city, till he heard that the flame was advancing to his palace, which, after his arrival, was, in spite of all opposition burnt down to the ground, with all the houses adjoining to it. However, Nero, affecting compassion for the multitude, thus vagabond and bereft of their dwellings, laid open the field of Mars, and all the great edifices erected there by Agrippa, and even his own gardens. He likewise caused tabernacles to be reared in haste for the reception of the forlorn populace; from Ostia too, and the neighboring cities, were brought, by his orders, all sorts of furniture and necessaries, and the price of corn considerably lessened. But these bounties, however generous and popular, were bestowed in vain, because a report was spread abroad, that, during the time of this general conflagration, he mounted his domestic stage, and sung the destruction of Troy, comparing the present desolation to the celebrated calamities of iniquity. Of the fourteen districts into which Rome was divided, four remained entire, three were laid in ashes, and, in the seven others, there remained only here and there a few houses, miserably shattered, and half consumed. Among the many ancient and stately edifices, which the rage of the flames utterly consumed, Tacitus reckons the temple dedicated by Servius Tullius to the Moon; the temple and great altar consecrated by Evander to Hercules; the chapel vowed by Romulus to Jupiter Stator; the court of Numa, with the temple of Vesta, and in it the tutelar gods peculiar to the Romans. In the same fate were involved the inestimable treasures acquired by so many victories, the wonderful works of the best painters and sculptors of Greece, and, what is still more to be lamented, the ancient writings of celebrated authors, till then preserved perfectly entire."

The burning of Rome brought Christians, as a distinct society, at least for the first time recorded in history, before the civil tribunals of the city, where they were accused of being the authors of this great calamity, and their accuser was no less important a personage than the lawless emperor. Not the least evidence of their guilt is alluded to in history. Nor did the accusation against them weaken the universal suspicion or belief that Nero alone had caused the city to be set on fire. He knew the state of the public mind, and, doubtless, dreaded that its consequence might be fatal to him. But it may seem strange what could suggest to him to charge the Christians, without a shadow of proof, with a crime which

they had equal reason with their fellow citizens to detest and lament. He could not be ignorant that no class of society were more disposed to promote the temporal peace and comfort of all ranks; for Paul, their ablest advocate, had more than once appeared before the imperial court, vindicated his own character, and we may be certain, the Christian, with such success as to have obtained his liberty in the preceding year. But Nero, it is said, knew that they were generally hated, and that to subject them to suffering would recommend him to the public, should he even fail to fix on them the guilt of burning the city. That he, however, might have accused others with more hope of being credited, no one can doubt, who reflects on the vast number of the most depraved of mankind, resident in Rome. We conceive, therefore, that we may ascribe his selection of the Christians to suffer innocently, to the counsels of his infamous wife Poppæa, rather than to his own sagacity or malice. Such depraved persons as Nero are not those who are usually the persecutors of holy men. Their most violent and implacable enemies are those proud of real or imaginary intellectual, moral, or religious superiority, and not the lovers of pleasure and frivolous pursuits. That Nero was, at this time, completely enslaved by Poppæa is well known, and that Christians were more obnoxious to her displeasure than any other class of society, will scarcely be questioned by those who advert to her religion. We have already remarked that it is probable, from Josephus denominating her "religious," that she was a Jewish proselyte of the sect of the Pharisees. He notices more incidents than one which appear to confirm this opinion, and clearly show her attachment to the Jewish people, and esteem of their religious teachers. Thus he informs us, that in his twenty-sixth year, certain of his friends distinguished by piety, having offended Felix the governor of Judea, were put in chains and sent prisoners to Rome, to be tried before the emperor. In the hope of aiding in their deliverance, he accompanied them to Rome. The ship in which they sailed, with about six hundred persons, was lost in the Adriatic, and all perished, except about eighty, who, after swimming all night, were saved by a ship of Cyrene. On reaching Rome, he procured the friendship of Aliturus, a Jew, who was an actor on the stage, and much beloved by Nero. He adds, that "through the interest of this man, he was introduced to Poppæa, Cesar's wife, was favourably received, and succeeded in obtaining the liberty of the priests his friends.

Besides this favour he received many presents from the empress." Josephus owns that this religious empress was as wicked as Festus, who owed to her his appointment to the government of Judea. Now she was precisely such a person as was most likely to hate and seek the destruction of Christians. This was strikingly seen in the first age of Christianity; some of the female proselytes in the empire, were most active opponents of the first ministers of the word. Thus, when the gospel had been published throughout all the region of Pisidia, "the Jews" in Antioch, the capital, "stirred up the devout and honorable women, and the chief men of the city, and raised persecution against Paul and Barnabas, and expelled them out of their coasts."

While it may be disputed whether the accusation against the Christians in Rome originated in the unrighteous policy of Nero, or the pharisaical zeal of his wife, it is most probable that the majority of all ranks were not displeased to see them persecuted to death. Their real character was not understood by the most intelligent unbelievers. This is plain from the brief description given of them by the most eminent Roman writers in the first and second centuries. These learned men appear to have treated Christianity as a subject unworthy of investigation. Such conduct indicates their utter indifference to whatever involved the interests of man in relation to God and the future and invisible state. And what conduct could more decidedly prove that their wisdom was foolishness? It is not uncommon to apologise for their most unreasonable conduct, by saying that they had not an opportunity of knowing the truth respecting Christians. How unfounded is such an opinion! Could any one, sincerely and earnestly desirous to know eternal truth, remain ignorant of the gospel in any of the great cities of the empire, after the first thirty years of Paul's ministry? Christians were numerous, and zealously announced what they believed. Rome was full of them. They might be, and doubtless were, known to all who loved the light and hated darkness. But the fact is, that their principles and practices in religion were opposed to all that the learned unbelievers, and the superstitious and licentious multitude, believed or valued. The former deemed all forms of religion as equally useless, or of equal value; and the latter imagined that every one who renounced the worship of the gods of the empire were the enemies of all good, and to be regarded as atheists. "All were provoked," as Mosheim remarks, "by the simplicity of

their worship, which resembled in nothing the sacred rites of any other people. The Christians had neither sacrifices, nor temples, nor images, nor oracles, nor sacerdotal orders; and this was sufficient to bring upon them the reproaches of an ignorant multitude, who imagined that there could be no religion without these. Thus they were looked upon as a sort of atheists; and, by the Roman laws, those who were chargeable with atheism were declared the pests of human society. But this was not all: the sordid interests of a multitude of lazy and selfish priests were immediately connected with the ruin and oppression of the Christian cause. The public worship of such an immense number of deities was a source of subsistence, and even of riches, to the whole rabble of priests and augurs, and also to a multitude of merchants and artists; and as the progress of the gospel threatened the ruin of this religious traffic, and the profits it produced, this raised up new enemies to the Christians, and armed the rage of mercenary superstition against their lives and their cause."

No pagan author, perhaps, before the time of Pliny, looked on the Christians as a society completely distinct from the Jews, and the national prejudices and vices of the latter were generally ascribed to the former; and the extraordinary success of both parties, in converting to their respective religions, which seemed one, because in common they denounced all idols, roused the jealousy or wrath of all the Romans and Greeks who admired their own religion, either on account of its antiquity, utility, or popularity. These uneasy and indignant feelings were evidently strong in Seneca and Tacitus, who were greatly distinguished in the first century. The former, apparently referring to the Jews, including the followers of Christ, laments—"So universally do the customs of that most flagitious people prevail, that now they are received all over the world. The conquered have given laws to the conquerors." The latter remarks that "the Jews instituted the rite of circumcision, in order to distinguish themselves from the rest of mankind. They who have revolted to the customs of the Jews do the same, and the first that they are taught is, to despise the gods, and to divest themselves of patriotism. The worst of men every where, despising the religious rites of their own country, were wont to pile up their contributions and alms at Jerusalem."

Taking advantage of the universal hatred of Christianity, and of the popular calumnies and clamour against its advocates and confessors, Nero succeeded in turning the eyes of

the public from him for a time, by publishing an edict denouncing death on Christians, under the pretence that they had kindled the fire which had consumed the city; and he prescribed that they should suffer death under forms which should represent to all their crime in their punishment. The only narrative deserving credit of this first great persecution of Christians by the Roman state, is the imperfect one left by Tacitus. "Nero," he observes, "to suppress the prevailing rumour that he was the author of the conflagration, transferred the guilt upon supposed criminals, subjecting to most exquisite torments those people who, for their enormous crimes, were universally abhorred, and known to the vulgar by the name of Christians. The author of this name was Christ, who in the reign of Tiberius was executed under Pontius Pilate, procurator of Judea. The pestilent superstition was for a while suppressed, but it revived again, and spread not only over Judea, where the evil was broached, but reached Rome; whither from every quarter of the earth is constantly flowing whatever is hideous and abominable amongst men, and is there readily embraced and practised. First, therefore, were apprehended such as owned themselves to be of that sect; then by them was discovered an immense multitude, and all were convicted, not of the crime of burning of Rome, but of their hatred and enmity to mankind. Their death and tortures were aggravated with cruel derision and sport; for they were either covered with the skins of wild beasts, and torn in pieces by devouring dogs, or fastened to crosses, or wrapt up in combustible garments, that, when the day-light failed, they might, like torches, serve to dispel the darkness of the night. For this tragical spectacle Nero lent his own gardens, and exhibited at the same time the public diversion of the circus, sometimes driving a chariot in person, and sometimes standing as a spectator among the populace in the habit of a charioteer. Hence towards the miserable sufferers, however guilty and deserving the most exemplary punishment, compassion arose, seeing they were doomed to perish, not with a view to the public good, but to gratify the cruelty of one man."

This sanguinary and barbarous attack on the church of God began in the latter end of A. D. 64, and it is uncertain if it terminated before the death of Nero, A. D. 68. Nor have we more certain information as to the extent of this calamity; for many imagine that the imperial edict was designed for the whole empire, while others would limit it to Italy or even to

Rome. If tradition may be relied on, both the apostles Paul and Peter had visited the capital during the violence of this persecution, and fell victims to the rage of their enemies. It is probable that the sufferings of the Christians were of temporary duration; for Nero soon found himself in circumstances which, doubtless, withdrew his attention from them; and their enemies were subjected by him to such great and complicated distress, that they would feel little disposition to interfere in the affairs of a class of persons who not only did them no injury, but were ever zealous to do them good by every means which they could employ.

In the opinion of some, Nero destroyed Rome that he might acquire celebrity by raising the city in greater beauty and magnificence. This is not improbable, for it is said of him that he was always ready to undertake enterprises in proportion to their difficulty or even seeming impossibility to accomplish them. Nor was this conjecture inconsistent with his conduct after the fire; for he employed all his authority and resources to confer on the renovated city all that was calculated to render it worthy of its dignity as the metropolis of the world. He "founded a palace, which he called his Golden House; though it was not so much admired on account of an immense profusion of gold, precious stones, and other inestimable ornaments, as for its vast extent, containing spacious fields, large wildernesses, artificial lakes, thick woods, gardens, orchards, vineyards, hills, and groves. The entrance of this stately edifice was wide enough to receive a colossus, representing Nero, a hundred and twenty feet high: the galleries consisted of three rows of tall pillars, each of them a full mile in length: the lakes were encompassed with magnificent buildings, in the manner of cities, and the woods stocked with all manner of wild beasts. The house itself was tiled with gold, the walls were covered with the same metal, and richly adorned with precious stones and mother-of-pearl, which in those days was valued above gold: the timber-work and ceilings of the rooms were inlaid with gold and ivory: the roof of one of the banqueting-rooms resembled the firmament, both in its figure and motion, turning incessantly about night and day, and showering all sorts of sweet waters. When this magnificent structure was finished, Nero slightly said, that at length he began to lodge like a man. Pliny tells us, that this palace extended quite round the city. Nero, it seems, did not finish it; for the first order Otho signed was, as we read in Suetonius, for fifty millions of ses-

terces, to be employed in perfecting the Golden Palace which Nero had begun. The projectors of this plan were Severus and Celer, two bold and enterprising men, who soon after put the emperor upon a still more expensive and arduous undertaking, namely, that of cutting a canal through hard rocks and steep mountains, from the lake Avernus to the mouth of the Tiber, a hundred and sixty miles in length, and of such breadth that two galleys of five ranks of oars might easily pass abreast. His view in this was to open a communication between Rome and Campania, free from the troubles and dangers of the sea; for, in the course of this year, a great number of vessels, laden with corn, were shipwrecked at Cape Misenum, the pilots choosing rather to venture out in a violent storm, than not to arrive at the time they were expected by Nero. For the execution of this prodigious undertaking, the emperor ordered the prisoners from all parts to be transported into Italy; and such as were convicted, whatever their crimes, were to be condemned only to his works. Nero, who undertook nothing with more ardour and readiness than what was deemed impossible, expended incredible sums in this rash undertaking, and exerted all his power to cut through the mountains adjoining to the lake Avernus; but not being able to remove by art the obstacles of nature, he was obliged to drop the enterprise. The ground not occupied by the foundations of Nero's own palace, he assigned for houses, which were not placed, as after the burning of the city by the Gauls, at random and without order, but the streets were laid out regularly, spacious and straight, the edifices restrained to a certain height, perhaps of seventy feet, according to the plan of Augustus; the courts were widened, and to all the great houses which stood by themselves, and were called isles, large porticoes were added, which Nero engaged to raise at his own expense, and to deliver to each proprietor the squares about them clear from all rubbish. He likewise promised rewards according to every man's rank and substance, appointing a day for the discharge of his promise, on condition that against that day their several houses and palaces were finished. He, moreover, made the following wise regulations, to obviate such a dreadful calamity for the future: that the new buildings should be raised to a certain height without timber; that they should be arched with stone from the quarries of Gabii and Alba, which were proof against fire; that over the common springs which were diverted by private men for their own uses, overseers should be placed

to prevent that abuse ; that every citizen should have ready in his house a machine proper to extinguish fire ; and that no wall shall be common to two houses, but every house be inclosed within its own peculiar walls. Thus the city in a short time rose out of its ashes with new lustre, and more beautiful than ever."

The popularity which, perhaps, Nero acquired by his fierce zeal against Christianity, and by the apparent wisdom, greatness of mind, generosity, and liberality which he displayed in the erection of his golden palace and the embellishment of the city, was transient. In the gratification of his vanity or ambition and desire of public favour, he exhausted all the treasures of the state ; and to procure wealth to satisfy his boundless desires, and to enable him to execute his vast, and, in many instances, his foolish and impracticable schemes, he resorted to measures at once most unjust and oppressive, so that to all ranks, except the dregs of society, his name and government became hateful and detestable. He commissioned persons capable of committing every species of wickedness to proceed through Italy, Greece, and Asia, and seize the riches of every province, including the wealth of the temples, the ornaments, and the statues and images of the gods, which were made of the precious metals. The whole were conveyed to Rome ; and the metallic gods were melted down and turned into money. His tyranny produced universal discontent, and astrologers and diviners alone were enriched by pretending to observe many prodigies which they declared forerunners of some dreadful calamity ; multitudes in consequence resorted to them to have those superstitious fears allayed which their lies had awakened. Nero was alarmed by these reported omens, and consulted Babylus, a celebrated astrologer. Informed by him that great monarchs could avert these omens by some extraordinary massacre, and, crediting the impostor, it is said that he determined to exterminate the whole senatorial order, and commit all the offices of the empire to the knights and his freedmen. Though the execution of this resolution was beyond his power, yet he seemed to follow it in his future conduct. To the utmost extent of his power he put to death, or by threatenings compelled to commit suicide, every one venerable by the highest rank, or respected for wisdom, learning, genius, or exemplary conduct.

He probably considered his murderous deeds justifiable, on discovering a conspiracy formed to dethrone him by the first men in Rome, and into which history testifies that the



whole nobility, senators, knights, soldiers, and even women, eagerly entered. The leader was Caius Pios, a noble of dignified aspect, and generous conduct, and still more illustrious by his high rank and powerful eloquence, which he employed for the defence of his fellow-citizens. He was, nevertheless, a man of pleasure, and exceedingly licentious; but the Romans had not, on this account, any objection to raise him to the empire, for correct morals were not deemed by them necessary in their rulers. Lucan, the celebrated poet, was among the first who joined this conspiracy, instigated, it is said, by revenge for the insults which he had suffered from Nero, who, being himself a poet, and apprehensive lest his poetical fame should be eclipsed by Lucan, permitted not the publication of his poems. Epicharis, an infamous female, was among the most active, determined, and persevering of the conspirators. Her conduct seemed inexplicable, for it could be traced to no motive. She exerted herself to the utmost to hasten the execution of the purpose, which all approved, to assassinate the emperor, while he was singing on the stage, or traversing the streets in his nightly revels. "When she found that all her reproaches and exhortations had no effect on her accomplices, impatient of their slowness, she left Rome, and hastened to Campania, where she employed all her industry and skill to estrange from Nero the hearts of the chief officers of the fleet lying at Misenum, and to engage them in the design, which they had frequent opportunities of executing, as the emperor took great delight in sailing often along the coast of Misenum and Puteoli. In that fleet, Volusius Proculus, who had been employed by Nero to despatch his mother, had the command of a thousand marines. But as he did not think himself thereby sufficiently rewarded for so meritorious a murder, either from an old acquaintance with Epicharis, or a friendship newly contracted, he related to her his signal services to Nero, adding bitter complaints that he had not been distinguished with promotion equal to his deserts. In answer to him, Epicharis urged all the crying cruelties, all the barbarous outrages committed by the tyrant, and at the same time acquainted him with the conspiracy; but had the precaution to conceal from him the names of the conspirators. The traitor was no sooner let into the secret, than he flew to Rome, and betrayed the whole to Nero. But his discovery availed nothing; for when Epicharis was summoned, and confronted with the informer, as his charge against her was supported by no witnesses, she denied it, pretending

to be greatly amazed at the impudent boldness of the accuser. However, she was detained in prison, Nero suspecting that the charge was not false, though not proved to be true."

This circumstance determined the conspirators to delay no longer the accomplishment of their treacherous design. After much discussion, they agreed that it would be most honourable and expedient publicly to kill Nero during the festival of Ceres, at the time of the Circensian games, from which he was never absent. Scevinus, having procured a dagger from a temple, claimed the right to strike the first blow, being confident that the sacredness of the instrument insured him success. On the evening preceding that on which the daring and atrocious act was to be performed, Scevinus sealed his will; then unsheathing the above-mentioned dagger, he complained it was blunt and rusty, charging Milichus, one of his freedmen, to have it ground and sharpened at the point: next he ordered a repast more sumptuous and profuse than ordinary to be got ready; after which he presented his favourite slaves with their liberty, and others with sums of money. His countenance, in the midst of an affected cheerfulness, appeared clouded: in his discourse he was continually running from one subject to another, without attending to any; whence all, who were present, concluded that his mind was fraught with some great design: at last he ordered the same Milichus to prepare bandages for wounds, and applications for stopping blood. The freedman, reflecting on these orders, and concluding with himself, that a conspiracy was undoubtedly carrying on, and his patron concerned in it, hastened next morning by break of day to the gardens of Servilius, where Nero then was; and, being refused admittance, declared that he came to discover matters of the utmost importance." Epaphroditus, one of the emperor's freedmen, at last reluctantly admitted him into his presence. On relating all the circumstances, and showing the dagger, his testimony was believed, and Scevinus was instantly brought by a band of soldiers to answer for the crime of which he was accused. Through the agency of his wife and the treacherous slave, the conspiracy was now fully discovered; and a number of the conspirators who were seized, by the promise of pardon, betrayed many of their dearest friends. Thus Lucan accused his own mother. Epicharis appears to have been remarkably distinguished for fidelity and honour, in this unlawful enterprise; for the application of every species of torture drew not

a word from her which could be construed to implicate any one of her numerous accomplices.

Nero was so dreadfully alarmed on perceiving his danger, that he not only doubled his guards, but posted bands of soldiers upon the walls, and all round the city, lined the sea-coast and the banks of the Tiber with numerous detachments, ordered parties of foot and horse to scour the fields night and day, to range in the public squares in the neighbouring municipal towns, to enter the private houses. With the prætorian guards Germans were intermixed; for in them, as they were foreigners, Nero chiefly confided."

Multitudes were now dragged to the imperial tribunal, which was erected in the royal gardens, and every one was sentenced to perish who had been ever seen to associate, or even smile with the chief conspirators. Many great men suffered, and it is reported that of these, the death of no one gave Nero more joy than that of his most eminent tutor and minister, Seneca, whose ruin he had long desired. The philosopher was condemned to kill himself. He died as a hero and a fool, for while he composedly consoled his wife and friends, with the water of the hot bath in which he bled to death, he sprinkled the slaves who waited on him, and said, "With this water I make a libation to Jupiter the Deliverer."

The conspiracy being utterly suppressed, Nero assembled the army, "distributed among them a largess of two thousand nummi a man, and ordered them to be thenceforth supplied with corn at the public expense. Upon Petronius Turpilianus, Cocceius Nerva, and Tigelinus, he bestowed triumphal ornaments, as a reward for their zeal in prosecuting the conspirators; nay, he caused triumphal statues to be erected in the forum to the two latter, and their images to be placed in the palace, a distinction seldom granted, and only to persons of the greatest merit. Nymphidius was distinguished with the consular ornaments. The emperor, having thus rewarded the instruments of his tyranny, assembled the fathers, and acquainted them with the late transactions. To the people he addressed an edict upon the same subject, and published the several evidences against the conspirators, with their own confessions, in order to confute a rumour current among the populace, that the plot was forged, and that Nero, merely to satiate his cruelty, and out of base fear, had sacrificed so many illustrious citizens. In the senate, where the most abject flattery prevailed, every senator, the more sensibly he was affected with inward grief for the loss of his friends or relations,

the more outward joy and congratulations he expressed. It was by the whole body decreed, that public thanksgivings and oblations should be paid to all the deities, and particular honours to the Sun, who having a chapel in the circus, where the parricide was to be perpetrated, had brought to light the dark contrivances of the conspirators; that the Circensian games should be solemnized with extraordinary pomp; that the month of April, in which the conspiracy was detected, should thenceforth bear the name of Nero; that a temple should be erected to the goddess Salus or Safety, in the place whence Scevinus had taken the dagger. The dagger itself was by Nero dedicated in the capitol, with this inscription, To Jupiter the Avenger. Such was the issue of this conspiracy, which to the same moment owed, as Tacitus observes, its beginning, progress, and perfection, and was with faithful silence and secrecy concealed in a combination so numerous, so variously framed, amongst those of every condition, sex, and age, till it was accidentally discovered in the manner we have related.

“Nero, now delivered from all fear, betook himself again to his harp. As the time approached for disputing the prizes in the quinquennial games, the senate, to prevent Nero from appearing there as a competitor, offered him the prize of music, and also the crown of eloquence. But the emperor answered, That he needed not their partiality; since he himself was a match for all his competitors, and would only, by the just determination of the judges, purchase the praise and recompense of his skill. He appeared publicly upon the stage, and there rehearsed a poem of his own composing; but the populace applauding him, and begging he would display all his studies, for these were their words, he entered the great theatre, and there appearing amongst the common harpers and minstrels, contended with them for the prize with such eagerness and anxiety, that he never ventured to sit down, however fatigued, that being contrary to the established laws of the harp, nor to spit, nor to wipe the sweat from his face, save only with his arm. In the end, adoring the multitude with his knee bent, and his hands lifted up, according to the custom of the common players, he waited with awe and trembling the determination of the judges. The common people of Rome applauded him with loud shouts and clapping of hands, from an utter insensibility, says our historian, of the crying reproach which disgraced the Roman empire. But the inhabitants of the municipal cities of Italy, who still retained the

severe manners of the ancients, and such as came from remote provinces, and attended then at Rome upon embassies or their own private affairs, could not behold, without indignation, the sovereign of Rome thus debasing himself upon the stage, and much less join those who applauded this his shameful debasement. They were therefore frequently beaten by the soldiers, who stood in several clusters among the crowd to observe the faces of the spectators."

This was a period of fearful sufferings to the Romans of all ranks. The tyranny of their ruler perhaps was most severely felt by the higher orders; but the judgments of the sovereign of all fell indiscriminately on all ranks. Campania was laid waste by dreadful tempests and violent whirlwinds, the fruits of the land were scattered, plantations were torn up, and whole villages were destroyed. A terrible pestilence prevailed in Rome, and quickly carried off about thirty thousand of her citizens. Lyons, in Gaul, suffered much from an accidental fire, which seemed to excite the compassion of Nero, for he sent a large sum to restore the city. Compassion, however, rarely moved him. His fascinating Poppæa, having provoked him by reproaching him for his nightly dissipations, or by ridiculing him for his mean actions, received a kick from him on the belly, when pregnant, which occasioned her death. In this event the Romans secretly rejoiced, although they were compelled to assume the appearance of mourners. They had, however, no great reason for joy; Nero now needed no tempter to commit either folly or wickedness; he was irrecoverably lost to all sense of propriety, justice, or mercy. He soon married Statilia Messalina, the widow of a Roman noble, and honoured her with the title of Augusta; but whatever was her character, as it was scarcely possible, if bad, to augment his depravity, so, if good, it had no influence to improve his mind or reform his conduct. He continued to shed the blood of every Roman whose virtue he envied or whose power he feared.

To amuse the Romans, and turn their thoughts from their many calamities, he exhibited Fridates, brother of Valogeses king of Parthia, in all the pomp of majesty and grandeur, and, in one of the public squares, crowned him king of Armenia. "This was the most magnificent and pompous ceremony ever witnessed in Rome." Fridates received from the emperor eighty thousand nummi a day, while he remained in Italy, and at his departure presents of immense value. Nero therefore had no doubt that the Parthian king, on learn-

ing his generosity to his brother, would gratify him by accepting his invitation to come to Rome; and his refusal so provoked him, that he resolved, and made great preparations to reduce Parthia; but on ascertaining that Valogeses was prepared to defend his dominions, he resumed employments more suited to his vain mind than war.

The Greeks, who surpassed all other nations in the art of flattery, knowing Nero's love of applause for his skill in the use of the harp, sent him an embassy with all the crowns given by the Grecian cities to those most celebrated for such skill. This honour was so acceptable to him, that he invited the ambassadors to a grand entertainment. Many of his friends were present. One of the Greeks humbly entreated the emperor to favour his guests with a song. He complied, and was loudly applauded by the Greeks. This flattery elated him so, that he exclaimed, "the Greeks alone have a good ear; none but they understand music." That he might procure their admiration, he proposed to proceed immediately to Greece, that he might have an opportunity to contend at the Olympic games which were soon to be held. He was accompanied, Dion Cassius says, with such a multitude as might have easily reduced all the nations of the East, "had they not, like their general, been destitute of all courage, and armed only with harps, fiddles, masks, buskins, and other theatrical implements. With this army he embarked, and, landing at Cassiope, immediately began to sing before the altar of Jupiter Cassius. Thence he advanced into the heart of Greece, playing, singing, and acting in all the cities through which he passed. But in the following year, Capito and Rusus being consuls, he chiefly exerted his skill at the Olympic games, where to the eternal ignominy of the Roman name, the head of the empire was not ashamed to appear as a competitor among the common harpers, players, and charioteers. He won the prize of music, by corrupting, as was commonly believed, either the judges or his competitors. The prize of chariot-driving he evidently forfeited; for having attempted to drive with ten horses, he was thrown off, and so hurt, that though he remounted, yet he was constrained to desist before he had finished the career. However, as he insisted upon the judges excluding all casual events and misfortunes, they decreed him the prize, to his inexpressible satisfaction."

From the field of the Olympic games, he visited all the cities of Greece, and everywhere challenged the best performers in music, and, of course, never failed to be "declared

victor ; insomuch that he is said to have gained, in this progress, above eighteen hundred prizes. He transmitted a particular account of each victory to the senate, enjoining them to acknowledge the favours of the gods towards him with victims, oblations, and public processions, and to take care that the same devotions were practised throughout the whole empire. That there might remain no monuments of other victors, he commanded all their statues to be pulled down, to be dragged through the streets, and to be either dashed to pieces, or thrown into the common sewers." Having attained the pinnacle of the glory of which his base mind was ambitious, he consulted the oracle of Delphi, and was warned by the politic priestess, "to beware of seventy-three, which, not reflecting on Galba's age, he imagined to be the term of his life, and conceived so great assurance of his living, and enjoying an uninterrupted happiness till that age, that, having soon after lost many things of great value by shipwreck, he confidently told his friends, that the very fish would bring them again ; nay, he was so possessed with this notion, that two years after, when the first tidings were brought him of the insurrections in several provinces, he was so far from being alarmed, that he seemed rather to rejoice at those disturbances, since they furnished him with a plausible pretence of seizing the estates of the inhabitants. The pythoness he presented with a large sum." This money, as well as that which the judges of the games received from Nero, was recovered by Galba, at the time that he revoked all the privileges which the Achæans had received. Before he left Greece, he commenced a canal through the isthmus of Corinth, by which he proposed to open a communication between the Ionian and Ægean seas, for the safety of the numerous vessels on these coasts, where many were usually lost. The work was, however, not finished ; but that and other enormous expenses left Nero in penury. To procure means to support his profligacy, he, under various pretences, put to death the richest Greeks, and sold their estates. The Romans suffered not less on this occasion. He had forcibly carried with him to Greece such of the senatorial and equestrian order as were any way considerable for their birth, virtue, or fortunes, with a design to despatch them at a distance from Rome, and consequently with more safety and less noise ; so that tidings were daily brought to the city of the death of some of her most illustrious citizens, and orders to Helius, a freedman

of the emperor Claudius, whom he had left governor of Rome, to seize their estates."

Nero, on leaving Rome had invested Helius with absolute power over the persons, lives, and fortunes of all ranks. Assisted by Polycletus, another freedman, this unjust and savage ruler made no less dreadful havock of the nobility of Rome than his master committed in Greece. "Virtue, rank, or wealth, were unpardonable crimes; and punished with death." Whole families were cut off; no pity was shown for children. The citizens were in a state of the greatest excitement; and a general insurrection was every hour apprehended. The tyrannical governor sent successive messengers to Nero, urging him to return. He could not deprive himself of the glory which he said all must envy; and he only returned to Italy in consequence of the alarming tidings which he received from Helius on his arrival in Greece, whither he had proceeded on finding all his reports ineffectual to excite the fears of his master.

Nero unexpectedly escaped being drowned during a violent storm, which dispersed and destroyed his fleet, and the wealth of Greece which he had forcibly carried off. On reaching Naples, "he entered it through a breach in the wall, according to the custom of the victors in the Olympic games, and in the same manner Antium, Albanum, and Rome. He made his entry into the latter city in the triumphal chariot of Augustus, pompously attired, having with him in the same chariot, another player upon the harp, by name Diodorus, wearing an Olympic crown on his head, and carrying a Pythic crown in his hand. Before him marched in great pomp, and richly dressed, eighteen hundred persons, each of them with a crown in his hand, and under it an inscription, signifying where it had been won, the name of the person whom the emperor had overcome, the subject and title of the song, and such like important circumstances. His chariot was followed by the whole rabble of the city, crying out, by way of derision, that they were the soldiers of Augustus, and claimed a share in the glory of the triumphant victor. From the sacred-way the procession turned to the circus, which Nero entered through a breach, having caused one of the arches to be thrown down. Thence they proceeded through the Velabrum and the forum to the palace, and from the palace to the temple of Apollo, where he displayed all his crowns, and ordered them to be carried from thence to his golden house, and there hung up round his bed,



upon the many statues which he had erected to himself in the habit and attire of an harper."

Nero had the good fortune about this time to detect and suppress another conspiracy, of which no satisfactory account remains. Nevertheless, his end hastened on. All the provinces were prepared to devour the all-devouring monster. The Gauls had the honour of first defying his power. Their noble governor, Julius Vindex, was a descendant of the ancient kings of Aquitain, a true patriot and a brave soldier. He aspired not to the supreme government of the empire, nor to render himself independent. For, after raising an army of one hundred thousand men, he invited Galba, one of the governors in Spain, to place himself at the head of the army, and deliver the empire from the tyrant. Galba deliberated, and encouraged by his officers, and the fabulous prediction that Spain would one day give a prince to Rome, he publicly announced to the army at New Carthage, his design to renounce the authority of the emperor. He was immediately, with joyful acclamations, saluted *Imperator* and *Augustus*. He, however, was too wise to accept these titles in his circumstances, and avowed that he desired only to be regarded the lieutenant of the senate, and people of Rome, devoted to the service of his country. He instantly "ordered levies to be made throughout the whole provinces; selected a certain number of persons of known prudence and experience, and with them formed a kind of senate; appointed a band of young knights, whom he called *evocati*, to be as a guard at the door of his chamber; and caused edicts to be fixed up in every city of the province, inviting all to join him, and lend what assistance they could towards the recovery of their liberty, and the success of an enterprise which so nearly concerned them. Otho, who still governed Lusitania, was the first of all the governors of provinces who declared for Galba, sending him all his gold and silver plate to turn it into money; and likewise his domestics, who were more accustomed to a court, and knew better than Galba's how to serve an emperor.

The power of Galba rapidly increased; all the governors declaring for him, except Clodius Macer, who commanded in Africa, and L. Rufus Verginius or Virginus, governor of Upper Germany, where he had under his command some of the best legions in the whole empire. The latter even marched against Vindex with all his forces, and being joined by the inhabitants of Treves, the capital of Bel-

gic Gaul, and powerfully assisted in Celtic Gaul itself by the cities of Langres and Lyons, he advanced as far as the city of Besancon, which he besieged. Upon this intelligence, Vindex hastened to the relief of the place ; but upon his arrival, Virginius desiring an interview with him, the two generals had a private conference, in which they agreed, as was commonly believed, to act against Nero ; but Virginius could not by any means be prevailed upon to declare for Galba. After they had long conferred together, Vindex returned to his troops, and with them advanced to Besancon, in order to take possession of the place, pursuant to the private agreement of the two chiefs. But Virginius' men, believing that Vindex designed to attack them, marched out without their general's orders, fell upon the Gauls, who suspecting nothing, were quite unprepared for an engagement, and with great slaughter put them to flight. Vindex after the battle laid violent hands on himself, and after his death the victorious legions tore the images of Nero, and importuned Virginius to accept the empire. He not only rejected their offer, but resolutely declared, that he would neither take upon himself the sovereign power, nor suffer any one else to assume it, who was not named to it by the senate, to whom alone the disposal of the empire belonged.

New and heavy impositions had incensed the people so highly that they openly opposed the collectors, telling them, that the best and most ready means of supplying Nero with money was to oblige the informers to refund the immense sums they had earned by their infamous practices. As a famine began to be felt in the city, the fury of the populace was heightened by the arrival of a ship from Egypt, at that time the granary of Rome, not laden with corn as was expected, but with sand for the gladiators and wrestlers. Upon this occasion, the people rose in a tumultuous manner, overturned in the night most of the emperor's statues, broke his images, plundered the houses of his friends and favourites, and committed innumerable disorders, no one offering to appease or restrain them. At the same time, news arrived of the revolt of the legions under Galba in Germany, which so affected Nero that he inclosed poison in a golden box, and went immediately into the Servilian gardens, whence he despatched the freedmen, in whom he chiefly confided, to Ostia, to assemble his fleet, being resolved to sail to Egypt, whither he had already sent some German troops. However, before he left the palace, he sounded the tribunes and centurions of his

guards, asking them whether they were disposed to accompany him in his flight? Some evaded, others positively refused to attend him, and one crying out "Is it so dreadful a thing to die?" he was quite distracted and confounded in his thoughts; resolving at one time to fly to the Parthians, at another to address Galba as a suppliant, to appear in public clad in deep mourning, and with all possible humility and dejection implore the forgiveness of the people for his former conduct; and, if he found them inflexible, to beg the government of Egypt. He, however, put off the taking of any resolution till the next day. The emperor awoke about midnight, and understanding, to his unspeakable surprise, that his guards were retired, he leaped out of bed, sent in great haste for his friends, and none of them obeying the summons went at last in person, attended by a few domestics, to their several houses; but finding the doors everywhere shut, and no one deigning even to return an answer to his prayers and entreaties, he hastily returned to his chamber, which he found rifled and stripped of all the furniture.

The golden box, in which he kept the poison prepared by the infamous Locusta, being likewise carried off, he sent for Spicillus, a celebrated gladiator, to dispatch him; but neither he nor any other being found to undertake that task, he exclaimed, in a fit of despair, "What! have I in this forlorn condition neither friends nor enemies?" which words he had scarce uttered, when he hurried out with a design to throw himself into the Tiber; but he suddenly stopped, and wished for some private place to recollect himself, and resume his courage. Phaon, one of his freedmen, offered him his country-house, about four miles from the city. He accepted the offer, and, without further delay, attended only by four persons, of whom Sporus was one, left Rome, meanly apparelled and worse mounted, concealing his face through fear of being discovered. Upon his setting out, he was terrified and dismayed by dreadful flashes of lightning and a violent earthquake, as if the ghosts of the many persons he had murdered were rising up, says Dion, against the unmerciful tyrant. As he passed the camp of the prætorian guards, he heard them cursing him, and wishing prosperity and success to Galba. A passenger whom he met on the road, perceiving him and his attendants, "These (said he) are no doubt in pursuit of Nero:" another asked him, "What news of Nero in the city?" His horse starting at the sight of a carcase that lay in the way, the covering of his face was shaken off, and he was known

by a soldier of the prætorian guards, named Missicius, who saluted him with the title of emperor. This salutation so alarmed Nero and his attendants that at the first turning they quitted their horses, and betaking themselves to a narrow path, crept with much difficulty through bushes and briers to the wall which inclosed Phaon's grounds, who entreated the emperor to conceal himself in a sandpit, till he should find means to introduce him with more secrecy; but Nero answered, that he would not be buried till he was dead; and lay concealed among the briers, while Phaon examined the wall to see if he could be admitted undiscovered. In order to procure a more private access to the house, a hole was opened in the wall, through which he was dragged, and conveyed into a room very indifferently furnished, where he passed the remainder of the night and part of the following day, in such agonies as can hardly be expressed, alarmed at the least noise he heard, apprehensive that assassins were come to murder him, and not daring to speak through fear of being discovered. He now repented of the many crimes he had committed, wished he had pursued a virtuous conduct, was sensible that those who had advised the measures he had followed were his greatest enemies, and had constantly in his mouth the following words, from the tragedy in which he had last acted, "My father, mother, and wife, doom me to destruction." As those who attended him were constantly soliciting and importuning him to prevent, by a voluntary death, the dangers that threatened him, he at last ordered his grave to be dug, and wood and water to be provided for washing and burning his body, lamenting while he gave these orders in a manner altogether unmanly, and often repeating, with many sighs and tears, "What an artist will the world lose."

The news of Nero's flight filled the city with joy; the senate assembled early in the morning, and proclaimed Galba emperor; and, having taken the usual oaths to him, declared Nero an enemy to the state, and sentenced him to be stript naked, his head to be fastened in a pillory, and he in that posture to be whipt to death. One of Phaon's friends immediately dispatched a messenger to him with a letter, acquainting him with the transactions of the senate. With tears in his eyes, he desired that some of his attendants would by their example encourage him to die with resolution and intrepidity. But none of them showed the least inclination to animate him at the expense of their own lives. At last, drawing one of his daggers, he put it to his throat; but his heart failing him, he beg-

ged Epaphroditus, his freedman and secretary, to lend him his assistance ; which he did with great reluctance. Before he was quite dead, the centurion sent by the senate to apprehend him, entered the room ; and pretending he was come to his relief, endeavoured to stop the blood. Nero gave him no other answer, but " It is too late ; Is this your fidelity and allegiance ? " with which words he expired, his eyes staring in a frightful manner, and ready to start out of his head, to the great terror and amazement of all who were present. His death being certain, the joy of the Roman people was so great and universal, that they ran up and down the streets with such caps on their heads as were worn by the manumitted slaves, congratulating one another upon their deliverance from so hard a bondage ; overturned and dashed in pieces most of Nero's statues, and put to death as many of his friends as fell into their hands. The only things which Nero, on dying, earnestly requested of his attendants, was, that his head might not be cut off, and that his body might be burnt entire. This last favour was granted by Icelus, one of Galba's freedmen ; but his ashes were left to be gathered and deposited in the monument of his family by his concubine Aste, and two females who had taken care of him in his early days. Such was the end of " the enemy and fury of mankind," as Pliny calls Nero. He perished A. D. 68, in the thirty-first year of his age, after a dishonoured reign of nearly fourteen years ; and in him was verified the maxim, " When the wicked die, there is shouting."

In no part of the empire, during the latter most hateful and wretched period of Nero's reign, was the Roman power, it would appear, remarkably opposed, except in Britain and Judea ; in the former the resistance was most powerful, in the latter, most obstinate.

The Roman governor Aulus Didius, the successor of Ostorius, in vain attempted to support the infamous female chief Cartismandua, who had betrayed her people, and occasioned the destruction of their admired leader Caractacus. His fall was revenged by Venusius, the Briton, who was his worthy successor in leading the army against the troops of Cartismandua and the Romans. The Britons were victorious, and expelled the treacherous queen from her kingdom ; and the Romans, for several years, were scarcely able to maintain their conquests in Britain. But A. D. 61 was rendered memorable by at once a terrible proof to the inhabitants of the worthless

ness of their religion, and of the tremendous strength of the Roman arms. The island of Mona or Anglesey was the residence of the arch-druid, and the asylum of all the principal enemies of the Romans. It was invaded by Paulinus Suetonius. He found the native army prepared to receive him; and its dreadful aspect confounded his soldiers, who, for a short space, stood powerless, as marks to the arrows of their opponents. Among the latter, the Romans were astonished to see the women, in funeral apparel, running like furies along the ranks with lighted torches, while woods deemed sacred, altars burning, and multitudes of druids standing with uplifted hands denouncing the vengeance of Heaven on the invaders of their mysteries, exceedingly augmented the horrors of the scene. The Roman soldiers resumed their courage, rushed on the enemy, put to the sword or dispersed the terrific multitude, demolished the groves and altars, and burnt to death the druids in their own hallowed fires.

While Suetonius remained with his troops in Mona, the chiefs of the kingdoms of Britain cast off the Roman yoke, which had long dreadfully oppressed them. The various tribes were led by the celebrated Boadicea, widow of Prasutægus, late king of the Iconi, who had left the emperor joint-heir with his daughters of his kingdom. The Roman officers, instead of protecting his family insulted them, and plundered their dominions. They answered the widow's remonstrances by beating her with rods, and violating her daughters in her presence. She sought revenge by attacking the Roman colony of Camolodum, the modern Malden, a town in Essex. Her army laid in ashes and destroyed all the infantry of the ninth legion. "Suetonius flew to the assistance of his countrymen, and soon succeeded in bringing the Britons to a general action on open ground, where their superiority in point of numbers was of little avail against discipline and science. They were defeated with prodigious slaughter, whilst the victors, by their own account, lost only five hundred men. The disproportion was doubtless great; but this is probably an exaggeration in both directions. The Britons seem to have fought gallantly, though not successfully; and hence the historian says, that 'the glory won on that day was equal to that of the most renowned victories of the ancient Romans,' a statement inconsistent with the notion that it had been either easily or cheaply purchased. Boadicea ended her miseries by taking poison." Suetonius thus

re-established the power of the Romans in Britain. He was soon after recalled, and his successors for several years permitted the native princes to reign in peace. The Romans had to endure and overcome a much fiercer contest in Judea than even in Britain.

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE ROMAN EMPIRE TRIUMPHANT—CONTINUED.

#### DESTRUCTION OF THE JEWISH NATION BY THE ROMANS.

THE Jews were now a race of beasts of prey rather than the humble worshippers of the God of heaven. They had shed the blood of their Messiah, and everywhere thirsted for the blood of his followers; and under the Satanic influence, which they preferred to the wisdom of God announced by the Apostles, they hurried on to ruin, dreadful beyond what was ever endured by an intelligent and reflecting, or indeed by any organised nation on the face of the earth. They had been for thirty years the most violent, resolute, and persevering opponents of the army appointed by Christ to establish and extend the kingdom of righteousness, peace and joy, which they and their fathers had long expected, and had been chosen by God to receive and protect. Truly it was just that inexpressible wrath came on them, that all nations might know that Jehovah had exalted his Son Lord of all, and would put all his enemies under his feet.

The Jews had been long going on to a state of anarchy before Albinus was sent to govern them. The law respecting the office of high-priest was disregarded. King Agrippa, to whom the Romans committed the care of the temple, appointed to the office any unqualified person whom he conceived would pursue measures acceptable to him, and the Roman governor of Syria, and the procurator of Judea. Depositions were frequent; and as every one who had once been high priest always retained the title, the number was now considerable. These were rivals for power and wealth, and divided the people into parties, and all of them devoured the tithes appropriate to the whole race of priests, who consequently were oppressed by poverty, and rendered contemptible in the eyes of the people. Of the high-priests, Ananias was by far the richest, and at the same time the most avari-



cious. He by presents secured the favor of Albinus and Jesus, who recently had been made high-priest, so that he was permitted to rob the priesthood without dread of punishment. Many of the basest of the people were employed by him to carry away from even the threshing-floors of the priests the tithes which they had collected, and not unfrequently to assault and maltreat the servants who opposed them. Other high-priests imitated him. The consequence was that the families of the priests were left destitute, and some of them died from want of food. Thus the natural protectors of the people lost all civil and moral influence, and the law ceased to be respected. The Sicarii and other murderers and robbers multiplied, became more daring in deeds of wickedness and blood, and spread terror and desolation over the whole country. Albinus endeavoured to restore order and peace, by sending his soldiers against the Sicarii and other depredators, and a number of their leaders were made prisoners. This roused them to direct all their efforts to spoil those whom he protected in their wickedness. Thus they entered the city by night just before one of the great festivals, when it was filled with strangers. They took Eleazar, the son of Ananias, who was scribe to the governor of the temple, prisoner; and only released him when his father had prevailed on Albinus to liberate ten of their number, whom his soldiers had taken captive. They persevered to seize successively the servants of Ananias, and retain them till they procured in exchange some of their own number who had fallen into the hands of the Romans. While this profligate race were united to prey on the rich, the chief men, particularly the high-priests, were completely divided, calumniated by one another, and sometimes gathered their respective dependants, and raised tumults in the city, stoning one another. The Levites, or inferior ministers of the temple, on observing the degradation of the priests, imagined that they were at least their equals. Ambitious of honour, they petitioned king Agrippa to assemble the sanhedrim, and grant them liberty to wear the dress of the priests. He complied with their wishes, utterly contemning the law of Moses, which, as Josephus observes, was never transgressed by his people without punishment being inflicted on the nation.

Agrippa, who had always been the friend of the Jews, and highly esteemed by them, unhappily subverted his authority, by publicly showing his eager desire to please the Romans. He enlarged and adorned Cesarea Philippi, and, in honour

of Nero, named it Neronias. He erected a magnificent theatre at Berytus, raised statues and images, and introduced the various forms of Roman games and amusements which he proposed should be renewed every year.

Thus all those whom the people had been accustomed to respect made themselves odious in their eyes, and they were as sheep without a shepherd, while they cherished the deepest seated hatred of the Romans who tyrannised over them. What, therefore, but revolt, insurrection, civil war or utter ruin, could, in their circumstances, be looked for by the Jewish nation? These calamities, in their most fearful aspect, had been predicted by the Lord Jesus, to transpire during the very generation who had unjustly put him to the most ignominious and agonising death, and whom he also foretold should persecute to death the faithful ambassadors, prophets, teachers, and disciples, who were about to appear among them.

When Albinus, after two years, was recalled from the government, before leaving Judea, he put to death all prisoners whom he deemed to merit this punishment; and dismissed the rest, on receiving from them more or less money. This conduct of the governor, doubtless, increased the number of the lawless. Another event had the same wretched result. The building of the courts of the temple was now finished, according to the plan of Herod the Great, and about eighteen thousand men were thrown idle. The treasures laid up for these workmen, however, were not exhausted. Those who were solicitous for the peace of the land implored Agrippa to expend these treasures on the workmen, and employ them in rebuilding the eastern cloisters, which, in Solomon's temple rose from a deep valley. The king declined their request, for he said, that there seemed no necessity for such a work; but they might, if they pleased, pave the streets of the city with white stone. Of the great number of men thus left without labour and means of subsistence for themselves and family, many joined the banditti that covered the country, and contributed to dissolve the bonds of society. Nor was Gessius Florus, the successor of Albinus, the man either qualified or disposed to rescue the nation from impending evils, or even to mitigate those already felt, and by every benevolent heart deplored. The government of Albinus had been most iniquitous; he countenanced, according to Josephus, every kind of wickedness to the extent that he could make it subservient to procure wealth. But his most unjust and cruel deeds were

conducted secretly or under the specious form of Roman law. He was not destitute of moral principle and feeling, but these were suppressed by his evil propensities and habits. He might, however, be pronounced a good ruler compared with Florus, who gloried in wickedness, and exulted in human misery. Florus neither regarded popular applause nor popular disapprobation. He feasted on the calamities of the community, and seemed studious to discover and adopt every plan by which he might produce or increase them. He was the chief author of the complete destruction of the Jewish nation, whose unparalleled wickedness deprived them of the protection of the God of their fathers, and provoked him to inflict on them his just vengeance, and deliver them up to the will and power of all who sought to promote their own imaginary interest by their accumulated miseries. Florus, like Albinus, was an adept in the arts of deceit and dissimulation; but he practised these, not to conceal, but to accomplish his mischievous purposes and devices, when these could not be easily effected by policy or power. To procure wealth was obviously the entire object of his government. The spoiling individuals of their goods was a trivial matter in his eyes; he employed every possible device or means to obtain possession of the whole treasures of the nation; no society, no city, village, house, or the temple itself, was secure from his rapacity. To escape absolute poverty or death, no alternative remained but voluntary exile; and accordingly "many fled into foreign lands." No one had courage to express the least dissatisfaction with his government. The chief men would not risk his displeasure by appealing to his superior, Gallus Cestius, governor of Syria, till that noble Roman arrived in Jerusalem about the time of the festival of the Passover. Millions from all countries were assembled in the city, and joined the citizens in petitioning Cestius to compassionate the nation, and investigate the government of Florus. The latter jested and laughed on hearing the accusation brought against him; and the former merely assured them that he would not fail to see that their governor should rule more gently. From this time Florus, it is said, resolved to provoke the Jews to revolt, that he might prevent them from appealing to the emperor; and the infatuated people soon gave him opportunity to execute his malignant design. The immediate occasion of the final war of his nation, the Jewish historian justly remarks, "was by no means proportionate to the calamities which it brought upon us."

Poppæa, the empress, and the friend of the Jews, was probably dead before Nero finally decided the cause laid before him by the citizens of Cesarea. The Greeks and Syrians claimed the exclusive privilege of governing the city, because it belonged not originally to the Jews. On their claims being allowed, they, by various ways, insulted and abused their opponents. The property of a Greek closely adjoined the synagogue of the Jews; they had frequently offered to purchase it at a price much more than its real value; he not only declined to sell it, but, in order to expose them to reproach, or treat their religion with contempt, raised additional buildings, so that they had scarcely an entrance left into their sacred edifice. To irritate them the more, the Greek turned his new buildings into working shops. The Jews applied to Florus, and gave him eight talents, on receiving his promise to cause to be removed what they deemed a nuisance, and by which they were constantly in danger of being polluted. He, however, left the city without interfering farther in the affair. On the next sabbath, while the Jews were assembling for public worship, an idolater placed an earthen vessel at the gate of the synagogue, and offered on it a sacrifice of birds, the kind of offering prescribed for a leper. This he most probably did to denote that they were what pagan historians said their fathers in Egypt were,—a nation of lepers. The Jews were enraged above measure, for they were at once exposed to universal ridicule and contempt, and their holy place was defiled. The reflecting Jews entreated their brethren to restrain their anger, and refer their cause to the governor; but the young despised all council, and many Greeks being spectators, an alarming tumult ensued, which was with difficulty quelled by Jocundus, the master of the horse. The principal Jews immediately carried the sacred books to Nabata, a place distant from Cesarea about sixty furlongs. Twelve of their number, with John the publican, applied to Florus for redress, and mildly reminded him of the eight talents. He instantly ordered them to be imprisoned, that they might answer for the crime of removing the sacred books from Cesarea. Instead of adopting means to restore the peace of that city, this unjust ruler sent some of his servants to demand the Jews of Jerusalem to send him seventeen talents out of the sacred treasury. This demand immediately following the report of the sufferings of their brethren in Cesarea, roused the indignation of the whole community. All ranks rushed to the temple, and called on Cesar by name to

remove from them the tyrant Florus. Some of the most violent and turbulent of the people, loudly reviling the governor, took baskets, and begged the multitude to give the smallest sum to relieve him from the abject poverty which he was enduring. He no sooner learned the state of Jerusalem, than he proceeded thither with an army. Desirous of putting him to shame, or of conciliating his favour, the Jews left the city, and welcomed the soldiers with acclamations. He repelled them, and declared that nothing could avert his anger till they delivered up those who dared to revile him. The next day, he summoned to his tribunal the high-priests and chief men, and renewed the demand. They replied that it was impossible to distinguish the guilty from the innocent, from the greatness of the multitude, and their tumultuous conduct; and that they hoped he would forgive the few unknown, who had been guilty, for the sake of the many who were innocent. Provoked by their boldness, he, with a loud voice ordered his soldiers to plunder the upper market-place, and slay every one whom they met. Some citizens escaped by the narrow lanes, but many were slain, and not a few innocent and peaceable persons, men, women, children, and even infants, were made prisoners, and, being brought before Florus, were whipped and crucified. This mode of punishment, contrary to the Roman law, was inflicted on Jews who held the rank of Roman knights. On this day about three thousand six hundred were put to death without form of law.

This dreadful scene excited the sympathy of Bernice, the sister of Agrippa; and in his absence she sent his principal officers to entreat Florus to make the soldiers desist from slaughtering the poor and helpless people. He disregarded her intercession; and she only escaped the sword of the murderers by hastily taking refuge in her palace. Josephus informs us that Bernice was at this time performing a vow at Jerusalem, and that she in vain stood barefoot before the procurator's tribunal imploring him to spare the Jews. On the morning after the massacre, the multitude, agonized in spirit, hurried on with one consent to the place where their friends had fallen victims to the infuriated and brutish soldiers, and filled the atmosphere with their lamentations. The greater number, forgetful of their situation, loudly execrated the name of their sanguinary governor. The high-priests and others of influence were exceedingly alarmed. Rendering their garments, they prostrated themselves before the peo-

ple, and entreated them to restrain their grief and resentment, for their conduct would assuredly provoke the governor to punish them with still greater severity. Their counsels restored apparent tranquillity. This, however, if we credit the Jewish historian, suited not the policy of Florus Gessius, who seemed determined to force the nation to war, or reduce them to bear silently his most unjust and oppressive measures. He ordered the high-priests and chief men to receive his instructions. Never did a governor discover more diabolical intentions. He could not possibly adopt a plan more fitted to inflame the indignation of the community than that which he pursued. He declared that he would receive no pledge for the submission of the people till they should proceed from the city, and joyfully welcome two cohorts of soldiers, who were expected from Cesarea. The party, already strongly inclined to cast off the Roman yoke, most reluctantly submitted to their chief men, who strongly urged the multitude to comply with this extraordinary demand. No argument would have prevailed on them to humble themselves before those whom they hated, had not the whole company of priests and levites carried out of the temple the sacred vessels, dresses, and instruments of music, and, throwing themselves on the ground, earnestly besought the assembled multitude to obey, as the only means left them to prevent the Romans from seizing these holy treasures. In the meantime, Florus sent orders to the officers of the bands to pay no attention to the salutation of the Jews, and if they at all spoke disrespectful of him, immediately to fall upon them and destroy them. The Jews met the soldiers, and courteously addressed them; but when their salutations were not returned, the most violent and seditious of the people bitterly reproached Florus. The soldiers, obedient to their superiors, instantly struck the people indiscriminately with their clubs, and, when they fled, pursued them, and made their horses trample on them. Both parties now hastened to enter the city and reach the temple. All the inhabitants were in motion; many, from the housetops, threw darts at the Romans: and the soldiers were repelled. The Jews secured the temple, and, lest their opponents should attack it from Antonia, by getting on the cloisters, which connected that fortress with the holy edifice, they quickly cast down the cloisters. Having failed to obtain possession of the temple, which was most probably the chief object of his unreasonable and barbarous conduct, Florus perhaps considered that he was not safe in the city. He sent for

the chief men, and proposed to leave a large garrison to protect them, on condition that they would preserve the people in obedience to the laws. They promised obedience, if he removed from the city those soldiers who had shed the blood of the citizens.

When the Jewish rulers understood that Florus had reported to Cestius that the nation was in a state of revolt, they delayed not to undeceive the Syrian governor; for they could not otherwise hope to avoid civil war, and almost certain destruction. They represented the conduct of Florus, and some of them expressed to Cestius their wish that he should send an army to destroy wholly the party in the nation who abhorred the Romans, and longed for the national independence. Cestius commissioned Neopolitanus, a tribune, and one of his friends, to ascertain the real state of Judea. The tribune first consulted with Agrippa, who had just returned from Egypt, where he had sojourned a short time. They met at Jamnia, where the principal Jews visited Agrippa, and persuaded him to request Neopolitanus to pass through Jerusalem secretly, accompanied with only one servant; for by this means he would, they said, learn that the Jews were not opposed to the Romans, but to Florus Galus. The tribune followed the counsel of Agrippa, and being satisfied that the nation were not rebellious, he ascended the temple, joined its worship, and addressed the multitude, praised them for their fidelity to the Romans, and exhorted them to live in peace.

The Jews applied to Agrippa for liberty to send an embassy to Nero to accuse their cruel governor. He disapproved of this proposal, and, knowing that many were disposed for war, he called the multitude to meet him in a large gallery over the palace of the Asmoneans, and delivered a long address, designed to convince them of the utter folly and hopelessness of any attempt to deliver themselves from the Roman yoke. This discourse, as related by Josephus, is replete with important information of the vast power and extent of the Roman empire, and amply attests at once that few princes could excel him in knowledge and political wisdom, or sincere regard for the nation of the Jews. His powerful eloquence for the time produced the most happy effect. Under the direction of king Agrippa and his sister Bernice, the people commenced the re-building of the cloisters, and the Jews collected forty talents to pay the tribute due to the Romans.

Agrippa's popularity, however, speedily vanished. When he ventured to urge the people to obey Florus, and patiently

wait for the governor who was expected to succeed him, they not only reproached their counsellor as a servile instrument of their oppressors, but the most turbulent put his life in hazard by casting stones at him, and compelled him to depart from the city. In these circumstances, Agrippa requested Florus to appoint an officer to receive the tribute, and proceeded to his own kingdom. Now all attempts of inferior rulers were ineffectual to restrain the fury of the insurgents. Few places escaped their ravages. Their power quickly spread every where, like the inundation of the Euphrates or the Nile. The citizens were completely divided into parties; one, much the smallest, but the richest, were disposed, at great sacrifices, to preserve the peace; the others were resolved to encounter the power of Rome.

Eleazar, son of Ananias the high-priest, was at this time governor of the temple. He was a young man of impetuous passions, and belonged to the party whose conduct justified the accusation frequently brought against the Jews, that they were the enemies of mankind. By his advice, the ministers of the temple passed a law that they should receive no gift or sacrifice from any foreigner; and, acting on this law, they refused to offer the sacrifices presented by the Romans. This regulation may be viewed as a public declaration of war against the empire; it was, Josephus remarks, "the true beginning of our war with the Romans." This, said the men of peace, was contrary to the practice of our forefathers in all past ages, but their voice was not heard; and for them no hope remained, unless they could reduce the innovators by force. They accordingly sent messengers to Agrippa and Florus, earnestly beseeching them to bring an army into the city, and destroy the insurgents before they had urged the whole nation to revolt. Their message was treated with contempt by the Roman procurator; and Agrippa sent only about three thousand horsemen, commanded by Darius, the master of his horse, and Philip, the general of his army. Aided by this force, the high-priests and chief men seized the upper city, and endeavoured to expel their opponents from the lower city and temple. Each party maintained its place for several days, and not few citizens and soldiers were slain. On the eighth, which was a festival day, the Roman party were not permitted to join in the religious service; and their opponents, being joined by many of the Sicarii, attacked them with such violence and fury that they were driven out of the upper city. The insurgents then set on fire the pala



ces of the high-priest, Agrippa, and Bernice, and the depository of the archives of the city, in order that creditors should have no means of enforcing payment from their debtors. Many saved their lives by escaping under the protection of the soldiers who took refuge in the palace of the governor, and others by concealing themselves in vaults or unknown places in the city. After two days, the garrison of Antonia were overpowered, and the citadel burnt. The palace was next assaulted, but the soldiers repelled their enemies and slew many of them.

Massada, a very strong fortress, seated on a mountain not far from the western shore of the Dead Sea, had, by treachery, fallen into the hands of the insurgents. It contained the armoury of Herod, and from this Manahem procured arms for a number of persons, whom he had prevailed on to support his presumptuous pretensions to royal power. He was the son of Judas named the Galilean, who raised the insurrection against the government of the procurator Cyrenius. Manahem, whose followers became his guard, returned from Massada to Jerusalem, with all the show and magnificence of a king, placed himself at the head of the enemies of the Romans, and gave orders to continue the siege of the royal palace. It seems to have been defended by three towers, Hippicus, Phasaelus, and Mariamne. The soldiers, on finding themselves incapable of long resistance, requested of the besiegers liberty to withdraw with their arms from the contest. Their request was granted: but Manahem and his guards basely killed a number of them. The usual keepers of the palace, now in despair, took refuge in the towers.

Manahem, supposing himself already conqueror, assumed the power of a tyrant, and exceedingly irritated the multitude. These, roused to indignation by Eleazar, a kinsman of the mock king, and his rival for power, violently assaulted him as he ascended to the temple to worship, arrayed in royal garments and accompanied by an armed guard. He fled, but was soon taken, and after being barbarously tortured, was put to death. The Romans shut up in the towers, desired to capitulate, and terms were agreed on, and confirmed by the oath of the besiegers. They had, however, no sooner left the palace and laid down their shields, than Eleazar ordered his most zealous adherents to surround them; they were all slain except the captain, who saved his life by promising to become a proselyte and submit to circumcision.

These most treacherous and sanguinary deeds were per-

formed on the Sabbath, and were regarded with horror and grief by all the citizens who were not utterly destitute of religious or moral principle and feeling. And it is remarkable, and appeared the just retribution of Heaven, that on this very Sabbath, Cesarea exhibited one of the most horrid scenes of civil contentions and sufferings ever inflicted on the Jews. The years of strife between them and the idolaters in that city came to an end. In one hour about twenty thousand Jews were killed, and many were made prisoners by the Romans, and sent by Florus in chains to the galleys. No Jew was permitted to remain in Cesarea. This event produced despair over the whole nation, the people everywhere rose against the Romans, divided themselves into bands, and destroyed or laid waste every city inhabited by Greeks, Syrians, or Romans. Great and dreadful was the slaughter of the inhabitants; nor were the number of Jews few who fell in this frightful contest. It was common to see cities filled with dead bodies, the aged, females, children, and infants, lying unburied, exposed for a prey to the fowls of heaven. In all places where the Jews were the feeblest party, many thousands of them were indiscriminately put to death; nor were those of them who joined their pagan fellow citizens in defending them against the revenge and rage of the insurgents always spared. Thus when Scythopolis was besieged, the Jews who united with the other citizens were suspected of treachery, and forced to withdraw from the city to an adjacent grove. These, after some days, when many of them were asleep, and all of them in no apprehension of danger, were suddenly attacked by their fellow-citizens, who slew about thirteen thousand, and took possession of all their property. Gerassa, near the lake Tiberias, Antioch the capitol of Syria, Apamea, and Sidon, were apparently the only cities in which the Jews were allowed to live in peace, because they were not so numerous as to excite the fears of the idolaters. Conspiracies were also formed to destroy all the Jews in the kingdom of Agrippa, in Syria, and Egypt. They were the enemies of all men, and it is not, therefore, surprising that throughout the empire they were threatened with entire and universal destruction.

The Jews being everywhere in arms, Cestius, the Roman governor of Syria, delayed no longer to invade Judea. He was joined by Agrippa and his army. The Roman forces were first employed in the conquest of Galilee. On approaching Zebulon, a strong, beautiful, and rich city, the inhabitants

fled to the mountains. The soldiers plundered and burnt it ; and then traversed the province, set on fire the villages, and desolated the country, and proceeded through Ptolemais to Cesarea. Sepphoris, the strongest city of Galilee, had hitherto escaped the sword of the Romans. Gallus, commander of the twelfth legion, was sent against it with a force believed sufficient to reduce it and all Galilee. The citizens, in general, received him with joyful acclamations, and the disaffected fled to the mountain Asamon, in the vicinity. The Romans pursued them, slew several thousands, and dispersed the rest. Cestius sent another division of his army to capture Joppa. They easily succeeded, for the citizens were unprepared, and had no dread of an attack. It was plundered and burnt, and more than eight thousand citizens were slain. A third band were sent to spoil and lay waste Nabatene, the name of the district which bordered on Cesarea. The villages were burnt, and multitudes of the people were put to death.

Cestius, probably by the severity of his measures, at the opening of his campaign, designed to terrify the Jews into a speedy submission. The future brief history of his proceedings, however, seem to show that he was as destitute of military skill and daring courage as he was of generosity and compassion. Josephus, indeed, questions neither his wisdom nor fortitude, notwithstanding his neglect to improve the opportunity afforded him to acquire possession of Jerusalem, and put an end to the war ; but ascribes it wholly to the aversion of God to his own city and temple, which he had irrevocably purposed to destroy, on account of the wickedness of the chosen people. It must, nevertheless, not be forgotten that He accomplishes his counsels by appropriate instruments and means ; and he makes the feebleness and even wickedness of intelligent agents, as well as their superior talents and most deserving deeds, subservient to perform his pleasure, when they neither know nor respect his secret designs.

When Florus considered Galilee secure to the Romans, he returned with his troops to Cesarea. Cestius immediately called in his other troops, and led his whole army to Jerusalem. On reaching Antipatris, he sent a band to reduce Aphek, an adjacent tower, in which a great body of Jews had taken refuge. These quickly fled, and the soldiers set fire to the tower and some villages. Marching on to Lydda, he found it almost empty, the citizens having gone to the capital to observe the festival of tabernacles. Of those who remained, he put fifty to death, and destroyed the city by fire.

Thence he advanced to Bethhoron, said to have stood about twelve miles north of Jerusalem, about fifty furlongs from which he encamped his army, according to the Jewish historian, in a place named Gabao. The report of his progress alarmed the immense multitude assembled in the capital. The approach of this army was among the many awful signs that God had forsaken them. For he had predicted and promised that their land would never be invaded or spoiled by an enemy during their observance of the national festivals, while they faithfully served him. And their fathers had experienced the truth of his word. Their land had, however, been long a prey, at all seasons, to internal and foreign enemies; for they had, as a nation, wholly departed from the True God. Though the news reached them on the Sabbath, they, regardless of its sacredness, tumultuously gathered together, and rushed out of the city to meet the enemy. They suddenly fell on the Romans, breaking through their ranks, and slaying many; but the front of the Jewish army were cut off. The Romans, notwithstanding, retired, and were pursued by a band of the insurgents, led by Simon, son of Giora. These harassed the troops as they ascended to Bethhoron, spoiled the army of many weapons of war and cattle, and boldly took possession of the heights of the city, and watched the Romans, determined to attack them if they ventured to renew their march.

Simon's band appeared to have received great accessions. Agrippa, observing the multitude, sent Borceus and Phebus, persons best known to them, to prevail on them to submit to Cestius, who was disposed to forgive them if they laid down their arms. The most violent were indignant, and, lest the ambassadors should be heard by the multitude, they killed Phebus, and compelled Borceus to flee for his life. Their lawless conduct provoked the people, and by clubs and stones forced the murderers to seek an asylum in the city. The confusion and disorder of the Jews encouraged Cestius to lead his army against them. They were scattered, and pursued to the metropolis; and, on arriving within seven furlongs of it, he pitched his camp at Scopus, a name signifying a watch-tower. Three succeeding days many of his soldiers were employed in collecting provisions, from the surrounding country, and on the fourth he conducted his army into the city. Their good order was agreeable to the greater numbers of the people, who longed for peace, but were restrained from expressing their wishes by the leaders of the revolt, whose fierce will

was law. These were terrified by the presence of the well-disciplined troops, and withdrew to the suburbs, the inner-parts of the city, and the temple. Cestius ordered the new division of the city, called Bezetha or Cenopolis, and the wooden market, to be set on fire, and then advanced to the upper city, and encamped opposite the royal palace. Had he instantly scaled the inner-walls, nothing seemed to prevent him from capturing the whole, and finishing the war; but from this he is said to have been dissuaded by Tyrannius, master of the horse, and other officers, who were believed to have sold themselves to Florus Gessius. He even declined to enter the city, although invited by Ananias and others of the chief men, who proposed to open the gates to admit him, for he suspected their fidelity. Their plan was soon known to the seditious or war party, who, in revenge, cast Ananias and some others over the walls, and forced the rest of his party to return to their houses. The walls were now defended for five days; but, on the sixth, the Romans, protected by besieging engines, proceeded to undermine the wall, and prepared to burn the gates of the temple. The seditious seemed panic-struck, and many of them hastily fled from the city. On this occasion the peaceably disposed summoned courage, and assembled to throw the gates of the city open; but Cestius appeared to have had already resolved, without any known cause, to raise the siege; "it was, I suppose," remarks Josephus, "owing to God's hatred of the city and sanctuary, that he hindered the war from being concluded that day."

Cestius, perhaps, despaired of being able to conquer the city, or he was ignorant of the power and designs of those who desired peace. But, whatever was his motive, he led his army out of the city, and lost many horsemen and infantry, for they were pursued on their retreat by the boldest and must cruel of the insurgents, till they reached Scopus. On the following day, he continued the retreat, and sustained a still greater loss, for the number who hung on the rear of the army increased in proportion as the Romans displayed a comparatively feeble resistance. In obedience to their general, they killed the mules and cattle, and cast away every thing that retarded their retreat, except their arms and instruments of war. In the narrow passages they suffered dreadfully; the whole army were covered with the darts of the pursuers; and would have been made prisoners had not night come on and safety been found in entering Bethhoron. Cestius, by leaving four hundred to defend this city, succeeded in deceiv

ing the insurgents, who watched on the heights. With the whole army, he advanced, during night, to Antipatris. His troops, astonished and terrified, left on the road the most necessary engines and weapons of war. These fell into the hands of the enemy, who, on learning next day their flight, pursued them to Antipatris; then they returned in triumph to Jerusalem, loaded with spoil, having slain nearly six thousand Roman soldiers.

By this great and unexpected victory, the seditious, or desperate war party, acquired the entire ascendancy in the nation, and all ranks seemed to unite in renouncing the Roman authority. The principal men agreed to divide among themselves the government of the country, and prepare for defending it against all foreign power. Joseph, son of Gorion, and Ananias, the high-priest, were appointed over Jerusalem; Josephus, the historian, who was one of the most patriotic of the priests, was set over Upper and Lower Galilee; and Eleazar, the chief of those who had defeated Cestius, was made governor of Idumea. This arrangement appearing to expel all hope of peace, those who disapproved of the revolt deserted Jerusalem, "as mariners escape from their sinking vessel." Many of the most eminent Jews passed over to the Romans and joined Cestius, who probably had gone to Antioch, but of whose future life we know nothing, except that he retired from the contest, either from being disgusted with the treachery of Florus, or from despair of reducing the Jews, whose conduct sufficiently showed at once implacable enmity to the Romans and utter recklessness of their own lives. The last notice of Cestius is, that he sent several of the Jewish chiefs to Nero, while he was in Greece, to report the state of Judea, and to account for his own defeat by ascribing it to the pernicious counsels of Florus, who had seduced his officers, and roused the fiercest wrath and indignation of the Jews by his injustice and cruelty.

It was at this time also that, according to tradition, the Christians removed from Jerusalem to Pella, a small city on the east of the Jordan. From the numerous signs predicted by the Lord in Matt. xxiv. of the approaching destruction of the holy city, probably few of them were in it when Cestius stationed his troops within the walls. And as their standards exhibited images of idols, named in sacred writ *abomination*, if any Christian actually witnessed the scene, he, doubtless, would no longer remain, remembering the solemn admonition of their Master, "When ye shall see the abomination a

desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, stand in the holy place, (whoso readeth, let him understand,) then let them which be in Judea flee into the mountains; let him which is on the house-top not come down to take any thing out of his house; neither let him which is in the field return back to take his clothes. And woe unto them that are with child, and to them that give suck, in those days!" A Christian congregation continued in Pella for a considerable time, and were safe, for the war extended not to that district.

The Jewish people were now not less resolved and zealous to emancipate themselves from Rome than their most patriotic leaders. This is plain from Josephus's narrative of his administration of Galilee, of which he has given a minute statement in the Second Book of the Jewish War. He very quickly strengthened all the fortifications, and built new ones, and raised an army of more than sixty thousand men, besides a number of horsemen. And it is most probable that he might have easily increased his forces, for one half of the male inhabitants fit for battle, of every city, by mutual consent, became soldiers, and the others continued to cultivate the country. In Jerusalem, the rulers most diligently laboured in repairing the walls and fortified places, and in making warlike instruments. The situation and circumstance were sufficient to stimulate their warlike zeal; for they not only knew that the Romans would not long leave them in peace, but that their temporary triumph had roused the envy and revenge of the Syrians. The natives of Damascus were especially enraged on learning the defeat of Cestius. The men had long cherished aversion to their Jewish fellow-citizens, on account of their success in proselytising their wives to their religion; almost all of them had renounced idol-worship. By some manœuvre of the men of Damascus, they shut up the Jews unarmed in a narrow and concealed place, and, without the knowledge of their wives or daughters, in one hour, cut the throats of ten thousand, as so many sheep killed for the market. Critical, however, as was the position of the Jews, they were so elated by their recent victory that they imagined themselves qualified for the most heroic exploits. Accordingly, a considerable number of their bravest warriors marched to Askelon, one of the strongest cities of Palestine. They had no doubt that the gates would be opened to them; for its garrison consisted only of one cohort of foot, and one troop of horse. But their captain, Antonius, was an accomplished soldier; he boldly met them, and, after an obstinate contest of

many hours, completely overthrew them, slaying ten thousand, among whom were two commanders, John and Silas. The only other general, Niger, was among the great number who were wounded; but he and a few of his men were enabled to flee to Sallis, an Idumean city.

A still greater calamity fell on the Jews even before the Romans renewed the war under Vespasian, whom Nero commissioned to succeed Florus Gessius in the government of Judea. The seeming union of the Jews was early dissolved, and the whole nation was torn in pieces by fierce contending factions. Josephus was opposed in every useful measure by John, a poor native of the city of Gischala, whom he had raised to power in consequence of the superior talents which he appeared to possess. This demagogue acquired great influence, which he displayed entirely for personal aggrandisement, the defamation of every person of worth, and the destruction of all lawful authority and power. Simon, son of Gorion, despising the authorities of Jerusalem and Idumea, lived by plunder, and took possession of many strong places and villages; and survived Ananias and all other chiefs who attempted to capture him and destroy his army of plunderers and murderers.

Vespasian was one of the most eminent generals of the age, renowned for great and successful military enterprises in Germany and Britain. On arriving in Antioch, the metropolis of Syria, he was joined by Agrippa, and was gratified by receiving an embassy from Sepphoris, the strongest city of Galilee, the possession of which was, next to Jerusalem itself, a security for the fidelity of the Jewish nation. The messengers gave in their adhesion to the Romans, and claimed, of course, their protection. Josephus attempted its reduction, but was repulsed. A powerful army had accompanied Vespasian from Greece, and he had sent his son Titus to Egypt, to bring from that country to Ptolemais two additional legions. On receiving this augmentation to his forces, in the beginning of A. D. 68, he marched into Galilee, and soon captured the fine city of Gadara, the capital of Peraea, seated near the Lake of Tiberias. He next besieged Jotapa, a city of Lower Galilee, which was strong by nature and well fortified. Josephus ably defended it, and it was with difficulty captured. Dreadfully did the conqueror resent the opposition which he had met with; for he either massacred or sold into captivity almost all its inhabitants, forty thousand of whom are said to have been killed or massacred, and only



twelve hundred made prisoners. Among these was the commander Josephus, who says that he owed his life to his prediction that Vespasian would be speedily emperor. He was evidently a man of political sagacity, and might, from his knowledge of the state of the empire and the popularity of the conqueror in the army, believe it so probable that he should attain the supreme power, that he might endeavour to save his life by the only means in his power, which was to strengthen the ambition of him on whose will his life depended, by the most flattering prospects. The capture of Japha, after an obstinate siege, followed that of Jotapa, and all the men were put to death, and the women and children carried into captivity. This city, which lay near Jotapa, was chiefly reduced by Trajan, celebrated afterwards as a mighty conqueror and able sovereign of the empire. A week later, the Samaritans assembled on mount Gerizim, with a design, as it was believed, to oppose the Romans; but they were all put to the sword. Joppa fell the next victim; then Tarichea and Tiberias. After the reduction of these two places, all the other cities of Galilee submitted to the Romans, except those of Gischala and Gamala.

Vespasian at length led his troops from Cesarea, and employed them in laying waste the districts around Jerusalem, putting to death thousands of the inhabitants. On returning to Cesarea, the information received of the commotions and disorders which prevailed in Italy, Germany, and other countries in Europe, to which we shall avert in the next chapter, led his officers and army to proclaim him emperor, and their example was followed by the Romans in Egypt. He was also early acknowledged emperor by the Syrians, and Mutianus, their governor, accepted a commission from Vespasian to proceed, at the head of an army, to Italy, to enforce his claims to the sovereignty of Rome. He sent other officers to take possession of the provinces in the East, and in a very short time, his affairs were so prosperous that he hastened to follow Mutianus, leaving the subjugation of Judea to his noble son Titus, whom he ordered to lay siege to Jerusalem. Titus encamped before its walls A. D. 73, and, being more disposed to mercy than vengeance, he immediately sent offers of peace; but these were rejected. Upon which, Titus, resolving to give the assault, without delay ordered his men to raze the suburbs, cut down all the trees, and use the materials to raise platforms against the walls. Every thing was now carried on with invincible ardour; the Romans began

to play their engines against the city with all their might ; and it was by one of those that Jesus, the son of Ananus, who had so long foretold the destruction of the Jewish nation, was killed. Several years before the siege, Jesus had come up to Jerusalem from the country, to attend the festival of tabernacles, and became, as the people conceived, suddenly deranged. In tones most doleful, he ran through all the streets of the city, night and day, proclaiming, "woe to the city ! woe to the temple ! a voice from the corners, a voice against Jerusalem, a voice against the nations !" For years he continued to traverse the city daily, and on Sabbath and other festivals, his voice was louder and its sound more dismal, without becoming weakened or hoarse. What was still more surprising, neither threatenings nor even severe punishment could make him desist, or utter a groan or complaint, or any other words besides his awful woes, till he beheld the city actually besieged, when he cried out more loudly and fearfully than usual, "Woe also to myself !" In that instant he was killed by a stone thrown by the engine of the besiegers into the city. Other marvellous signs, which were predicted by our Lord, and distinctly admonished the Jews of their approaching ruin, were witnessed. In reference to these, the reader will find sufficient information given by Bishop Newton in Dissertation xviii. of his important work on the Divine Prophecies.

The Jews had likewise their machines upon the walls, which they plied with uncommon fury : these they had taken lately from Cestius, when he retired so shamefully from them ; but they were so ignorant of their use that they made little execution with them till they were better instructed by some Roman deserters : before this, their chief success was rather owing to their frequent sallies ; but the Roman legions, who had all their towers and machines before them, made terrible havoc. The least stones they threw were near an hundred weight ; and these they could throw the length of two stades, or two hundred and fifty paces, and with such a force, that they could still do mischief on those that stood at some distance behind them. Titus had reared three towers fifty cubits high on the terrace above mentioned ; one of which happening to fall in the middle of the night, greatly alarmed the Roman camp, who immediately ran to arms at the noise of it ; but Titus, upon knowing the cause, dismissed them, and caused it to be set up again. These towers being plated with iron, the Jews tried in vain to set fire to them, but

were at length forced to retire out of the reach of their shot ; by which the battering-rams were now at full liberty to play against the wall. A breach was soon made in it, at which the Romans entered ; and the Jews abandoning this last inclosure, retired behind the next. Titus marched close to the second wall, and plied his battering-rams against it so furiously, that one of the towers, which looked towards the north, gave a prodigious shake. The men who were in it made a signal to the Romans as if they would surrender ; and, at the same time, sent Simon notice to be ready to give them a warm reception. Titus, having discovered their stratagem, plied his work more furiously, whilst the Jews that were in the tower set it on fire and flung themselves into the flames. The tower being fallen, gave them an entrance into the second inclosure, five days after the gaining the first ; and Titus, who was bent on saving the city, would not suffer any part of the wall or streets to be demolished, which left the breach and lanes so narrow, that when his men were furiously repulsed by Simon, they had not room enough to make a quick retreat, so that there was a number of them killed in it. This oversight was quickly rectified, and the attack renewed with such vigour that the place was carried four days after their first repulse. The famine, raging in a terrible manner in the city, was soon followed by a pestilence ; and as these two dreadful judgments increased, so did the rage of the factious, who, by their intestine feuds, had destroyed such quantities of provision, that they were forced to prey upon the people with the most unheard of cruelty. They forced their houses, and, if they found any victuals in them, they butchered them for not apprising them of it ; and, if they found nothing but bare walls, which was almost everywhere the case, they put them to the most severe tortures, under pretence that they had some provision concealed. " I should," says Josephus, " undertake an impossible task were I to enter into a detail of all the cruelties of those impious wretches : it will be sufficient to say, that I do not think, that since the creation any city ever suffered such dreadful calamities, or abounded with men so fertile in all kinds of wickedness." Titus, who knew their miserable condition, and was still willing to spare them, gave them four days to cool ; during which he caused his army to be mustered, and provisions to be distributed to them in sight of the Jews, who flocked upon the walls to see it ; and it is thought, that even the most flagitious among the zealots were so frightened at the sight of it, that they would

have agreed to surrender, could they have depended upon that pardon which their black and horrid deeds made them quite despair of. Josephus was sent to them a third time, but the stubborn people, after much abuse, began to dart their arrows at him, and all the effect it wrought on them, was only that it prevailed on great numbers to steal away privately to the Romans, whilst the rest became only the more desperate, and resolute to hold out to the last, in spite of Titus's merciful offers. To hasten, therefore, their destined ruin, he caused the city to be surrounded with a strong wall, to prevent either their receiving any succours or provision from abroad, or their escaping his resentment by flight. There was now nothing to be seen through the streets of Jerusalem, but heaps of dead bodies rotting above ground, walking skeletons, and dying wretches. As many as were caught by the Romans in their sallies, Titus caused to be crucified in sight of the town, to strike a terror among the rest; but the zealots gave it out, that they were those who fled to him for protection; which, when Titus understood, he sent a prisoner with his hands cut off to undeceive and assure them, that he spared all that voluntarily came over to him; which encouraged great numbers to accept his offers, though the avenues were closely guarded by the factious, who put all to death who were caught going on that errand. A greater mischief than that was, that even those who escaped safe to the Roman camp were miserably butchered by the soldiers, from a notion which these had taken that they had swallowed great quantities of gold; insomuch that two thousand of them were ripped up in one night, to come at their supposed treasure. We shall not so far disgust our readers as to mention what miserable shifts these poor wretches made use of to prolong the sad remains of a life which ought to have been more loathsome under such circumstances than the filthy and unnatural aliments they picked up to support it. It was upon this sad and pinching juncture, that an unhappy mother was reduced to the extremity of butchering and eating her own child. When Titus heard of this inhuman deed, he swore that he would extirpate both city and people.

The Romans having made themselves masters of the fortress Antonio; a circumstance which obliged the Jews to set fire to those stately galleries which joined it to the temple, lest they should afford an easy passage to the besiegers. About the same time Titus, with much difficulty, procured materials for raising new mounds and terraces, in order to forward the

siege, and save, if possible, the sad remains of that structure ; but his pity served only to render those obstinate wretches more and more desperate. Titus at length caused fire to be set to the gates, after having had a very bloody encounter, in which his men were repulsed with loss. The Jews were so terrified by this conflagration that they suffered themselves to be devoured by the flames without lending a helping hand either to extinguish them or to save their own lives. About the same time, Matthias the high-priest, who had encouraged the people to introduce Simon into the city, met with a suitable requital from that monster of cruelty, being first tortured and then condemned to death, together with three of his sons, the fourth having happily conveyed himself out of reach. Ananias with about seventeen persons more of rank and merit, was put to death after them ; besides many more for having been caught weeping for their deceased friends. On the seventeenth of July, the daily sacrifice ceased for the first time since its restoration by the brave Maccabean chief, there being no proper person left in the temple to make the offering.

Titus having set fire to the north gallery which enclosed the outer court of the temple, from fort Antonia to the valley of Cedron, gained an easy admittance into it, and forced the besieged into that of the priests. He tried in vain for six days to batter down one of the galleries of the precinct with an helepolis : he was forced to mount his battering-rams on the terrace, which was raised by this time ; and yet the strength of this wall was such that it eluded the force of these also. When they found that neither rams nor sapping could succeed, they attempted scaling, but were vigorously repulsed in the loss of some standards, and a number of men. At length Titus set fire to the gates, which, being plated with silver, burnt all that night, whilst the metal dropt down as it melted. The flame soon communicated itself to the porticoes and galleries, which the besieged beheld without offering to stop it ; but contented themselves with sending volleys of impotent curses against the Romans. It was determined to give a general assault on the tenth day of August ; but on the preceding night, the Jews made two desperate sallies on the Romans, in the last of which, being timely succoured by Titus, the Romans drove them back into their inclosure : whether this exasperated the besiegers, or, which is more likely, as Josephus thinks, pushed by the hand of Proviace, one of the Roman soldiers, of his own accord, took up a

blazing firebrand, and mounting on his comrade's shoulders, threw it into one of the apartments that surrounded the sanctuary, through a window, and immediately the whole north side was in a flame up to the third story. Titus, who had gone to repose himself in his pavilion, was awakened at the noise, and ran immediately to give orders that the fire should be extinguished. He called, prayed, threatened, and even struck his men, but in vain; the confusion was so great, and the soldiers were so obstinately bent upon destroying all that was left, that he was neither minded nor heard. Those that flocked thither from the camp, instead of obeying his orders, were busy, either in killing the Jews or increasing the flames. When Titus observed, that all his endeavors were in vain, he entered the sanctuary, and the most holy place, in which he found still such rich and sumptuous utensils as even exceeded all that he had heard of. Out of the former he saved the golden candlestick, the table of shew-bread, the altar of perfumes, all of pure gold, and the book or volume of the law, wrapped up in a rich gold tissue; but in the latter he found no utensils, because, in all probability, they had not made a fresh ark, since that of Solomon had been lost. Upon his coming out of that sacred place, some other soldiers set fire to it, and obliged those who had staid behind to come out; then they began to plunder, tearing even the gold plating off the gates and timber-work, and carried off all the costly utensils and robes, insomuch as there was not one of them that did not enrich himself by the pillage. A horrid massacre ensued, in which many thousands perished; some by the flames, others by the fall from the battlements, and a greater number by the enemy's sword, which destroyed all, without distinction of age, sex, or quality.

Titus, historians say, was a most merciful prince. This cannot be reconciled with his treatment of the conquered Jews, unless he judged that the interests of the empire could only be secured by inflicting on them the most awful punishment. Certain it is, that the iron rod of Rome fell on them, with tremendous, and indeed, unparalleled severity. After the ruin of the temple, Titus went to Cesarea Philippi, and celebrated games, in which many of the captive Jews were thrown to the wild beasts, and others were compelled, like gladiators, to fight and kill one another. At Cesarea, the chief Roman city in Palestine, the conqueror kept the birthday of his brother, and at Berytus the birth-day of his father; and in these places, similar inflictions on the Jews were exhib-

ited for the entertainment of the brutish multitude. When Judea was completely reduced, Vespasian reserved it to himself, and ordered the land to be sold, and, as its superior, he demanded all the Jews of the empire to remit to him the half-shekel or didrachm, which they had formerly paid annually for the temple at Jerusalem. He planted several colonies in the conquered country, one at Emmaus, which he named Nicopolis, the city of victory, and another at Cesarea, called Eluviana Prima, to denote that it was the first in dignity of the cities of Palestine, the Roman name for the whole country of the Jews. Samaria was also probably colonised, for it was named Neapolis. Agrippa retired from his kingdom with Titus, and resided at Rome with his sister Bernice.

It has been calculated that the total number of individuals who perished from first to last in this war with the Romans, amounted to the awful sum of about one million and a half.

The spirit of revolt was not subdued in the Jews by their loss of country and power. They still continued to expect the promised conqueror, spoken of by their prophets, and were ever prepared to listen to the flattering and delusive hopes which any dexterous and bold impostor held out to them. But everywhere they were hated, crushed, despised, and contemptuously used. Nor have we any reason to conclude that they shall ever rise, as a people, to dignity and honour, till they return to Jehovah, the God of their fathers, and acknowledge the just claims of Jesus, the Son, heir, and Lord of David, their most exalted king. How truly and accurately have the predictions of Moses been accomplished in past ages! The Jews have been dispersed over the whole earth, and are witnesses of the truth of the terrible prediction, "Thou shalt become," as the Spirit testified, "an astonishment, a proverb, and a byword, among all nations whither the Lord shall lead thee. And among these nations shalt thou find no ease, neither shall the sole of thy foot have rest: but the Lord shall give thee there a trembling heart, and failing of eyes, and sorrow of mind: and thy life shall hang in doubt before thee: and thou shalt fear day and night, and shalt have none assurance of thy life; in the morning thou shalt say, Would to God it were even! and at even thou shalt say, Would to God it were morning! for the fear of thine heart wherewith thou shalt fear, and for the sight of thine eyes which thou shalt see."

The melancholy conclusion of the Jewish revolt and war was, doubtless, an auspicious event in its relation to the Fifth

Empire. That it was a strong confirmation of the truth of Christianity has been ably proved by its most enlightened advocates, in as much as it was indisputably the fulfilment of the most remarkable predictions of the Lord Jesus Christ, and of the ancient prophets, from Moses to Malachi, respecting the unbelieving and impenitent part of that people. From that time the covenant made with the Jews at Sinai was manifestly abolished ; their forfeiture of its peculiar privileges every intelligent and candid inquirer after truth may easily perceive. Instead of the Jews, their temple and land being the special objects of the Divine favour, they were wholly given up to the scorn and contempt of all nations. The observance of the most important and characteristic institutes and rites of Moses was no more practicable ; and those who unhappily continued to believe that adherence to these was still necessary in order to obtain the approbation of God, have to this day been without "a prince, and without a sacrifice, and without an ephod, and without an image, and without teraphim." They have been every where despised and contumeliously treated ; the divine vengeance has pursued them into all lands. Truly they have experienced the truth of the denunciation, "Therefore will I number you to the slaughter ; because when I called, ye did not answer ; when I spake ye did not hear ; but did evil before mine eyes, and did choose that wherein I delighted not. Therefore thus saith the Lord God, Behold, my servants shall eat, but ye shall be hungry : behold, my servants shall drink, but ye shall be thirsty : behold, my servants shall rejoice, but ye shall be ashamed : behold, my servants shall sing for joy of heart, but ye shall cry for sorrow of heart, and shall howl for vexation of spirit. And ye shall leave your name for a curse unto my chosen : for the Lord God shall slay thee, and call his servants by another name."

If one reflects on the circumstances of Christians when Jerusalem was destroyed, in comparison to their previous history, the path of conquest may be said to have been laid open before them. Their most implacable enemies were laid prostrate, and their most mighty opponents had disappeared. Popæa and Nero were numbered with the most dishonoured of the dead ; and the word of survivors was no more heard. That the faithful followers of Christ have been, and always will be persecuted in various ways, the scriptures testify ; but while the Jews were respected in the empire, they were the principal and most active opposers of the confession of Christ



and of the extension of his dominion. Their hatred of the apostles and first ministers of Christ were almost incredibly intense, burning like a furnace. The announcement that the blessings of Messiah's kingdom were common to every one, of any nation, who submitted to his government, roused the fierce and malignant passion of every Jew who believed not that Jesus was the Messiah, more, perhaps, than any other principle or fact has ever awakened the evil propensities of any individual or race of mankind. Had preference been given them in the kingdom of God, and all others been admitted to an inferior place, they would have hailed the apostles as ambassadors from heaven ; but when all men were indiscriminately invited to receive deliverance and eternal life, through belief in Christ, they strained every nerve to move heaven, earth, and hell, to subvert the dominion of the anointed Saviour of man. Of this proud, insolent, and wicked conduct of theirs, Paul thus speaks in his letter to the Thessalonians ; " For ye, brethren, became followers of the churches of God, which in Judea are in Christ Jesus : for ye also have suffered like things of your own countrymen, even as they have of the Jews ; who both killed the Lord Jesus and their own prophets, and have persecuted us ; and they please not God, and are contrary to all men ; forbidding us to speak to the Gentiles, that they might be saved, to fill up their sins alway ; for the wrath is come upon them to the utter most."

Was not the tremendous judgment of Heaven on the unbelieving most seasonably inflicted ? The Divine forbearance and riches of goodness had been amply shown towards them. Moral principle had almost ceased to operate in them ; they were past feeling the evidence of truth, and even the guilt of immorality. Their national prejudices and religious pride seared their consciences, and they rioted in evil passions and wicked deeds. The Holy Land was the most polluted of all lands, and fit to be delivered over to desolation, to be trodden down by the disobedient nations. On the other hand, Christians were now deprived of their most heroic leaders, if we except John the Apostle. They were also better known, and, by consequence, about to be opposed by all classes of unbelievers and false professors with hitherto unexampled violence. It was, therefore, a merciful interposition of Heaven in behalf of the rising empire of Christ to remove their Jewish enemies, so that their trials might not be greater than they

might be able to endure and overcome. The state of the empire too, as we shall see, tended to lessen the number and severity of their trials, and allow them to prosecute their labours and to advance the interests of truth and righteousness with comparative safety for many years.

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## CHAPTER V.

### THE ROMAN EMPIRE TRIUMPHANT—CONTINUED

THE exultation of the Romans over the grave of Nero was transitory. They beheld the throne occupied, during the short period of about eighteen months, by three successive emperors, each of whom perished tragically, after being the instruments or causes of extreme sufferings to their wretched subjects, especially to the citizens of Rome and inhabitants of Italy, for the provinces were comparatively unaffected by the few events which then transpired. The army and the citizens of Rome entertained high hopes from the accession of Galba; and when they were disappointed, they became uncontrollable, and wreaked their vengeance on one idol that they might erect another far more worthless. Galba was of illustrious rank, familiar with the sciences and literature of his age and had long distinguished himself as a military leader and a civil governor. By the patronage of Livia, he was raised before the legal age to the first office of the state. He refused the hand of Agrippina, who solicited him to accept it, after the death of her husband Domitius, the father of Nero. Caligula appointed him to command the legions in Germany, where he gained great fame by restoring the ancient discipline in the army, and compelling the Germans to acknowledge the Roman power. Such was his popularity at the time of the death of Caligula, that many persons of great authority and power wished him to seize the empire. He, however, retained his fidelity, and almost forced the troops to take the usual oaths to Claudius, who immediately numbered him among his most esteemed friends. For two years he governed the Roman provinces in Africa with a higher reputation than his most honoured predecessors. During one half of the days of Nero, Galba lived in retirement; but he had been one of the governors of Spain eight years at the time that he assumed the title of emperor. He was now in his seventy-second year, and was labouring un-

der the infirmities of age. The almost inevitable consequence of this was, that he threw himself wholly into the hands of favourites, and left the administration to be conducted by them, even when he knew that their measures were neither just nor popular. Their acts were, of course, all ascribed to him, and speedily rendered him as universally disliked as he had formerly been admired. Some of the first acts of his reign were most inconsiderate, oppressive, and cruel. Before he arrived in Rome, the sovereign power had been usurped by Nymphidius Sabinus, who, with Tigellinus, commanded the prætorian guards. Though he was put to death by the soldiers, yet Galba commanded to kill all who were reputed his accomplices, without form of law. Many of these were persons of high rank, and their destruction and unhappy end alienated all ranks from the emperor, whose age, experience, and past integrity, had induced all to expect that he would have been guided by justice and humanity. Other eminent persons, whose power was dreaded by him or his favourite ministers, suffered death in a manner equally illegal and arbitrary, while some of the most active instruments of Nero's oppressions and cruelties purchased their safety by enriching those who directed the counsels of Galba. On approaching the city, a large body of marines, whom Nero had formed into a legion, met him, to petition a confirmation of the privileges which had been granted them. He declined to hear them; they became mutinous, and he ordered his horse to ride through the midst of them. Many of them were slain; and of those who escaped he condemned to death one of every ten. "As the public treasure had been quite exhausted by Nero, who had consumed above seventy millions in profuse pensions and donations, Galba, after examining every expedient to raise the necessary subsidies, preferred to all others, as the most just, that of supplying the public at the expense of those for whose sake the public had been impoverished. All the partakers, therefore, in the late emperor's extravagance were called to an account, and it was enacted, that they should retain only a tenth of that wild liberality, and restore the rest. But as they had scarce a tenth left unwasted, having lavished the plunder of the public and of their fellow-citizens in the same rioting and prodigality in which they had squandered away their own private fortunes, the emperor obliged those who had had any dealings with them, who had bought or received any thing from them, to refund the whole. For these searches and exactions a new

court was instituted, in which presided, according to Tacitus, thirty, according to Suetonius, fifty Roman knights; who extended their inquiries even into Greece, and there obliged the players upon instruments, the actors, wrestlers, charioteers, the judges at the Olympic games, the priestess of Apollo Delphicus, &c. to restore nine-tenths of Nero's donations. As this was an affair without bounds, and many were affected by it, as on all hands were seen open sales, and the public crier, and this court was new in its institution, and from the multitude of officers, from the numerous suits, heavy and vexatious, the whole city, nay, the whole empire, were in a ferment. The soldiers of the prætorian guards were kept quiet a while, in expectation of the mighty donative, which had been promised them by Nymphidius in Galba's name, supposing that though they did not receive the full, yet the emperor, notwithstanding his parsimony, would not scruple to bestow upon them the same sum that had been given them by Nero. But when he refused to fulfil the promise which had been made in his name, and ordered only a small sum, less than had yet been given by any prince, to be distributed among them, they could not refrain from seditious invectives, vilifying the emperor for his old age and avarice. This disaffection was heightened by a saying of Galba,—a saying, according to Tacitus, worthy of the primitive virtue of the Romans and the commonwealth, but to himself dangerous: "That he chose his soldiers, and did not buy them." His severity, too, in exacting a strict observance of military discipline, a quality so admired of old, and by the armies ever distinguished with applause, was very grievous to a slothful soldiery, scorning the ancient discipline, and, for thirteen years, so accustomed to the base reign of Nero, that at this time they no less admired the vices of their princes than of old they had adored their virtues. He discharged several of the prætorian guards, who had been engaged in the conspiracy of Nymphidius; and dismissed, without the usual rewards, the German cohort, which had served the other Cæsars with unshaken fidelity, ordering them to return to their country, because he suspected their fidelity and loyalty.

The disaffection of the soldiers and citizens of Rome excited in Galba distressing apprehensions; and these were much increased when he received information of the revolt of the Roman legions in Upper Germany, who clamorously demanded the senate to elect a new emperor. To avert all danger, he

resolved to execute, without delay, the purpose which had already occupied his thought, to choose a successor to the throne. In order to this, he called a council of his most confidential ministers, Vinus and Laco, and Marius Celsus, who was chosen consul for the following year, and D. Geminius, governor of Rome. Otho, whom Nero had separated from his wife, that he might himself possess her, was governor of Lusitania, in Spain. He was the first Roman governor who publicly acknowledged Galba. He had bribed Vinus, who, therefore, most earnestly urged the emperor to adopt him for his son and successor. Geminius as strongly recommended Dolabella, who was nearly related to Galba. But the aged prince, influenced merely by regard for the public welfare, preferred Piso Licinianus, a Roman noble and descendant of Pompey the Great. He was in the vigour of life, and universally known to be possessed of great talents, adorned by singular modesty. This decision was soon made known to the senate and army. Otho conceived himself insulted, for he believed that he had the first claims on the patronage of Galba. He immediately prepared to contend for the imperial crown; and in this he was encouraged by his numerous freedmen, and by the astrologers whom he consulted. One of his freedmen, named Onomastus, by the agency of two soldiers, actually procured for him the sovereignty of the world. Rome was full of troops, who were already inclined to revolt. By the secret manœuvres of Veturius, a private of the life guards, and B. Proculus, who held the office of tesserarius, which was to carry to the same band the parole in writing from the tribune, the prætorian guard were persuaded to support the pretensions of Otho. He was in Rome, and they proposed to seize him when he was returning home from supper, one night in January, and publicly proclaim him emperor.

The night fixed on passed, and the emperor was admonished of the conspiracy, in the presence of Otho, who instantly retired from court. He was discovered by about twenty of the guards; they saluted him emperor, and forcibly carried him to the camp, where he was received by all the soldiers as their sovereign and leader. Galba in vain attempted to suppress the revolt. The very guards of his person deserted him; and those who carried him through the city threw the chair from them, and left him exposed to the fury of the soldiers. He was killed, and his body shockingly mangled. Piso was dragged from the temple of Vesta, whither he had

fled for safety, and the heads of both were presented by bloody hands to Otho. Galba's, after being exposed for some time on a pole, was left on the tomb of one of Nero's freedmen whom he had executed; there it was found on the following morning, and laid with the ashes of his body, which, after the manner of the Roman great men, had been burnt. He had reigned only about seven months.

The news of Galba's death were no sooner divulged than the senate, the Roman knights, and the people, earnestly crowded to the camp. They condemned the conduct of Galba, magnified the judgment and choice of the soldiery, kissed the hands of Otho, and the more counterfeit their indications of zeal, the more loud were their protestations. The senate, as if they were not the same men, says Plutarch, or had other gods to swear by, took the same oath to Otho which Otho had not long before taken to Galba, and had just then violated. The new emperor received all with great demonstrations of kindness; and, at the same time, endeavoured to pacify the soldiery, who breathed nothing but menaces and ravage. They demanded, that Manius Celsus, consul elect, and a faithful friend to Galba, even in his last distress, should be instantly put to death. They hated him on account of his integrity and unshaken fidelity; but what they chiefly aimed at was, to have their hands let loose to general pillage and massacre, and to destroy every worthy and able man in the Roman state. As Otho had not sufficient authority to check the fury of the licentious soldiery, he pretended great wrath against Celsus, ordered him to be put in irons, as if he reserved him for some more severe punishment; and by that artifice redeemed him from a violent death. From this moment, all things were transacted by the arbitrary will of the soldiers: by them were chosen the captains of the prætorian guards, namely Plotius Primus, once a common soldier; with him they joined Licinius Proculus, one in high confidence with Otho, and thought to have been employed by him to promote his intrigues. To the government of Rome they advanced Flavius Sabinus, partly in deference to the judgment of Nero, in whose reign he had administered the same office, and partly from regard to his brother Vespasian. They then demanded, that the fees which they had been used to pay to their centurions for exemption from certain military burdens, should be utterly abolished, for under this name every soldier paid an annual tribute; hence the fourth part of a legion used to be absent at once, roaming, like vagrants, up and down the countries

where they were quartered, and robbing and plundering, in order to raise money wherewith to purchase a dispensation from military toils. As most of the soldiers were corrupted by such wild immunity, and reduced to beggary by the fees they paid for it, they were always ready to run headlong into sedition, dissension, and civil wars. Otho, therefore, readily granted them their request; but, that he might not estrange from him the affections of the centurions, he undertook to pay out of his own revenue the fees for such exemptions and furloughs, when they were judged necessary; a regulation which by his successors was perpetuated as part of the military establishment."

Otho had scarcely been publicly proclaimed by the senate, emperor Cesar Augustus, when he was dreadfully alarmed by the report of the revolt of the troops in Lower Germany, who had saluted their commander, Vitellius, emperor. These were speedily joined by the legions and Upper Germany; and the colonies of Cologne, Treves, and Langres, zealously supplied Vitellius with men, horses, and money. He received a great accession by several of the Roman governors in Gaul and Britain declaring for him. He owed, however, his success much more to the aversion of the army to Galba than to his own talents or character. Except his descent from one of the most illustrious families of Rome, and his useless liberality to the soldiers and the ignorant, idle, and impure multitude, he had nothing to recommend him to the people. From his youth, he was infamous for every species of vice, including the most abominable that ever debased human nature. His intemperance and gluttony were almost incredible.

During the brief period of his reign in Rome his contemptible manner of life is thus described: "He quite abandoned the functions of an emperor, resigning himself entirely to riot, luxury, and gluttony. In his court no man strove to rise by virtue or ability. One only road there was to preferment, namely, by means of consuming banquets, to gorge the appetite of the emperor, ever craving, and never satiated. He ate constantly three, and often four and five meals a-day, having brought himself to a habit of discharging his stomach by vomiting when he pleased. All his meals were expensive almost beyond belief, but not always at his own charge; for he frequently invited himself to the houses of his friends, to breakfast in one place, to dine in another, and to sup in a third, all on the same day. He was every where entertained in a most sumptuous and expensive



manner : but of all these entertainments the most memorable was made for him by Lucius his brother ; in which, if Suetonius and Eutropius are to be credited, two thousand different sorts of fish, and seven thousand of fowl, were served up the choicest of both sorts that the sea and land afforded. His own profuseness fell not much short of his brother's at the dedication of a charger, which, by reason of its capacity, he termed the target of Minerva. It was nevertheless filled with the livers of the fish called scari, the brains of pheasants and peacocks, the tongues of birds called phœnicopiteri, and the small guts of lampreys brought from the Carpathian Sea, and the farthermost coasts of Spain. As he judged it sufficient to enjoy present pleasures, without troubling himself about future events, he squandered away in banquets above seven millions of our money in four months ; and Josephus asserts, that if he had reigned long, the whole wealth of the empire would not have been sufficient to supply the expenses of his table. Besides the vast sums he consumed by his riotous living, he erected at a great charge stables for the use of Charioteers, exhibited almost daily shows in the circus, combats in the theatre and ampitheatre, and wantonly scattered his treasures in every kind of expense. Nothing gave greater disgust to the virtuous, though it proved matter of joy to the profligate and debauched, than his solemnizing with great pomp in the field of Mars the obsequies of Nero, and obliging the Augustal priests, an order by Tiberius consecrated to the Julian family, to assist at that ceremony."

While his power was great in many provinces, the greater number remained faithful to Otho, and this occasioned a sanguinary civil war, which produced incalculable misery to the regions where it prevailed. Their respective forces were great ; and notwithstanding each of the rivals for power were willing to make great concessions to the other, yet the contest continued till Otho, in despair, took his own life. Several great battles were fought, and many thousands perished. The submission of Otho's troops brought no peace to Italy. The citizens of Rome indeed shouted for joy, and the senate heaped honours on Vitellius ; but the inhabitants of the country were afflicted with greater calamities than during the war. The soldiers who had conquered, distributed among the cities and municipal towns, committed most dreadful devastations, without even sparing the temples. Some, in the disguise of soldiers, killed their particular enemies ; and the soldiers themselves, as they were well acquainted with the

country, marking out the richest inhabitants, plundered their houses and farms, putting all to fire and sword without mercy, if any resistance was offered. Their generals durst not restrain them, being themselves equally guilty, and awed by their men. They exhausted Italy; the most wealthy were deprived of all.

In his progress to take possession of Rome, Vitellius received tidings from his friends in Syria that the eastern provinces had taken the oath of fidelity to him. Having now, as he supposed, no rival power to fear, he and his army abandoned themselves to excessive sensuality, rapine, and murder. In all the great towns through which he passed after leaving Bononia, the modern Bologne, "every pleasure proved a bait to stop him. He entered the cities in a kind of triumph, and stirred not upon the rivers but in his painted galleys, curiously adorned with garlands and flowers, and plentifully stored with the most exquisite delicacies and incentives to gluttony. He was accompanied by threescore thousand armed men, a greater number of retainers to the camp, and an immense multitude of buffoons, mimics, players, singers, charioteers, &c., for in such disgraceful familiarities he took great pleasure. Among these there was no order or discipline; nay, their rapines and daily disorders, however insupportable, proved to the emperor matter of sport and diversion. Hence, not satisfied with free quarters wherever they came, they enfranchised slaves, plundered the houses of their hosts, insulted their wives and children, and, where any resistance was offered, beat, wounded, and killed at their pleasure: for though they were constantly quarreling among themselves, yet, in contesting with the peasants, they were always unanimous. Not only the colonies, villages, and municipal cities were consumed by furnishing such vast supplies of provision; but as the grain was then ripe, the lands were stripped and laid waste. As the emperor drew near Rome, the crowd, great in itself, was mightily increased by the arrival of the senators and Roman knights, who came out to meet the emperor; a compliment which some paid out of fear, others out of flattery. When the mighty multitude was within seven miles of Rome, Vitellius caused a quantity of meat ready dressed to be distributed amongst the soldiers, to every man his portion, as if he had been fattening a number of gladiators. In the meantime, the populace, who came in droves to the camp, and were scattered all over it, while the soldiers heeded them not, cut and conveyed away their belts

without being perceived ; which, it seems, was a joke in great vogue with the multitude and the rabble of the city. But the soldiers, who were strangers to such jokes, and could not brook them, upon being asked, by way of derision, what was become of their belts, ran to arms, and, with their drawn swords, falling upon the disarmed multitude, slaughtered great numbers of them, which occasioned a general alarm and consternation in the city. When the tumult in the camp was composed, Vitellius, mounted upon a stately courser, and in his coat of armour, with his sword by his side, began to advance to the gates of the city, ordering the senate and people to march before him. But being advised by his friends not to enter the city in his warlike dress, as if it had been taken by storm, he put on the senatorial robe, and made an entry altogether orderly and pacific, surrounded with standards and colours, and followed by his numerous troops,—the whole a glorious sight, and an army worthy of a better emperor. In this state he went to the capitol, to offer sacrifice to Jupiter ; and there finding his mother Sextilia, embraced and honoured her with the title of Augusta. From the capitol, he marched in the same pomp to the imperial palace. The next day he assembled the senate, and made a public speech, in which he promised extraordinary advantages from his administration, uttered high and pompous things of himself, and chiefly enlarged upon his temperance, though all Italy had seen him, during his march, wallowing in voluptuousness, and continually intoxicated with wine. The thoughtless multitude, however, broke out into loud acclamations and wishes ; and, as he refused the title of Augustus, they pressed him so that he accepted it at last, with as much vanity as he had before refused it. He likewise took upon him the office of chief pontiff ; but was so ignorant of the religious rites, that, a few days after, that is, on the eighteenth of July, he published an edict concerning the celebration of certain solemnities, though that day had been always held unlucky.” He now endeavoured by every art to please the multitude, and committed the administration wholly to favourites, who imitated him in all his love of splendour and low pleasures, and chiefly devised by what means they might procure for themselves all that was valuable in the empire. In four months, it is said, one of his freedmen had obtained wealth equal to what had been possessed by all former imperial freedmen.

No one can be surprised that Vespasian succeeded in dis-

possessing such a vile and profligate man of the throne of Rome. It only seems strange that he should have ever acknowledged him, as we find he did, and displeased his army by requiring them also to take the oath of allegiance to him. He was, however, soon prevailed on by the friends of Rome to assume the supreme power. He first formed an imperial council at Berytus, the present Beyrout, and made great preparations for war. Information of this no sooner reached Illyricum, than the Roman legions there discovered extraordinary zeal in his cause, and those in Panonia and Mæsia followed their example. This defection of the troops could not long be unknown in all the western provinces of the empire ; but Vespasian's pretensions and deeds Vitellius employed every possible means to conceal. On the mention of his name, he is said to have been observed to start, even before he had heard of his revolt. And now his only consolation was, that the governors of Africa, Spain, Germany, and Britain had not renounced his authority.

Vespasian was the first of his family who was numbered among the Roman nobility. His grandfather and father were more eminent for virtue than rank. The latter so distinguished himself for integrity, as collector of taxes in one of the cities of Asia, that the citizens raised statues to his honour, on which was the remarkable inscription, "To the honest publican." Vespasian successively rose to the first offices of state, perhaps partly by his meanness in flattering the emperors Claudius and Caligula. When he accompanied the former to Britain, his eminent military talents were developed, although he held only the office of tribune. In the rank of proconsul, Nero sent him to govern Africa, where his administration procured him some celebrity. But his great talents were more fully displayed in Judea, and induced not only his own officers, but all who knew him to regard him worthy of the sovereignty of the empire.

While Vespasian was employed in the east in preparation, he commissioned Mutianus, governor of Syria, to proceed with an army to Italy. Before his arrival in Rome, the cause of Vespasian had triumphed, chiefly by the skill and bravery of Antonius Primus, who became the principal leader of the legions in Illyria. He boldly marched into Cisalpine Gaul, and after capturing several cities, engaged the army of Vitellius, near Cremona. This proved a dreadful conflict, in which the nearest relations fiercely opposed one another. The troops of Vitellius were totally defeated, with the loss of

thirty thousand men. Those who escaped sought refuge under the walls of the city, and defended themselves by a deep ditch. The conquerors by force entered the camp, the ground of which was covered with the dead bodies of its defenders. The city surrendered, but was pillaged and burnt, in revenge for the fidelity of the citizens to Vitellius; and not less than fifty thousand of them were murdered. As soon as this event was known in Spain and Britain, the Romans in these countries declared for Vespasian.

Vitellius placed himself at the head of an army to oppose the entrance of Vespasian's army into Italy; but on learning that the fleet stationed at Misenum had deserted him, he fled in consternation to Rome. In consultation with F. Sabinus, Vespasian's brother, he proposed to abdicate the throne. To this the consul, troops, and people of Rome would not consent. Sabinus, urged by his friends, resorted to arms to compel him to retire. He was opposed by the troops of Vitellius, and fled to the capitol, which was immediately besieged and burnt to the ground. He was made prisoner, and murdered. Domitian, the younger son of Vespasian, was saved by the interposition of one of his freedmen, who disguised him with the linen robes of the priests who offered sacrifices in the capitol.

Vitellius once more sent messengers to A. Primus expressing his willingness to accept of the terms of the treaty into which he had entered with Sabinus. He was informed that he must now unconditionally surrender. Primus speedily advanced with his army towards Rome. They were met by the feeble forces of the capital. The contest, however, was fierce; a more sanguinary battle, it is said, the Romans never witnessed. On the city being captured, Vitellius fled from the palace, but, terrified by being abandoned by all, he returned, and concealed himself under a bed in the porter's lodge. He was discovered, dragged half naked through the streets, insulted by the people, put to death, and, with every species of indignity, cast into the Tiber. His body was afterwards recovered and buried by his widow. His brother Lucius hastened to his relief, but being informed of his melancholy end, he and his band surrendered to the conquerors. He was slain, but his followers were dismissed. Though there remained no longer cause of strife, the victors continued to plunder the city. They filled the streets and public places with the bodies of those whom they murdered, that they might obtain their property. "The indigent part

of the populace failed not to join the soldiers in the general violence and spoil, so that on all sides nothing was heard but dismal complaints and outcries, and nothing seen but the dreadful calamities of a city stormed and sacked. Domitian, who already enjoyed the name and residence of Cesar, instead of striving to check the insolence of the soldiery, attended to his infamous pleasures, and only by his dissolute life showed himself the son of an emperor. Primas, in whose hands the whole power was lodged, made use of it only to plunder more freely, being entirely taken up in conveying from the palace treasure, moveables, and domestic slaves, as if he were still seizing the spoil of Cremona. When the fury of the soldiers began to abate, the senate met and confirmed the sovereignty of Vespasian, decreeing to him with great alacrity all the titles and prerogatives ever vested in former princes. They declared him consul, giving him his son Titus for colleague in that dignity. Domitian they honoured with the prætorship and consular authority; they presented Primus with the consular ornaments, and Cornelius Fuscus and Arrius Varus, with those of the prætorship. All these decrees were passed at the motion of Valerius Asiaticus, consul elect."

The day after Vitellius was murdered, Mutianus reached Rome, and assumed all the dignity and authority of emperor, except the title. Under his administration, several persons conceived to have some claims to the throne were put to death; and the Romans suffered much in subduing the Germans and Gauls, who had cast off the yoke of Rome. Domitian was, however, nominally invested with the chief authority in the metropolis. Vespasian at length reached Italy, with the fame, not only of a great commander, but also of one whom it was believed the gods favoured with the power of working miracles; for when in Egypt he was astonished to find that he had restored sight to one man reputed blind, and healed a paralytic. The Romans received him with the strongest marks of respect; the streets through which he passed to the capitol were "strewed with flowers, and the whole city, like a temple, filled with precious odours and perfumes. Altars were everywhere raised, and victims slain, with supplications to the gods that Vespasian might rule the empire many years, and his son Titus reign after him; that the sovereignty might for ever remain in his family, and Rome flourish under their auspices and authority. Great expectations were formed of Vespasian by all ranks of men, and no one was disappointed in his expectations; for he made it his whole business to re-

establish the commonwealth, and restore the empire to its former grandeur ; to conform to the laws, and see that all others conformed to them ; to consult the good of the whole, and of individuals ; to prevent oppression, and to punish it ; to promote virtue, and reward it ; to enforce the observance of the laws by his example, as well as by his judgments ; and to merit the affections and fidelity of the people, by his paternal care and impartiality."

Compared with princes in general, Vespasian was almost in all things a perfect pattern of a wise, just, merciful, and generous sovereign. He expended immense wealth in the patronage of the learned, and in the embellishment of Rome. He far surpassed the great men of his country who preceded him, in clemency ; and revenge appeared scarcely ever to regulate his conduct ; but his splendid character was deeply stained by his severity to Julius Sabinus, who had raised an insurrection in Gaul, and assumed the title of emperor on the death of Vitellius. Sabinus, when his troops were killed or dispersed, retired to a cave which he had prepared unknown to all except two faithful freedmen. Here he lived with his affectionate wife and children, nine years. By her address and precaution, he sometimes mixed in society, and once visited Rome. Being at last discovered, and carried to Rome, the husband and wife were, without any state necessity, put to death. Their two children were spared, and trained up at the public expense.

Vespasian was considered by many avaricious, and it is certain that he oppressed the empire by taxation. This is a common defect in magnificent princes, for otherwise they find it impossible to raise supplies equal to their great expenditure. The latter is deemed indispensable, in order to gratify and procure the applause of the few, without reflecting on the misery inflicted on the many. His government was probably nevertheless, felt less oppressive than almost any of his predecessors ; for there were only two limited insurrections during his reign, and these were speedily suppressed. The subjugation of the greater part of Britain augmented the glory of his reign. This was chiefly effected by the justly celebrated Julius Agricola, who was not less distinguished by his political wisdom and humanity, than by his warlike skill and bravery. He extended the power of Rome over England, and the most valuable parts of Scotland ; and, as governor of the Britons, for several years promoted civilization among them. They were taught the sciences, and the arts

of the Romans excited them to seek the conveniences and comforts of enlightened society.

After a glorious reign of about ten years, Vespasian died, a. d. 79, deeply regretted by his numerous subjects. In the early part of his reign, he conferred on his son Titus the title of emperor, admitted him to share with him the supreme power, and gave him the command of the prætorian guards. He was, therefore, enabled, without much difficulty, to ascend the throne of his father, notwithstanding the pretension of his brother, that his father desired that they should divide the power between them. Vespasian had always treated his son Titus as his equal and friend. They had both been honoured at Rome by a triumph commemorating the conquest of Judea. It was a scene of great splendour; all the wealth of the Jews, which Titus had carried to Rome, was displayed before the astonished multitude; and the triumphal arch, describing his noble exploits, still remains a witness of the dreadful overthrow of the Jewish nation. At the time of this triumph, the temple of Janus was shut, to intimate that profound peace prevailed in the whole empire. To perpetuate this joyful event, the temple of peace was erected, and in it were deposited the spoils of the great city of Jerusalem. Titus was brought up in the court of Nero with the amiable Britannicus, for whom he cherished ardent affection, and he never ceased to regret his premature and cruel death. After his own exaltation to the throne, he raised two statues to his memory. Favoured with the best education, Titus was in youth admired for his eloquence and poetical talents, and scarcely less for his bravery and modesty. He was admired for the strength of his social affection; and was the protector of his brother, whose imprudent and wicked conduct he was apprehensive should provoke their father to great wrath. He rose to considerable distinction in the state and army, before he was intrusted with the command of the army in Judea. But after his return to Rome, if Suetonius may be credited, he debased himself by injustice as a judge, and by pursuing the most worthless and most polluting pleasures, insomuch that scarcely any prince ever commenced a reign "with a more sullied reputation, or more abhorred by the populace." The change which passed over him on his succeeding to the entire power of the empire, was therefore not more astonishing than it was pleasing to all ranks. Though he was in his fortieth year, by vigorous and resolute efforts he changed his general habits and manner of life, and, during the short



period which Providence permitted him to reign, he equalled, if he did not surpass every Roman emperor, in moderation, kindness, justice, and humanity. Among the first signs of his reformation, he dismissed Bernice, the Jewish princess, sister of Agrippa, to whom he was exceedingly attached, merely because the Romans regarded his union to a foreign lady, especially one of Jewish descent, degrading to a Roman emperor. She was not only removed from court, out from Rome and even Italy. He studied propriety of conduct, promoted peace by every proper means, and was incessant in doing good, insomuch that he was by universal consent denominated, "the delight of mankind." One evening he was told that he had bestowed no favour on that day; his expression of regret was so striking and memorable as to become almost proverbial,—“My friends, I have lost a day.” When he entered on the office of high-priest, he pleaded that he might be excused from shedding human blood, and he pardoned two senators whom the senate had condemned to death on being detected in forming a conspiracy against him. He abrogated the law of majesty, and forbade the prosecution of any who reviled him or the memory of his predecessors, remarking, “If men defame me undeservedly, they are to be pitied rather than punished; if deservedly, it would be extreme injustice to punish them for speaking truth. As for my predecessors, if they are gods, they have sufficient power to revenge any injuries done them.”

Several awful calamities happened during his reign of two years, and gave occasion to most striking displays of his noble and generous spirit. Vesuvius never exhibited such terrific grandeur and destructive power, as in his time. Its fires burst forth with tremendous violence, laid waste an immense extent of country, and consumed a number of cities, with their inhabitants. The fine cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum were completely buried. Pliny, the elder and naturalist, impelled by his intense desire to witness the marvellous operations of nature, sailed from Misenum towards the volcanic mount, and perished in Stabiae, where he passed the night, notwithstanding that its inhabitants had fled from the burning ashes which soon destroyed it. His body was found three days after, and interred by Pliny, his nephew, who had narrowly escaped a similar fate at Misenum. This calamity also terminated the lives of the poet, C. Bassus; Agrippa, son of C. Felix, known as the procurator of Judea; and Drusilla a daughter of king Agrippa. It was almost in

stantly followed by a great fire in Rome, which lasted three days. Titus employed all his resources to repair the losses produced by both calamities. These were succeeded by an inexpressibly dreadful plague, which killed in Rome, in one night, ten thousand citizens. The benevolent emperor neglected no means which he deemed adapted to remove this evil, or to mitigate the sufferings of those who lost their friends; and with apparent tenderness and compassion, he endeavoured to relieve them by consolatory edicts and most liberal gifts. He adorned the city with a magnificent amphitheatre and baths, and repaired ancient aqueducts and roads for the convenience of the citizens. The dedication of the amphitheatre was accompanied with the most imposing shows, during one hundred days, with the design of cheering the spirits of the people, depressed by the public calamities. His administration delighted all ranks, and the senate were devising how they might most suitably express for him the public admiration and gratitude, when he was suddenly seized by a violent fever, which quickly proved fatal, and threw the community into a state of consternation and grief. He left only one child, a daughter named Julia Sabina. His worthless brother Domitian, ascended the throne without opposition, in the thirtieth year of his age, and reigned about fifteen years.

Judging by authentic records, it seems obvious that power, inclination, and pleasure to work wickedness and augment the misery of mankind were never witnessed combined in a greater degree than in this prince. He was an entire mass of human depravity, in which were rarely visible, from his birth to his death, one ray of moral excellence. If he was, at any time, under moral restraint, it might be traced to a deficiency of courage or an excess of vanity, and not to respect for his own judgment or conscience, nor reverence for anything divine or human. We cannot reconcile some statements concerning him which seem contradictory. He neglected, in youth, all education, except archery, say some authors, while others appeal to facts which show him to have been superior to many of his rank, in talents, literature, and poetic genius. He is said to have lived in great poverty, and sold himself for the vilest purpose to procure the means of subsistence, and yet no hint is given of his father having ever declined to supply his necessities. No one useful action seems to have been performed by him previously to his ascent to the throne. He was sufficiently ambitious, but lesti-

tute of wisdom, activity, and fortitude to conduct any arduous enterprise, whether lawful or unlawful. In the absence of his father and brother, when the former was proclaimed by the senate emperor, he was honoured with the title of Cesar. He instantly assumed the chief power, but he left others to conduct the government, and, finding himself liberated from authority and law, he gave himself wholly to voluptuous pursuits, with all the eagerness of a wild beast rioting on his prey. On his father's arrival in Rome, he felt his own insignificance, and would willingly have opposed him, had any one possessed of influence supported him in an attempt to depose his father. Envious of the justly merited celebrity of his brother, he aspired to military fame, and was only prevented from leading the troops to disgrace and destruction in Germany, by the persuasion of Mutianus, who knew that he was at once destitute of the capacity, experience, and knowledge requisite in a general of the army. Being neglected or despised by all whose society and friendship were desirable, he sought solitude and avowed that he purposed to occupy his time in literary studies. These afforded little pleasure to his vanity, and were alien from his sensual habits and licentious manners. He soon requested his father to permit him to lead an army to assist the Parthians, who had applied to Rome for assistance in the war which they prosecuted against barbarians. Vespasian had more wisdom than to gratify the foolish desire of his son, whose life never gave him pleasure. Disappointed, without power and influence from this time, his timidity became his safety, and till the unexpected and deplored death of his brother, he was known only as the prince of the Roman youth, and Cesar, the heir of the empire, whose exaltation none desired except his vile associates.

He was first saluted emperor by the prætorian guards, whose choice was confirmed by the senate. He began his reign, like his predecessors, by emulating the conduct of the best princes: and he excelled the greater number, by expressing sacred respect for the most righteous and useful laws, and issuing several edicts calculated to advance the comfort and prosperity of all ranks. To procure popular applause, he disguised his vicious practices and concealed his frivolous or hateful pursuits, and assumed the character of a prince who desired to surpass other men as much in humanity as in power. To testify his abhorrence of every approach to cruelty, he decreed that neither cattle nor any living creature,

should be, in future, offered a sacrifice. Having a strong taste for architectural works, or a wish to excite admiration by a display of magnificence, he expended immense sums in repairing the ancient buildings, and in finishing or erecting many new ones in the capital. Plutarch says, that he was desirous to change all its stones into gold. Though he ceased to relish literature, yet he patronised it, and greatly enriched the public libraries. Indeed, in discharging the duties of censor, Domitian denounced whatever was unjust, effeminate, impure, or was conceived to have an immoral or degrading tendency. His virtue was, however, no more than a luminous meteor, which illuminated the city a few days, to leave it in the blackness of darkness, for the fifteen years of his execrable reign.

Conscious that he merited not the sceptre of the world, he suspected every man of rank, talent, or character, to be his enemy; and his incontrollable and boundless vanity excited him to employ all the means which absolute power placed at his command to induce or compel all to acknowledge him a great man, a mighty commander, and even a god. The dignities and honourable appellations conceded by former emperors were as nothing in his eyes. He ordered his secretary to begin his edicts thus: "Our lord and our god orders and commands," &c. and he enjoined that no one should address him by any other titles than these. One of his laws called all his subjects to pay him divine worship; and philosophers and poets describe the streets crowded with droves of victims driven to the capitol to be sacrificed before his statues. He suffered no statue of himself to be erected but what consisted of pure gold and silver. He filled the city with triumphal gates, arches, and monuments, to celebrate his victories, which had scarcely any existence, unless in his wild imagination. He, indeed, early led his army to war, that the world might ring with his conquests; but, unhappily for him, and, indeed, for the empire, he provoked the indignation and revenge of the Cattans, whom Tacitus praises as the most civilized and brave of all the tribes or nations of the Germans. Having no apprehension of an attack, they were unprepared to resist him, and suffered their lands to be laid waste. With a few peasants made prisoners, the unjust and barbarous prince hastily returned to Rome, and obtained the honour of a triumph, in which were led before his chariots numerous slaves, whom he had purchased and dressed in the attire of the Germans.

The Cattans quickly retaliated on the Romans, for they

conquered the country of the German nation named Cherusans, and expelled their king, a tributary of Rome, who claimed the assistance of Domitian. That dastardly and timid prince sent him money, but declined meeting the Cattans in open war. This conduct, doubtless, soon taught all who knew it to despise his power, and several brave nations attempted to cast off the Roman yoke. The fiery spirit of revolt spread over the empire, and the armies sent to suppress it were generally consumed, chiefly from the incapacity of their leaders; for Domitian, from envy or fear, carefully avoided appointing any one of known talent to any important office. "Many were the armies lost," Tacitus observes, "in Mæsia, Dacia, Germany, and Pannonia, all by the misconduct of our generals. The question and contest now were, not about maintaining the limits of the empire, and guarding the rivers which served for its boundaries, but about defending the standing encampments of our legions, and preserving our own territories." Domitian occasionally placed himself at the head of the army, but his campaigns uniformly terminated in disgrace; yet he as uniformly returned to Rome in all the exultation of a conqueror, and received triumphal honours. He thirsted not more for unmerited fame than he intensely desired the ruin of every one whom he knew deserved the esteem or confidence of society, for he was fully aware that every wise and virtuous and generous mind inwardly despised him. He had, accordingly, reigned only three or four years when the fountain of wickedness, which his vain ambition had perhaps impelled him for a brief period to conceal or confine within his utterly depraved heart, burst forth, and threatened the entire extinction of all that was great or good in the empire. Never has absolute power more fearfully exhibited injustice, oppression, and cruelty, in their terrific forms, than in the reign of this demon-emperor. After one of the first of his mock-triumphs, he caused, it is said, the astrologers to cast the nativity of every illustrious person, and whoever was declared destined for the empire, was instantly put to death. Informers, whom he had hitherto denounced, were now more encouraged than in any previous reign, and many senators and knights were accused of treason, and suffered the penalty of the crime. The life of no honourable person was safe. Agricola, perhaps the first soldier and statesman of the age, was disgraced, and, it is supposed, a few years later, poisoned, although his loyalty was unquestionable. S. Coccianus perished merely for celebrating

the birth-day of his uncle, the late emperor, Otho. S. Lucullus, governor in Britain, had permitted a new kind of lance to be called by his name; on this account he was put to death. Similar punishment was inflicted on an author for having written in commendation of two learned men; and on Maternus, a renowned philosopher, because he had publicly declaimed against tyranny and tyrants. All philosophers and teachers of science were banished; and books of the most eminent men, who had either praised patriotism or virtue, were publicly burnt. In reference to the cruelty of Domitian, Tacitus remarks: "Mighty was the testimony which we gave of our patience; for as our forefathers had beheld the ultimate perfection of liberty, so did we of bondage; since, through dread of informers, we were bereft of the common intercourse of speech. Nay, with our utterance, we had likewise lost our memory, had it been equally in our power to forget as to be silent. Against the defence of innocence accused, against the most evident truth and justice, the ears of the emperor were ever shut; but calumny, whispered by any informer, had equal weight with real crimes proved by authentic witnesses." "Falsehood and flattery," says Dion Cassius, "envy and rapaciousness, passed for evidence; justice was converted into cruelty, and judgment into rage; the tribunals erected for justice, and preservation of life and property, were turned into shambles; and what had the names of pains and penalties, were, in truth, robbery and assassination." "In the midst of his cruelties, he abandoned himself to all manner of lewdness and debauchery, and was on that score no less infamous than the most vicious of his predecessors. His avarice was equal to his lewdness and cruelty: not that he had any natural bias to that vice, says Suetonius, but, having exhausted his treasury by the many buildings he raised, by the magnificent sports and shows which he exhibited, by increasing the pay of the soldiers, and by other wild and extravagant expences, he betook himself to all sorts of rapine and extortion, seizing, upon the least information, the estates of the most wealthy citizens: the least action or word against the majesty of the prince was made use of as a pretence for stripping them of whatever they possessed. He confiscated inheritances, appropriating to himself all the effects of persons whom he never knew, if he could find but one witness to depose that he had ever heard the deceased say that Cesar was his heir. With these, and such like artificial contrivances, he

reduced to beggary the most opulent persons, not only in Rome and Italy, but in all the provinces of the Roman empire. His officers and procurators exacted the tributes and taxes with the greatest rigour and severity imaginable; but, above all, he oppressed the Jews in a most cruel manner, not excepting even such of them as had renounced their religion; and with the like severity treated those, says Suetonius, (meaning, no doubt, the Christians,) who lived in Rome after the manner of the Jews, and seemed to profess the same superstition."

Domitian, every successive year, exceedingly increased the miseries of the empire. His name was abhorred, not only in Rome, but also throughout the provinces, insomuch that A. D. 89. a bold individual appeared in Asia, pretending to be Nero, and gave a plausible account of the manner in which he had escaped the search of those sent to kill him. Multitudes believed this impostor, and the king of Parthia received him with marks of distinction, and supplied him with troops. But Domitian prevailed on him to seize the impostor and deliver him up to the governor of Syria. The tyrant was, however, this year more terrified by the revolt of L. Antonius, governor of Upper Germany, who was supported by the majority of the Germans. The emperor led a large army against him, and forced almost all the nobles of Rome to accompany him. Before they reached the Rhine, Antonius had been slain, and his army scattered by Maximus, an able general, who obtained his papers, and burnt them. By this means many who had encouraged the revolt remained unknown. But Domitian, on returning to Rome, sedulously endeavoured to discover all who had engaged in this revolt; and every one supposed to have been the friend of Antonius, or suspected of being favourable to his schemes, suffered death or exile. From this time the emperor kept the legions separate; two were never united in one camp. He lived in terror, dreading every one distinguished for the least influence in civil society or the army, or even for physical strength. Thus, when entertaining the citizens with various and numerous shows, he compelled Glabrio, remarkable for great strength, to contend with a lion. Having overcome the dreadful animal, Domitian's jealousy was roused, and under pretence that he was guilty of somewhat, sentenced him to banishment. To amuse the people he caused a vast lake to be constructed near the Tiber, in which was represented a sea-fight, a scene said by historians to have been

the most expensive and magnificent ever witnessed in Rome. The year A. D. 94, was remarkable for the sufferings inflicted on the Romans by this monster of wickedness, more than all they had previously endured during his reign. He began to execute the malignant design which he had for some time contemplated, of extirpating the senate and every man of rank or virtue. Tacitus thus speaks of this calamitous period: "The islands were peopled with exiles; the rocks contaminated with murder and blood; but more hideous still were the ravages of cruelty at Rome. It was treasonable to be noble; capital to be rich; criminal to have borne honours, criminal to have declined them; and the reward of worth and virtue was quick and inevitable destruction. Nor were the iniquities of the informers more shocking than their great and distinguished rewards; for upon some were bestowed, as the spoils of the state, the pontifical dignities, and those of the consulship; others were sent with the character of procurators into the provinces; some were made prime ministers and confidants at home; and in every station, exerting all their terrors, and pursuing their hatred, they controlled and confounded all things. Slaves were suborned against their masters, freedmen against their patrons; and such as had no enemies, were betrayed and undone by their friends. The age, however," continues our historian, "was not so utterly destitute of all virtue as not to afford commendable examples of friendship and magnanimity. There were mothers who accompanied their banished sons; wives, who followed their husbands into exile; in relations were found resolution and succour; in sons-in-law, constancy and duty; in slaves, such fidelity as baffled all the menaces and horrors of the torture; illustrious men struggling under the greatest distress, supporting it with constancy, and displaying a fortitude in death equal to that of the most celebrated ancients. The court was besieged; the senate inclosed with armed men, its most exalted members slain, and many ladies of the first ranks preserved their life only by voluntary exile. Even Nero withheld his eyes from scenes of cruelty: he indeed ordered murders to be perpetrated, but saw them not. The principal part of our miseries under Domitian was to be obliged to see him, and be seen by him, at a time when all our sighs and sorrows were watched and marked down for condemnation; when that cruel countenance of his, always covered with a settled red, whence he hardened himself against shame and blushing, served him to observe all the pale



horrors at once possessing so many illustrious men." About this time, all philosophers and public instructors of science were expelled from Rome and Italy.

But the demoniacal malice and power of Domitian were not universally felt till A. D. 95, the fourteenth year of his reign, when he made all of every rank and moral excellence who confessed the faith of Christ, throughout the empire, victims of his hatred. May he not have found that he could not deprive of life some of his own family, whom he hated, by any other means than accusing them of violation of the laws of the state, in relation to religion? And this he could not do with any show of justice, but by publishing an edict against Christianity, which they had embraced. In the first year of his reign, Domitian had put to death his cousin, F. Sabinus, eldest son of his uncle, the brother of Vespasian. Sabinus was married to Julia, daughter of Titus. The public crier unhappily inadvertently when proclaiming him consul, used for the title emperor. This was the pretended crime for which he suffered. His brother was made to marry Domitian's niece Domitilla. The year in which he was colleague in the consulate with the emperor being finished, he was accused of atheism and impiety, the usual charges brought against Christians, and, as a Christian, he was put to death. His wife declined to obey the emperor, when he commanded her to marry again, and was, on this account, banished to the island of Pandataria, the modern Santa Maria. As to their two sons, to whom Domitian proposed to leave the empire, nothing of their future life is recorded. None of his own children survived; an infant daughter is mentioned, whom, at her death he placed among the gods. How long this second Roman persecution prevailed seems uncertain; it is, however, known to have raged over the empire; and among those exiled for the truth, John the apostle is specially mentioned. If Tertullian be correct in his traditional report, John would not have probably been spared, had he not miraculously escaped unhurt from the burning oil into which he was thrown. The general voice of tradition asserts that he returned about A. D. 96, to Asia Minor, and settled at Ephesus, whence he circulated among the churches the Revelation of the visions which predicted the destinies of the Fifth Empire from his day to the end of the world. He died in the hundredth year of his age.

Some say that Domitian himself arrested the persecution of Christianity. This, however, is not probable, for one of the

first edicts of his successor was the proclamation of pardon to all who had been accused or banished for atheism, impiety, or Judaism, crimes of which Christians were accused. Happily for the Christian church, the life of their violent and powerful enemy was suddenly and unexpectedly terminated, notwithstanding that he used every possible means to guard against assassination, of which he lived in continual dread. Stephanus, a strong man, and one of the principal freedmen of Domitilla, the widow of F. Clemens, offered his services to a band of conspirators. Under the pretence that Clemens was still alive, and at the head of a company who had pledged themselves to take the life of the emperor, he was introduced to him, when he presented him with a memorial containing the names of the persons and residences of Clemens' associates. While he attentively read the memorial, Stephanus struck a dagger into his belly. He struggled for life, but that was soon extinguished by other conspirators who were in the palace. The chief murderer was killed by some of the emperor's servants, but all the others escaped. All ranks rejoiced in the death of Domitian, except the soldiers, whose pay he had increased and whom he permitted to share in his plunder. His body was left to be burnt by Phyllis, who had nursed him when an infant. She secretly conveyed the body to a house in the country, burnt it, and mixed the ashes with those of Julia, the daughter of Titus, whom she had also nursed.

As soon as the death of Domitian was ascertained, the senate assembled, and, without delay, with one voice declared M. Cocceius Nerva emperor. His family, said to have been originally from Crete, had for several generations occupied a high place among the Roman nobility. He was highly educated, and ranked among the first poets; on which account Nero erected a statue for him in the palace. He had been colleague in the consulate with Vespasian, A. D. 71, and with Domitian A. D. 90; but the latter would have put him to death among those whom the astrologers had declared destined for emperor, had not one of these assured Domitian that he was not to be feared, for he would not live many days.

Nerva was the first emperor of Rome who truly deserved a throne. He was distinguished above all his predecessors for moral excellence, and valued the sceptre merely for the power by which it enabled him to advance the happiness of all classes of the community. He was remarkable for generosity, gentleness, and justice. He was, what every magistrate

ought to be, a terror only to evil doers ; but even these he was slow to punish, when they were merely guilty of doing, or seeking to do him personal injury. Of this he gave many proofs ; but the most striking was his changing the sentence of death by the senate into banishment on some of the chief men of Rome who were convicted of conspiring to take his life. He acted thus in conformity to the oath which he had taken, that no senator should ever be put to death by his order. This extreme leniency encouraged the prætorian guards to disturb the peace of the city, and compel him to deliver over to execution all who had been in any way concerned in the murder of the late emperor. Conscious that the empire required a more vigorous ruler, Nerva resolved to choose for a successor one qualified and disposed to reign for the general good. This noble motive led him to overlook his own relations and friends, and adopt Ulpius Trajan, believed to be the greatest and most worthy person of the age. On presenting him to the senate, he said, " With my hearty wishes for the prosperity of the senate and people of Rome, and that what I do may prove fortunate to them and myself, I declare Marcus Ulpius Trajan my son. He afterwards gave him the title of Cesar, with that of Germanicus, which he himself seems to have assumed about this time, invested him with the tribunitial power, and even honoured him with the title of emperor ; so that he created him not only his successor, but his partner in the empire ; at the same time he named him consul for the ensuing year." Nerva survived this event not many months ; he was about seventy years old, and feeble ; a paroxysm of passion, it is said, produced a fatal fever, after he had reigned nearly seventeen months.

Trajan ascended the throne A. D. 98. Spain was his native country ; but no Roman prince ever discovered more of the spirit of a Roman, or more determination to extend or confirm the power of Rome. To this, we conceive, may be traced not only his most celebrated deeds as a warrior, but also his most unjust and impolitic treatment of the most meritorious class of his subjects. His father was one of the ablest officers in the Roman army ; he commanded one of the legions of Vespasian whom Titus commanded in Judea, and by whom he completely conquered the Jews and disorganised their nation. Trajan served under his father when he humbled the Parthians, in commemoration of which his son afterwards had conferred on him the title of Parthecus. Young Trajan was ten years a military tribune, and rose successively

to the offices of prætor, consul, and governor of a province. The last office he occupied in Upper Germany, at the time that Nero chose him for his successor. He possessed great physical strength, and was remarkable for a noble and dignified aspect. He was justly acknowledged the first military commander of his age, and equal to the most celebrated generals of antiquity. "In every duty of war he was indefatigable; he marched always on foot at the head of the army, even after he was emperor, and crossed immense countries without ever once mounting on horseback, or suffering himself to be carried, as other emperors had done, in a chariot or litter. His diet was such as chance presented. In his garb and general dress, he little varied from a common soldier. Upon consultations and dispatches he bestowed nights and days. He never retired to his tent till he had visited the camp, and was always the first in the field when the usual exercises were to be performed. He was acquainted with all the old soldiers, called them by their names, remembered their exploits, and familiarly conversed with them; but at the same time knew how to keep them to their duty. He was great in war and equally great in peace. When he first assumed the sovereign power, he publicly professed that he did not think himself, in that high station, more exempt from the observance of the laws than the meanest of the populace, and accordingly took an oath to obey them, which he religiously observed."

He was not learned, but he esteemed and patronised those eminent for science and literature. He was less generous and condescending than Nerva, but signalized his administration by justice to all ranks, and liberality to the poor. He would rather that a thousand criminals should escape than that one innocent person should suffer punishment. On appointing any one to command his guards, he presented him with a drawn sword, saying: "Employ this sword for me; but turn it, if I deserve it, against me." He expended immense sums to relieve the poor, not fewer than two millions, in the provinces as well as in Rome. He was consequently everywhere regarded as the father of his country, by all of whom he was revered and loved. Governors accused and proved guilty of injustice and oppression, were severely punished; of this history records several strong proofs. In personal morals he, however, appears to have been scarcely superior to his predecessors. He was addicted to wine and all the pleasures of the senses, and was gratified by lofty titles,

such as lord, which Augustus himself refused. The chief object of his ambition seems to have been to establish and extend the entire constitution of imperial Rome, political, civil, and religious, to the highest possible degree. Trajan entered on his reign in his forty-fifth year, full of vigor of mind and body. The first war in which he engaged after his exaltation was against the Dacians, who demanded from him the annual sum which Domitian had pledged himself to remit to them. This he refused, as derogatory to the Roman people. He led, A. D. 102, a powerful army into their country, and speedily overcame their army; and was about to attack their capital, when their king Decebalus desired peace on any conditions which he chose to propose. These conditions, which it is unnecessary to enumerate, were supposed completely to have reduced the Dacians under the power of Rome, and Trajan, having garrisoned their chief towns, returned to Rome, and enjoyed the first triumph of the Romans over the brave people of Dacia. He also took, from this time, the surname *Dacius*.

The haughty spirit of Decebalus impelled him soon to violate the treaty to which he had reluctantly submitted. He strengthened his fortified places, and made war on the neighbouring people, who declined to join him in resisting the Romans. The Scythians became his allies; and the senate of Rome proclaimed him a public enemy. Trajan made great preparations to oppose him, and when he conducted his army to the Danube, he gave orders to construct the stone bridge over that river which historians represented as the most noble structure of the kind that the world ever beheld. The Romans crossed this bridge, and, after an arduous campaign, made themselves master of the metropolis of Dacia, and the immense treasures of its mighty monarch, who preferred taking his own life to falling into the hands of his enemies. Trajan reduced Dacia into a Roman province of great extent. Its lands were distributed to poor Roman citizens who chose to emigrate thither. Strong castles were erected, in which were stationed garrisons sufficient to command the obedience of the natives. A number of the neighbouring nations sought alliance with Rome ambassadors from various remote regions, including India, visited Trajan to congratulate him on his victories, in memory of which he caused many medals to be cast. About this time, the governor of Syria conquered the region of Arabia *Patraea*, making himself master of the strong city of *Petra*, which be

came, for the first time, the chief city of a Roman province in Arabia.

Trajan's ambition of conquest was inflamed by success. He remained not long in Rome to enjoy the triumphs by which he was honoured after his return from Germany. The king of Parthia had presumed to give a king to Armenia, which the Romans regarded as their property. Trajan proceeded to his eastern dominions, fully resolved to conquer the Parthians, who had repeatedly overthrown the Romans, and continued a kind of rivals for the empire of the world. The emperor passed from Italy to Athens, and thence advanced through Asia and Syria, till he reached its capital, Antioch, which he entered crowned with a branch of an olive-tree. From Antioch he led a powerful army into Armenia, which he reduced into a Roman province. He next invaded the dominions of the Parthian empire, where he obtained signal success. After conquering the parts of Syria subject to Parthia, and Chaldea, he encamped in ancient Babylon. The Parthians made a stand when he had reached the Euphrates. To elude them, he caused boats to be constructed in the adjacent mountains, and brought them during night to the river, which his troops crossed in the presence, and in defiance of the most vigorous opposition of the enemy. "Trajan made himself master of the kingdom of Adiabene, which he had reduced in the former war, but, perhaps, restored upon the conclusion of the peace. He likewise subdued the country which at that time, still retained the name of Assyria, and in which stood the city of Ninos or Nineveh, and Arbela and Gaugamela. He ordered his vessels to be brought upon land-carriages from the Euphrates to the Tigris, these two rivers being, in some places, at a small distance from each other; and, having formed a bridge with them, passed his army over the Tigris, and made himself master of Seleucia, and likewise of the great city of Ctesiphon, the metropolis of the Parthian, and afterwards of the Persian empire.

The taking of Ctesiphon put him in possession of all the neighbouring countries. Trajan reduced Assyria to a Roman province, as he had before done Armenia and Mesopotamia; so that the empire now extended to the Tigris, and even beyond that river. Towards the end of autumn, he returned to Antioch, which was that winter almost entirely ruined by one of the most dreadful earthquakes mentioned in history. On the return of spring he left Antioch to revisit the conquered countries. Finding them all in a state of tran-

quillity, he made various regulations ; and then, embarking on board his fleet, sailed down the Tigris, being desirous to view the Persian gulf. The storms, the rapidity of the river, and the tides, rendered his navigation both troublesome and dangerous. However, he made himself master of Mesene, an island formed by the Tigris, and obliged Athambylus, who reigned there, to pay him tribute. He was well received by the inhabitants of Charax Spasinæ, the metropolis of Athambylus' dominions, which most geographers place at the mouth of the Tigris. It was, we conjecture, on this occasion, that he reduced Arabia Felix. Trajan, having reached the ocean, and there discovering a ship bound to India, wished he was young, that he might extend, as Alexander had done, his conquests to that country. The following year he led his troops into Arabia, and attempted to reduce their chief city Atrâ ; but without success. Soon after, as he was advanced in years, and worn out with so many long marches, he was seized with a dropsy and palsy, which he ascribed to poison, but others thought natural. His distemper increasing, he left the command of the army to Adrian, his cousin, to whom he had given Julia Sabina, the grand-daughter of his sister, in marriage, in command of all his forces in the East, and advanced towards Rome. Upon his arrival at Selinus, in Cilicia, which was afterwards from him called Trajanopolis, he was seized with a flux, which in a very short time put an end to his life. He died in the beginning of August, after having reigned nineteen years, six months, and fifteen days, counting from the death of Nerva to the eleventh of August, when Adrian received at Antioch the news of his death, which had been concealed for some time, and thereupon caused himself to be proclaimed his successor."

Trajan was scarcely less celebrated for the arts of peace than for that of war. He erected many public works, made, it is reported, a fine road through many barbarous nations, from the Euxine sea to the sea coast of Gaul. He planted numerous colonies ; and laid up large quantities of corn and provisions, to save the capital from the calamity of famine, from which it had frequently suffered much. The most magnificent of all his works was, perhaps, the column raised in the great square called by his name, and designed to celebrate his victories. The Trajan column, which is still seen, was erected by the great architect Apollodorus, the Damascene, who had built for Trajan the bridge over the Danube, whose site cannot now be traced.

Trajan extended the dominions of Rome far beyond its utmost boundaries either before or after his reign. His predecessors scarcely reached beyond the Danube to the north-east ; he added Dacia, a region calculated at thirteen hundred miles in circumference. The kings of Bosphorus, Colchis, Iberia, Albania, Osrhœne, and Parthia, accepted from him their diadems ; the independent tribes of the Median and Carducian hills implored his protection ; and the rich and vast regions of ancient Assyria, Mesopotamia, and Armenia, were by him constituted Roman provinces. But among the first acts of Adrian, his successor, was the resignation of his eastern conquests, nor did any of the successive emperors attempt to recover them ; they all acquiesced in the advice of Augustus, that the Romans should regard the Euphrates as the frontier of the empire. Probably the most eminent successors of Trajan did little more than maintain the glory, the magnificence and grandeur to which he had raised the Roman name ; so that the greatness of the empire, as described by the able, although partial historian, Gibbon, may be viewed applicable to the Fourth Empire, at the time of the emperor's death, A. D. 117. That elegant writer, having briefly surveyed all the provinces, justly observes, that one may form "an image of the greatness of Rome, by observing that the empire was above two thousand miles in breadth, from the wall of Antonius and the northern limits of Dacia, to mount Atlas and the tropic of Cancer ; that it extended, in length, more than three thousand miles from the Western Ocean to the Euphrates ; that it was situated in the finest part of the Temperate Zone, between the twenty-fourth and sixty-sixth degrees of northern latitude ; and that it was supposed to contain above sixteen hundred thousand square miles, for the most part of fertile and well cultivated land." The population of the empire may have amounted to one hundred and twenty millions. These were all subject to the authority of Rome, and were chiefly governed through the medium of the Latin and Grecian languages. These languages exercised, at the same time, their separate jurisdiction throughout the empire ; the latter as the natural idiom of science, and the former as the legal dialect of legal transactions. Those who united letters with business were equally conversant with both ; and it was almost impossible, in any province, to find a Roman subject, of a liberal education, who was at once a stranger to the Greek and to the Latin languages. The Romans, we have seen, adopted not only the language, but



also the literature, arts, and refinements of Greece; and in this they were imitated by all the subjected nations, according as they advanced in civilization. This was most conspicuous in the principal cities and towns, which were exceedingly numerous in the empire. Thus ancient Italy contained nearly twelve hundred, not a few of which were remarkable for their wealth and elegance. Gaul boasted of fully an equal number, whose citizens successfully emulated those of Italy. Pliny gives a list of three hundred and sixty cities in Spain in the time of Vespasian. Three hundred acknowledged the authority of Carthage, in Africa, and it is probable that many more were governed by Rome. The spirit of improvement spread to Britain, York was the seat of government, London was already enriched by commerce, and Bath was celebrated for its medicinal waters. The provinces of the East present the contrast of Roman magnificence with Turkish barbarism. The ruins of antiquity, scattered over uncultivated fields, and ascribed by ignorance and superstition to magic, indicate the number, the wealth, and happiness of the inhabitants, whose place is occupied by a few oppressed peasants or wandering Arabs. Many noble cities adorned Asia Minor; of eleven who disputed for liberty to dedicate a temple to Tiberius, four were denied the honour, lest they should not be able to execute their purpose. Laodicea, one of the four, was rich in flocks, whose wool was celebrated for its fineness, and had just, before the contest, received from one of its citizens a legacy of more than four hundred thousand pounds. How wealthy must then have been the cities whose request was granted? Antioch in Syria, and Alexandria in Egypt, almost rivalled the majesty of Rome.

"All these cities," Gibbon observes, "were connected with each other, and with the capital, by the public highways, which, issuing from the Forum of Rome, traversed Italy, pervaded the provinces, and were terminated only by the frontiers of the empire. If we carefully trace the distance from the wall of Antonius to Rome, and from thence to Jerusalem. it will be found that the great chain of communication, from the north-west to the south-east point of the empire, was drawn out to the length of four thousand and eighty Roman miles. The public roads were accurately divided by milestones, and ran in a direct line from one city to another, with very little respect for the obstacles either of nature or private property. Mountains were perforated, and bold arches thrown over the broadest and most rapid streams. The middle part

of the road was raised into a terrace, which commanded the adjacent country, consisted of several strata of sand, gravel, and cement, and was paved with large stones, or in some places near the capital, with granite. Such was the solid construction of the Roman highways, whose firmness has not entirely yielded to the effort of fifteen centuries. They united the subjects of the most distant provinces by an easy and familiar intercourse; but their primary object had been to facilitate the marches of the legions; nor was any country considered as completely subdued, till it had been rendered, in all its parts, pervious to the arms and authority of the conqueror. The advantage of receiving the earliest intelligence, and of conveying their orders with celerity, induced the emperors to establish, throughout their extensive dominions, the regular institution of posts. Houses were everywhere erected at the distance only of five or six miles; each of them was constantly provided with forty horses, and, by the help of these relays, it was easy to travel an hundred miles in a day along the Roman roads. The use of the posts was allowed to those who claimed it by an imperial mandate; but though originally intended for the public service, it was sometimes indulged to the business or convenience of private citizens. Nor was the communication of the Roman empire less free and open by sea than it was by land. The provinces surrounded and inclosed the Mediterranean; and Italy, in the shape of an immense promontory, advanced into the midst of that great lake. The coasts of Italy are, in general, destitute of safe harbours; but human industry had corrected the deficiencies of nature, and the artificial port of Ostia in particular, situate at the mouth of the Tiber, and formed by the emperor Claudius, was an useful monument of Roman greatness. From this port, which was only sixteen miles from the capital, a favorable breeze frequently carried vessels in seven days to the Columns of Hercules, and in nine or ten to Alexandria in Egypt. Whatever evils either reason or declamation have imputed to extensive empire, the power of Rome was attended with some beneficial consequences to mankind; and the same freedom of intercourse which extended the vices, diffused likewise the improvements of social life. In the more remote ages of antiquity, the world was unequally divided. The East was in the immemorial possession of arts and luxury; whilst the West was inhabited by rude and warlike barbarians, who either disdained agriculture, or to whom it was totally unknown. Under the protection of an

established government, the productions of happier climates, and the industry of more civilised nations, were gradually introduced into the western countries of Europe; and the natives were encouraged by an open and profitable commerce to multiply the former, as well as to improve the latter. It would be almost impossible to enumerate all the articles, either of the animal or the vegetable kingdom, which were successively imported into Europe from Asia and Egypt. The most remote countries of the ancient world were ransacked to supply the pomp and delicacy of Rome. The forest of Scythia afforded some valuable furs. Amber was brought overland from the shores of the Baltic to the Danube, and the barbarians were astonished at the price which they received in exchange for so useless a commodity. There was a considerable demand for Babylonian carpets and other manufactures of the East; but the most important and unpopular branch of foreign trade was carried on with Arabia and India. Every year, about the time of the summer solstice, a fleet of an hundred and twenty vessels sailed from Myos-hormos, a port of Egypt on the Red Sea. By the periodical assistance of the monsoons, they traversed the ocean in about forty days. The coast of Malabar, or the island of Ceylon, was the usual term of their navigation, and it was in those markets that the merchants from the more remote countries of Asia expected their arrival. The return of the fleet of Egypt was fixed to the months of December or January; and as soon as their rich cargo had been transported on the backs of camels, from the Red Sea to the Nile, and had descended that river as far as Alexandria, it was poured, without delay, into the capital of the empire. The objects of Oriental traffic were splendid and trifling; silk, a pound of which was esteemed not inferior in value to a pound of gold; precious stones, among which the pearl claimed the first rank after the diamond; and a variety of aromatics, that were consumed in religious worship and the pomp of funerals. The labour and risk of the voyage were rewarded with almost incredible profit; but the profit was made upon Roman subjects, and a few individuals were enriched at the expense of the public. As the natives of Arabia and India were contented with the productions and manufactures of their own country, silver, on the side of the Romans, was the principal, if not the only instrument of commerce. It was a complaint worthy of the gravity of the senate, that in the purchase of female ornaments the wealth of the state was irrecoverably given away

to foreign and hostile nations. The annual loss is computed, by a writer of inquisitive but censorious temper, at upwards of eight hundred thousand pounds sterling.

"Such was the style of discontent, brooding over the dark prospect of approaching poverty. And yet if we compare the proportion between gold and silver as it stood in the time of Pliny, and as it was fixed in the reign of Constantine, we shall discover within that period a very considerable increase. There is not the least reason to suppose that gold was become more scarce; it is therefore evident that silver was grown more common; that whatever might be the amount of the Indian and Arabian exports, they were far from exhausting the wealth of the Roman world; and that the produce of the mines abundantly supplied the demands of commerce. Notwithstanding the propensity of mankind to exalt the past, and to depreciate the present, the tranquil and prosperous state of the empire was warmly felt, and honestly confessed, by the provincials as well as Romans. They acknowledged that the true principles of social life, laws, agriculture, and science, which had been first invented by the wisdom of Athens, were now firmly established by the power of Rome, under whose auspicious influence the fiercest barbarians were united by an equal government and common language. They affirm, that with the improvement of arts the human species was visibly multiplied. They celebrate the increasing splendour of the cities, the beautiful face of the country, cultivated and adorned like an immense garden; and the long festival of peace, which was enjoyed by so many nations, forgetful of their ancient animosities, and delivered from the apprehension of future danger. Whatever suspicions may be suggested by the air of rhetoric and declamation in these passages, the substance of them is perfectly agreeable to historic truth."

Reflect, then, on the state of the most important countries of the world, during the period of the universal triumph of Rome, contrasted with their condition under the preceding governments of the three former empires, and you will see how much greater facilities were afforded Christians to propagate the true religion than in any previous age of the world; and, indeed, they never were perhaps, till recent times, placed in more favourable circumstances, all things considered, than in the first century, with the exception of the five years in which the whole power of Rome was put forth to suppress and exterminate the subjects of the kingdom of the Fifth Empire. And several events, we apprehend, tended in an espe-

cial manner to the advancement of this empire for more than forty years after the death of Nero, A. D. 68. To those events of the nation which transpired previously to A. D. 95, the year of the persecution by Domitian, we have adverted in the preceding chapter.

Persecution for righteousness' sake is the fire which seems indispensable for the purification of the moral atmosphere of the Christian community. It is a most important, if not the principal means, which the great Commander of the Christian army employs to discipline his soldiers, that they may sustain and promote the interests of the kingdom of God with fidelity, fortitude, and honour. The number disqualified for "the good fight" multiplied in proportion to the unexpected and marvellous success of the first ministers of Christ. Even in the age of the apostles, not a few of impetuous passions, proud, subtle, and ambitious of distinction, or resolved to subsist without the exhaustion and care inseparable from honourable labour, insinuated themselves into the favour and confidence of the most simple and unsuspecting teachers of the Christian community; imitating the serpent in Eden, there crept in unawares ungodly men, turning the grace of God into lasciviousness, and denying the only Lord God, and our Lord Jesus Christ. These, at least their leaders, were adepts in the Oriental or Pythagorean philosophy, and applied its principles or conjectures to Divine Revelation. They seem to have contemplated the facts of Christianity in the same light in which the mythological fables of paganism had appeared to them; not as realities or certain truths, but symbolical representations of certain principles. Thus they interpreted the humanity, death, and resurrection of Christ, as mere appearances, not realities; to be understood as mere emblems which were to be explained by the rules which regulated the philosophers and priests, in their interpretation of the traditionary or visionary relations respecting idols. Thus they perverted the gospel, made shipwreck of faith and a good conscience, and overthrew the faith of some. Indeed, the number of apostates from the faith was evidently not small, when Paul was a prisoner in Rome; for, addressing the Philippians, he says, "Many walk, of whom I have told you often, and now tell you, even weeping, that they are enemies to the cross of Christ; whose end is destruction, whose god is their belly, who mind earthly things." The persecution, therefore, by Nero, which apparently happened almost immediately after the liberation of the apostle of the Gentiles may be regarded

an event not less seasonable than it was afflictive. It was impossible in the nature of things for the followers of Christ to have efficiently served and honoured him while they were exposed to the immediate influence of sceptical, infidel, or ungodly associates, or viewed by society as acting with them. In every effort to advance the knowledge of the gospel, and to extend the government of Christ, they would be restrained ; and above all, they would, as a community, exhibit before mankind a most false and delusive representation of the kingdom of God. Consequently, instead of men glorifying God on account of their good works, they would have plausible reason to revile the name of Christ, and exult in the speedy overthrow of his righteous government on the earth. When, however, the name of Christian subjected to the loss of all things, or life itself, those alone who possessed faith unfeigned, and were characterised by labours of love, and patience of hope, would choose to retain it ; and then would they appear as a class in society distinct from all others separated from them by peculiar heavenly and holy principles, dispositions, pursuits, hopes, and pleasures. Whether, therefore, they suffered unto death, or were permitted to live and serve their Lord, he would be magnified in all things, and mankind would be placed in the most favourable circumstances to discover the truth and excellence of the glorious gospel of the blessed God. By witnessing the joy, hope, fortitude, and patience of the faithful martyrs, and the happiness, zeal, and perseverance of their fellow disciples who were spared, they perceived ample evidence that the gospel was indeed the power of God to deliver from all iniquity, and conform the mind and life to the example and will of the Lord Jesus Christ.

While persecution for the sake of the gospel is the occasion of the full manifestation of its divine glory to all men, it not less effectually prepares all the faithful followers of Christ who survive it, for more arduous exertions in his service ; for what they have seen in their brethren who have joyfully resigned their life, in the hope of the resurrection, rather than deny their Lord from love to the present life ; and from their own experience of the power of the gospel to impart to them pure felicity, in the prospect of the loss of all things, they are more fully persuaded of its divine excellence and eternal importance, and hence become solicitous above all things to continue participating of its peculiar and heavenly blessings ; and to employ every means approved by their Lord to prevail on all men to share with them in the blessedness which it con-

fers on all who choose to receive it as the gratuitous gift of Heaven.

If such be the natural tendency of the persecution of Christians, we may confidently calculate that one of its most common results will be the advancement of Christianity, verifying the proverb that "the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church." This was remarkably illustrated in the generation of the Lord Jesus Christ, his apostles, and their immediate successors in the ministry of the Christian church. Their history contained in the four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and Epistles, is not only more clearly than all others, human or even divine, stamped with the seal of truth, but it is also the most marvellous and interesting to the human race that has been or ever will be recorded for their instruction. Conceive how little noticed or esteemed were Jesus and his twelve apostles, on that evening when he last supped with them. Nor did the one hundred and twenty assembled in an upper-room in Jerusalem, praying daily for the space of six weeks, excite any more the attention of the busy world; or if they were thought of at all by the citizens, it would be to awaken the pity of a few and the contempt and scorn of the many. What would the wise have thought, or said, had any announced to them that this company should, without secular power, science, wealth, deceit, or flattery, multiply their number into ten thousands, if not millions, simply by confession of the truth concerning Christ, zeal in its propagation, and voluntary loss for its sake of worldly good, a good name, and, in many cases of life itself. This was nevertheless the result of their labours. Before Nero attempted to disgrace and destroy one or more of them, their society, probably illuminated every important city and town, and many a village throughout all the provinces of Syria, Egypt, Asia, and a considerable part of Europe. These societies chiefly consisted of the lower classes; but some accounted mighty, and noble, and wise, consorted with them, for this is plainly indicated by the phraseology, "Not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble are called." Rulers of cities, officers in the army, and some of Nero's guards or servants, were, we know, obedient to the faith. Nor is it to be doubted that their principles and practices were, in the reign of Domitian, adopted by some nearest the throne.

History affords no slight evidence that in the time of Domitian the number of Christians had greatly increased. This

may be inferred from the fact that considerable parties had risen, distinguished by the Christian name, while wholly destitute of the Christian spirit and manner of life. Sects rarely, if ever, proceed from a small society or community, especially when the members are poor, despised, and persecuted. Individuals may, and generally do separate from them, but it is generally because they disapprove of some or all of their associates, or the constitution and laws of the society, or have no inclination of sharing in its sufferings or reproach. Christians had grown into a multitude in Jerusalem and Antioch, and not few in other places, when certain persons violated truth and integrity, that they might procure the dignity and authority of leaders in the church. Under the pretence of a commission from their brethren in Jerusalem, they appeared at Antioch, announcing that except the Gentiles who believed the gospel were circumcised, or became Jewish proselytes, they could not be saved. This was the first fatal error, or what we call heresy, which arose in the kingdom of Christ and of God. Perhaps no city out of Syria contained a larger Christian society in Paul's day than Corinth, and not a few of the members appear to have been reputed wise and rich. The leaders of sects among them had some reason to hope y success to acquire reputation, gain, and applause; and similar objects may have stimulated the illegitimate ambition of the chiefs of the Nicolaitanes in Asia Minor, where were many Christians in its richest cities towards the end of the first century. About the same period ecclesiastical history informs us of separatists from the apostolic community, who seem to have acquired more distinction and stability than those noticed in the New Testament, doubtless because they were more numerous. The principal founders of these were, if the Christian fathers are to be believed, Simon the magician of Samaria, Cerinthus, and Ebion, whose most prominent errors and customs were probably the same as those which afterwards acquired a more distinct form and consistence in the hands of the party named Gnostics, or Docetæ. Simon is reported to having asserted in Samaria, that he was God the Father, in Judea, that he was the Son of God, and in pagan nations, that he was the Holy Spirit, and that no one could be saved who was not baptised in his name. He continued his arts of dissemination, and had many disciples, particularly in Rome. His religious system admitted every species of wickedness. His errors were propagated by one of his disciples, and others, in various countries. Cerinthus was by



descent a Jew, and was probably conversant with Eastern philosophy, for he seems to have spoken of Jesus Christ as if he were a man inhabited by a heavenly created being. The Ebionites seem to have been derived from the Judaizing teachers of the apostolic times. They denied the incarnation of Christ, and taught that without obedience to the laws of Moses no one could obtain salvation. Paul was accounted by them an apostate, and the gospel of Matthew in Hebrew, was the only part of the New Testament which they admitted Divine.

The Gnostics, or persons eminent for knowledge, as the appellation imports, were the first great sect who, under the Christian name, subverted the gospel by pagan philosophy. They borrowed from the system which taught that from the Supreme Being proceed superhuman beings named æons, by whose agency he maintains intercourse with the world. Having discharged their office, they return to their Creator, named the Pleroma. Among these æons, Waddington observes, "a very high rank, possibly the highest, was assigned to Christ; but from this point the Gnostics broke off into two different and almost opposite theories; many imagined that Jesus was a mere man, and maintained that the æon Christ descended upon the man Jesus at his baptism, and left him immediately before his crucifixion, so that Christ was not, in fact, subjected to pain and death; while others held that the body with which Christ appeared to be invested, was not really human and passible, but unsubstantial or ethereal, or at least immaterial: these last were called Docetæ. At the same time, both parties alike misunderstood that which the Church considered to be the peculiar doctrine and object of Christianity; for they agreed in believing that the mission of Christ had no further intention than to reveal the knowledge of the true God; they denied the resurrection and the final judgment, and by explaining away the death of Christ, they deprived his religion of the doctrine of the atonement."

Some of the Gnostics wholly rejected the Old Testament as proceeding from the God of the Jews, whom they regard as "the evil principle," in opposition to the New Testament communicated by the Creator of Jesus Christ, or "the good principle." Their doctrine, Mosheim remarks, relating to morals and practice, was of two kinds, and those extremely different from each other. The greatest part of this sect adopted rules of life that were full of austerity, recommended a strict and rigorous abstinence, and prescribed the most se-

were bodily mortifications, from a notion that they had a happy influence in purifying and enlarging the mind, and in disposing it for the contemplation of celestial things. As they looked upon it to be the unhappiness of the soul to have been associated at all to a malignant, terrestrial body, so they imagined that the more that body was extenuated, the less it would corrupt and degrade the mind, or divert it from pursuits of a spiritual and divine nature; all the Gnostics, however, were not so severe in their moral discipline. Some maintained that there was no moral difference in human actions; and thus confounding right with wrong, they gave a loose rein to all the passions, and asserted the innocence of following blindly all their motions, and of living by their tumultuous dictates. There is nothing surprising or unaccountable in this difference between the Gnostic moralists. For, when we examine the matter with attention, we shall find, that the same doctrine may very naturally have given rise to these opposite sentiments. As they all in general considered the body as the centre and source of evil, those of that sect who were of a morose and austere disposition, would be hence naturally led to mortify and combat the body as the enemy of the soul; and those who were of a voluptuous turn, might also consider the actions of the body as having no relation, either of congruity or incongruity, to the state of a soul in communion with God.

The opinions thus slightly noticed, seem almost all, more or less, alluded to in the apostolic writings; and that they were received by multitudes before the death of John the apostle, appears evident from the testimony of the Christian fathers, who are most worthy of credit. And it is still more certain that the majority of Christians continued steadfast in the pure doctrine and precepts of the Sacred Writings. Nor can it be doubted that their number must have been exceedingly increased, when many ambitious men, engaged in the formation of sects, retained the Christian name. They would never have engaged in such a work had not Christianity been deeply interesting to multitudes whose applause and favour, if they could prevail on them to become their disciples, promised to gratify their pride, covetousness, and lust of dominion. Whether they were successful to a great extent or not, "the mere fact of the existence of so many different forms of Christianity, certainly proves, not only the zeal but also the numbers of the early converts; for if these had been inconsiderable, we should have heard little either about dissenters

from the orthodox body, or of their divisions among themselves. The paucity and weakness of the faithful would have been a sufficient guarantee for their unanimity."

That the gospel had signally triumphed in the empire, we shall only adduce one striking proof from its marvellous power in subverting idolatry in Bithynia, long before the termination of the first century. This region was inhabited by a rude, uncivilized race in the time of the Persian empire. Paul was restrained by the divine impulse from visiting this country; but probably some native Jews or proselytes had introduced the gospel, which they received when first preached on the day of Pentecost, Acts ii. 9, 10. Now, from the language applied to the Christians of Bithynia, when Peter the apostle addressed them in his first epistle, it seems obvious that they were then, compared with the population, exceedingly few; they were merely strangers scattered abroad. How rapidly they must have increased may be learned from Pliny's celebrated epistle to Trajan, A. D. 107. "The sacred solemnities" of the idol temples had been for a long season neglected: and Christianity had pervaded the cities, towns, villages, and hamlets. His letter was occasioned by the difficulty which he felt in condemning to death those who were innocent of any crime, except violating the obsolete law of Rome respecting religion, which Trajan had revived, as appears from his answer to his proconsul and friend. He writes as follows:—"Others were named by an informer, who had first confessed themselves Christians, and afterwards denied it; the rest said they had been Christians, but had left them, some three years ago, some longer, and one or more above twenty years. They all worshipped your image, and the statues of the gods; these also reviled Christ. They affirmed that the whole of their fault or error lay in this—that they were wont to meet together on a stated day before it was light, and sing among themselves alternately a hymn to Christ, as to God, and bind themselves by an oath, not to the commission of any wickedness, but, not to be guilty of theft or robbery, or adultery, never to falsify their word, nor to deny a pledge committed to them when called upon to return it. When these things were performed, it was their custom to separate, and then to come together again to a meal, which they ate in common without any disorder; but this they had foreborne since the publication of my edict, by which, according to your commands, I prohibited assemblies. After receiving this account, I judged it the more necessary

to examine, and that by torture, two maid-servants, which were called ministers: but I have discovered nothing besides a bad and excessive superstition. Suspending, therefore, all judicial proceedings, I have recourse to you for advice, for it has appeared to me matter highly deserving consideration, especially upon account of the great number of persons who are in danger of suffering, for many of all ages and every rank, of both sexes likewise, are accused, and will be accused. Nor has the contagion of this superstition seized cities only, but the lesser towns also, and the open country; nevertheless, it seems to me that it may be restrained and corrected. It is certain that the temples which were almost forsaken begin to be more frequented; and the sacred solemnities, after a long intermission, are revived. Victims likewise are everywhere bought up, whereas for a time there were few purchasers. Whence it is easy to imagine what numbers of men might be reclaimed if pardon were granted to those who repent." The emperor's answer amounted to this—"That the Christians are not to be sought for, nor molested on anonymous information; but that on conviction they ought to be punished."

These letters suggest important instruction, in relation to the original propagation of the Christian revelation. Few divisions of the Roman empire lay more remote from Jerusalem, and indeed from all the chief seats of the ministry of the apostles, than Bithynia, which formed the shores of the south-western extremity of the Euxine Sea, and bordered on the terrible and almost unknown and vast regions of Scythia. Since the inhabitants of this province had universally renounced idol-worship and all its abominable practices, is it probable that those much more favourably situated for attaining the knowledge of Christ, remained more attached to their senseless and profane worship? Can it be doubted, that the gods of the Roman provinces were truly famished? Have we not here an ample illustration and confirmation of the truth of the first scene of the predictive visions of John in Patmos? "I saw, and behold a white horse, and he that sat on him had a bow, and a crown was given unto him: and he went forth conquering and to conquer." The event foretold the future, and described not the past; it was included in those things which were to transpire shortly after, as seen by the apostle; while horses, being anciently used in grand processional triumphs of conquerors, naturally became symbolical images of victory, conquest, and triumph, as in Rev.

xix. 11—17. The Sovereign of the Fifth Empire retired not from the contest with the votaries of the vain and polluted gods of the nations, when his first ministers were summoned to sit with him on his invisible throne. The work which he had taught them to perform, he committed to others, whom he counted faithful, and he went forth at their head, "conquering and to conquer," till the whole empire became nominally subject to his government, who is "King of kings, and Lord of lords." Thus were many predictions by the ancient prophets accomplished: all nations worshipped the Lord Jesus; and the tribes of the people did him homage.

Posterity would have, perhaps, never known the Christian state of Bithynia any more than its state in other provinces, had Pliny not had more knowledge of morals than was usually attained by the Roman governors. Christianity had already, evidently invisibly, and most probably imperceptibly, powerfully affected the minds of intelligent and learned unbelievers. Its moral principles strongly recommend themselves to the consciences of all considerate men. And many learned from Christianity much to embitter their life, and make them administer much good to mankind, while they proudly rejected its peculiar truths, which would have, at once, imparted to them pure felicity, and made them more extensively useful in society. The moral opinions of Seneca, the elder and younger Pliny, and some of their learned contemporaries undoubtedly rose far above the standard of paganism. And Nerva and Trajan discovered more universal benevolence and tender compassion for mankind in general, than was common with their predecessors. They walked in light whose sun or fountain they knew not, or disdained to acknowledge, and in this vain and inconsiderate conduct have they been followed by thousands of the learned and mighty in all successive ages. Happy had it been for them had they not, in pride of intellect, and perversion of affections, not attempted to extinguish that light to which they were indebted for that imperfect moral excellence which constituted their truest and highest glory.

Notwithstanding the moral splendour of Pliny and Trajan, they were destitute of the very first element of moral science, benevolence, or enlightened love to God and men, and by consequence, they neither revered him as the Supreme, nor practised impartial justice to the human race. The standard of duty with Pliny, was obedience to the supreme authority in human society, without any regard to the au-

thority of God as the sovereign Lord and Judge of every man. He perceived that the Christians were guilty of no crime which even the laws of the empire had defined, and denounced as deserving of punishment; for the law prohibiting the introduction of a new god or a new religion different from that recognised by the Romans, had been by custom a dead letter in all ages: it had rarely been enforced. "The various modes of worship which prevailed in the Roman world, were all considered by the people as equally true; by the philosopher as equally false; and by the magistrate as equally useful. And thus toleration produced not only mutual indulgence, but even religious concord." Pliny, regardless alike of the homage due to God and to the law of the empire, expelled from his heart all feelings of justice and humanity, by the imagination or persuasion that resolute refusal to worship idols at his command as the chief magistrate, indispensably demanded the infliction of the most severe of punishments which human policy, revenge, or malice had invented. Though conscious of his ignorance of Christianity, yet he deigned not to investigate it, that he might judge with knowledge and impartiality of the accusation of violating the law by confessing it, notwithstanding that the welfare of the majority of the people depended on his decision. Truly, the pride of talent and learning betrays consummate meanness of spirit and callousness of heart. It absolutely prevented the attainment of knowledge and wisdom, which the possessor conceives to be his highest glory. He only values the knowledge which leaves him self-sufficient and insensible to his obligations to worship and serve his Creator. Whether the Christian serve God or not, held truth or was deluded, it was nothing to the worldly philosopher.

Trajan, inferior as he was in learning, and perhaps intellect, to Pliny, acted somewhat more honourable; and we doubt not, would not have persecuted, had he not determined to maintain the integrity and ancient glory and religion of the Roman empire, civil as well as political. His officer and friend had listened to informers; the emperor enjoins him to give no encouragement to such persons; they were a worthless race whom his government denounced; and as for anonymous libels, they were not at all to be regarded, for he aspired to the fame of a generous and just sovereign. Nevertheless, this apparently noble-minded man had revived the law which rendered capital the worship of a god not ad-

mitted into the list of the gods of the Romans. He was unquestionably more ambitious of supporting the glory than the true happiness of the Romans. He was as zealous to spread the fame of the gods of Rome as its political power. Accordingly, we find him, in his progress through the Eastern provinces, acting as the supreme judge in religious as well as in civil affairs, believing that his personal celebrity required the prosperity of both. It is possible that posterity would have known nothing more of Trajan's personal implacable hatred of Christianity, and his persecution of its advocates, than of many other events deeply affecting them, had they, especially their teachers, remembered all the instructions of their Lord and Saviour, and the example of his most faithful ministers. They were, doubtless, persecuted in all the provinces, in obedience to Trajan's edicts; but neither he nor his friends deemed Christianity worthy of their thoughts, except in so far as it obtruded itself on their attention, and seemed to interfere with their schemes of political ambition. The wisdom of this world, and the renown of statesmen and successful war, and the pleasures of this life, constituted, in their eyes, human felicity. Christianity, in its primitive simplicity, had no charms for them. They had neither inclination nor time to observe or record the excellence or defects, the labours or sufferings of its followers, whom they looked on as a race remarkable for ignorance or imbecility of mind, or contemptible for poverty or fanaticism. The Roman governors believed it their duty to extirpate Christianity, in obedience to their emperor; it was no part of their labour or care to report its history.

Trajan, on arriving at Antioch, raised his tribunal there, as in other places, and heard the accusations brought against Christians. We have, however, no evidence that he summoned them as a body before him, nor even encouraged their enemies to accuse them. That he, however, was their determined enemy, is manifest from his treatment of Ignatius, bishop of the Christian church at Antioch. This holy minister had, we think, rashly made up his mind to expose himself to martyrdom, perhaps in the expectation that when the shepherd was slain, the flock would be spared. Instead of continuing to discharge his duty quietly, or retiring from the face of the persecutor, he sought an interview with the emperor, and confessed his faith, partly in phraseology which no unbeliever could be supposed to understand or interpret as conveying anything but the delusions of an enthusiast. "Ambition and

lust of power," the intelligent and pious Milner remarks, "were not stronger features in the character of Cesar, than the desire of martyrdom was in that of Ignatius." He had long governed the church in Antioch, and was a very aged Christian, A. D. 107, when he held the interview with Trajan, which is thus detailed. "What an impious spirit art thou," said the emperor, "both to transgress our commands, and to inveigle others into the same folly to their ruin?" *Ignatius*. Theophorus ought not to be called so, forasmuch as all wicked spirits are departed far from the servants of God. But if you call me impious because I am hostile to evil spirits, I own the charge in that respect; for I dissolve all their snares, through the inward support of Christ, the heavenly King. *Trajan*. Pray, who is Theophorus? *Ignatius*. He who has Christ in his breast. *Trajan*. And thinkest thou not that gods reside in us also, who fight for us against our enemies? *Ignatius*. You mistake in calling the demons of the nation by the name of gods; for there is only ONE God, who made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that is in them; and ONE Jesus Christ, his only-begotten Son, whose kingdom be my portion! *Trajan*. His kingdom do you say, who was crucified under Pilate? *Ignatius*. His, who crucified my sin with its author; and has put all the fraud and malice of Satan under the feet of those who carry him in their heart. *Trajan*. Dost thou then carry him who was crucified within thee? *Ignatius*. I do; for it is written, 'I dwell in them, and walk in them.' Then Trajan pronounced this sentence against him:—"Since Ignatius confesses that he carries within himself him that was crucified, we command that he be carried bound by soldiers to Great Rome, there to be thrown to the wild beasts, for the entertainment of the people." This conversation and the account of his future sufferings, are said to have been written by the Christians who accompanied him to Rome. But the original document, as well as his epistles to several churches, have been, like other writings of the Christians, injured by posterity, and phrases or sentiments inserted ascribed to Ignatius which he probably would have disapproved. However valuable his epistles, and the writing of his contemporaries or successors may be, it would be well to recollect that they constitute no part of the infallible rule of the faith and practice of Christianity, of which no just judgment can be formed, except from the Scriptures.

Guards were sent with Ignatius to Seleucia, and thence they sailed to Smyrna, where he was allowed to enjoy, for



sometime, the society of his friend and fellow-disciple of the apostle John, Polycarp, the venerable and holy bishop of the church in this city ; and here also he had the pleasure of intercourse with a number of Christians sent by their respective churches in Asia Minor, to refresh his spirits, and testify their love for him. From Smyrna he sailed to Troas, accompanied by Polycarp and other Christian friends. He was conducted by his guards from Troas to Nicopolis, passed by Philippi, through Macedonia, and part of Epirus, from one of the ports of which they sailed to Italy, and landed at Ostia, the seaport of Rome. The Christians here intimated their strong desire to intercede for his life ; but he declined the favour. Having reached Rome, he was delivered to the prefect, and ordered to be put to death. A number of the Christians were permitted to unite with him in prayer. He particularly prayed for the churches, and that the persecution might cease, as it had done to his great joy, in Antioch. He was then led into the amphitheatre and thrown to the wild beasts. They devoured him, except a few of his bones, which his friends carefully collected and conveyed to Antioch, where they were burned.

The letters of Ignatius contain more instruction to the churches than information respecting their state. His allusions, however, on this subject teach us that the Christians in Syria and Asia were still animated by the true spirit of Christianity, and boldly contended for the faith, in opposition to the seductions of false teachers, and the power of unbelieving rulers, philosophers, and idolaters. The most satisfactory view of the spirit and conduct of the Christians, about the end of the first century, given by any uninspired writer is to be found in the epistle of Clemens Romanus to the church at Corinth, which he is supposed to have written about A. D. 95. This is the only work of the first Christians that have survived that breathes throughout the pure apostolic spirit. Though the Corinthians had relapsed into similar evils to those which induced Paul to write to them his two epistles, yet the restoration effected by his first, and attested to in the second, appears to have been truly real ; for Clemens thus describes their prosperous state previously to the relapse which he deploras. "What strangers," he says, "that came among you, did not take honourable notice formerly of the firmness and fulness of your faith? Who of them did not admire the sobriety and gentleness of your godly spirit in Christ? Who did not extol the liberal practice of you

Christian hospitality? How admirable was your sound and mature knowledge of divine things? Ye were wont to do all things without respect to persons; and ye walked in the ways of God in due subjection to your pastors, and submitting yourselves the younger to the elder. Ye charged young men to attend to the gravity and moderation becoming the Christian character; young women to discharge their duties with a blameless, holy, and chaste conscientiousness; to love their husbands with all suitable tenderness and fidelity; and to guide the house in all soberness and gravity. Then ye all showed a humble spirit, void of boasting and arrogance, more ready to obey than to command, more ready to give than to receive. Content with the Divine allotments, and attending diligently to his word, ye were enlarged in your bowels of love; and his sufferings on the cross were before your eyes. Hence a profound and happy peace was imparted to you all; an unwearied desire of doing good, and a plentiful effusion of the Holy Ghost was with you. Full of holy counsel, in all readiness of mind, with godly assurance of faith, ye stretched forth your hands to the Lord Almighty, intreating him to be gracious to you, if in anything ye unwillingly offended. Your care was, day and night, for all the brethren; that the number of his elect might be saved in mercy and a good conscience. Ye were indeed sincere and harmless, and forgiving one another. All dissension and schism in the Church was abominable to you: ye mourned over the faults of your neighbours; ye sympathised with their infirmities as your own; ye were unwearied in all goodness, and ready to every good work. Adorned with a venerable and upright conversation, ye performed all things in his fear; and the law of God was written deep indeed on the tables of your hearts."

The character which becomes Christians, in the judgment of Clemens, truly harmonises with that delineated in the Sacred Writings. One specimen may suffice to show this: "Christ is theirs who are poor in spirit, and lift not up themselves above the flock; but are content to be low in the Church." "Let us obey our spiritual pastors, and honour our elders, and let the younger be disciplined in the fear of God. Let our wives be directed to what is good; to follow chastity, modesty, meekness, sincerity. Let them evidence their power of self-government by their silence; and let them show love, not in the spirit of a sect or party, but to all who fear God." Again, "Let not the strong despise the weak:

and let the weak reverence the strong. Let the rich communicate to the poor ; and let the poor be thankful to God, for those through whom their wants are supplied. Let the wise exert his wisdom, not merely in words, but in good works. Let the humble prove his humility, not by testifying of himself how humble he is ; but by a conduct, that may occasion others to give testimony to him ; Let not the chaste be proud of his chastity, knowing that from God he has received the gift of continency." "Have we not all one God, one Christ, one spirit of grace poured upon us, and one calling in Christ ? Why do we separate and distract the members of Christ, and fight against our own body, and arrive at such an height of madness, as to forget that we are members one of another. Is any among you strong in faith, mighty in knowledge, gifted in utterance, judicious in doctrines, and pure in conduct. The more he appears exalted above others, the more need has he to be poor in spirit ; and to take care, that he look not to his own things, but that he study to promote the common good of the Church. Every one, whose heart has any good degree of the fear and love which is the result of our common hope, would rather that he himself be exposed to censure than his neighbours ; and would rather condemn himself, than break that beautiful bond of brotherly love which is delivered to us." After pressing the beautiful example of the charity of Moses recorded in the book of Exodus, he says, "who of you has any generosity of sentiment, or bowels of compassion, or fulness of love ? Let him say, if the strife and schism be on my account ; I will depart, wherever you please, and perform whatever the church shall require. Only let Christ's flock live in peace with their settled pastors."

We have reason to conclude that the imperial persecution of the entire Christian community, like that of individual ministers or private members, would "tend to the furtherance of the gospel." It presented Christianity in all its glory before every class of the empire. The emperor and his great officers, the philosophers and the priests of paganism, the soldier and the husbandman, the nobles and the peasants, had the salvation of God brought near to them ; and had not the mighty, and wise, and noble, in malice and envy, tried their power to crush the rising kingdom of God, most probably, not a few who were saved by His sovereign mercy and favour would never have deigned to visit the Christian assemblies, or listen to the voice of a Christian on any subject which directed man to regard Jesus of Nazareth, the crucified

one, as the only Saviour and Lord of all. The testimony of the confessors before the pulic tribunal, and their unconquerable fidelity to their Saviour, awakened the attention of many an unbeliever to the importance of the life and incorruption brought to light by the gospel, and thoroughly convinced them of the truth of the report, that "Jesus Christ came to save sinners."

The Lord Jesus commanded his followers, when persecuted in one city, to flee unto another; and many of them obeyed, and carried the message of mercy much more rapidly over the world than the most sanguine of its friends had probably ever calculated. It is most probable that Christianity would not have spread beyond the Roman empire, had the confession of it not been pronounced a capital crime. The empire was a sufficiently large field for the missionary enterprise; and beyond it there was little to stimulate and encourage any Christian to renounce all the comforts and advantages of home, and comparatively civil society. Beyond the Roman dominions, and those possessed by kings who would gladly purchase the emperor's favour by the sacrifice of any who sought in their kingdoms an asylum from his power, all countries, not consisting of entire deserts or waste solitudes, were inhabited by hostile tribes of barbarians, of unknown languages, and fierce manners. Who would feel disposed to withdraw into these regions, unless convinced that they had, otherwise, no chance of life? And this was no doubt the experience of many during the great persecutions by pagan as well as papal Rome. "The wilderness," or the lands of barbarism, afforded the only refuge for the afflicted followers of Christ, who sought safety in flight from the iron teeth of the nameless beast of prey. "Wherever you are," said Cicero to the exiled Marcellus, "remember you are equally within the power of the conqueror." Christians who were fortunate enough to evade the search, and escape the power of Rome, had no alternative but to place themselves at the mercy of the rudest and most ignorant of the human race. These, perhaps, generally welcomed them, and received in return the knowledge of "the unsearchable riches of Christ." "The wilderness and the solitary place were made glad for them, and the desert rejoiced and blossomed like the rose."

It was most probably during the persecutions by the Pagan Roman emperors that the gospel was spread beyond the empire, and that it was received by those whose descendants, in

future ages, declined obedience to the mandates of the Pope of Rome and his clergy. These certainly met with more opposition from Christians in remote regions of the empire, or among a people who had never quietly submitted to the Roman yoke, than from any other people in Europe. Thus the Waldenses in the valleys of the Alps, and the Culdees in the northern parts of Scotland, were the most determined enemies of the spiritual despotism and tyranny of the Roman clergy in the dark ages. And it is scarcely to be questioned that in these countries, as well as in Germany, Scythia, and Persia, Christianity was known and confessed by at least a few of the inhabitants in the first and second centuries. Clemens Romanus, who was perhaps a contemporary of John the apostle, and acquainted with some of Paul's disciples at Rome, testifies that Paul preached the gospel to "the utmost bounds of the West," a phrase denoting the utmost western boundaries of the Roman empire. The dissemination of the pure gospel beyond the empire is still more clearly announced by Irenæus. This venerable minister, who was chosen bishop of the church at Lyons, A. D. 169, had enjoyed the society of Polycarp, one of the disciples of John the Baptist. In his book on heresy, written A. D. 187, he thus speaks: "Though in the world there are different languages, yet the virtue of instruction is one and the same. And neither do the churches disseminated through the whole world, even to the ends of the earth, believe differently, or teach differently from one another. No disagreement in faith or practice existed among those founded in Germany, nor those which are among the Spaniards, nor those which are among the Celts, nor those which are in the East, nor those which are in Egypt, nor those which are in Lybia, nor those which are in the middle of the world: but as to the creatures of God in the whole world the sun is one and the same, so also is the light of the preaching the truth wherever it shines and illuminates all men who arrive at the knowledge of the truth." It was, however, only after the lapse of centuries that nominal Christianity became the religion of the nations to whom he refers; and it is a lamentable fact that the new religion which they embraced, or rather which was forced on them, contained little of Christianity except the name. In proof of this, it is only necessary to give a short extract from Mosheim's account of "the prosperous events" to the Christian, or rather he Roman church, in the sixth century.—"In the western parts, Remigius, or Remi, bishop of Rheims, who is com-

monly called The Apostle of the Gauls, signalized his zeal in the conversion of those who still adhered to the ancient superstitions ; and his success was considerable, particularly after that auspicious period when Clovis, king of the Franks, embraced the gospel. In Britain, several circumstances concurred to favour the propagation of Christianity. Ethelbert, king of Kent, and the most considerable of the Anglo-Saxon monarchs among whom that island was at this time divided, married Bertha, daughter of Cherebert, king of Paris, towards the conclusion of this century. This princess, partly by her own influence, and partly by the pious efforts of the clergy who followed her into Britain, gradually formed in the mind of Ethelbert, a certain inclination to the Christian religion. While the king was in this favourable disposition, Gregory the Great sent into Britain, A. D. 596, forty Benedictine monks, with Augustin at their head, in order, to bring to perfection what the pious queen had so happily begun. This monk, seconded by the zeal and assistance of Bertha, converted the king, and the greatest part of the inhabitants of Kent, and laid anew the foundation of the British church. The labours of Columba, an Irish monk, were attended with success among the Picts and Scots, many of whom embraced the gospel of Christ. In Germany the Bohemians, Thuringians, and Boii, are said to have abandoned, in this century, their ancient superstitions, and to have received the light of Divine truth ; though this fact appears extremely doubtful to many. All these conversions and sacred exploits will lose much of their importance in the esteem of such as examine with attention the accounts which have been given of them by the writers of this and the succeeding ages. For by these accounts it appears that the converted nations now mentioned retained a great part of their former impiety, superstition, and licentiousness ; and that, attached to Christ by a mere outward and nominal profession, they, in effect, renounced the purity of his doctrine, and the authority of his gospel, by their flagitious lives, and the superstitious and idolatrous rites and institutions which they continued to observe."

According to the same learned historian, the Christianity propagated in Europe in the seventh century could produce little real happiness to those who received it. "Augustin laboured to extend the limits of the church, and to spread the light of the gospel among the Anglo-Saxons ; and, after his death, other monks were sent from Rome, to exert themselves in the same glorious cause. Their efforts were attended

with the desired success, and the efficacy of their labours was manifested in the conversion of the six Anglo-Saxon kings, who had hitherto remained under the darkness of the ancient superstitions, to the Christian faith which gained ground by degrees, and was, at length embraced universally throughout all Britain. We are not, however, to imagine, that this universal change in favor of Christianity was wholly due to the discourses of the Roman monks and doctors; for other causes were certainly instrumental in accomplishing this great event. And it is not to be doubted, that the influence which some Christian queens and ladies of high distinction had over their husbands, and the pains they took to convert them to christianity, as also the severe and rigorous laws that were afterwards enacted against idolaters, contributed much to the progress of the gospel. Many of the British, Scotch, and Irish ecclesiastics travelled among the Batavian, Belgic, and German nations, with the pious intention of propagating the knowledge of the truth, and of erecting churches and forming religious establishments everywhere. This was the true reason which induced the Germans in after-times, to found so many convents for the Scotch and Irish, of which some are yet in being. Columba, the Irish monk, seconded by the labours of a few companions, had happily extirpated, in the preceding century, the ancient superstitions in Gaul, and the parts adjacent, where idolatry had taken the deepest root; he also carried the lamp of celestial truth among the Suevi, the Boii, the Franks, and other German nations, and persevered in these pious and useful labours until his death, which happened A. D. 615. St. Gal, who was one of his companions, preached the gospel to the Helvetii and the Suevi. St. Kilian set out from Scotland, the place of his nativity, and exercised the ministerial function with such success among the Eastern Franks, that vast numbers of them embraced Christianity. Towards the conclusion of this century, the famous Willebrord, by birth an Anglo-Saxon, accompanied with eleven of his countrymen, viz. Suidbert, Wigbert, Acca, Wilibald, Unibald, Lybwin, the two Ewalds, Werenfrid, Marcellin, and Adalbert, crossed over into Batavia, which lay opposite to Britain, in order to convert the Frieslanders to the religion of Jesus. From thence, in the year 692, they went into Fosteland, which most writers look upon to have been the same with the isle of Heligoland, or Heiligland; but being cruelly treated there by Radbod, king of the Frieslanders, who put Wigbert, one of the company, to death, they departed thence

for Cimbria, and the adjacent parts of Denmark. They, however, returned to Friesland, A. D. 693, and were much more successful than they had formerly been in opposing the ancient superstitions, and propagating the knowledge of the truth. Willebrord was ordained, by the Roman pontiff archbishop of Wilteburg, now Utrecht, and died among the Batavians in a good old age; while his associates continued to spread the light of the gospel among the Westphalians, and the neighbouring countries. These voyages, and many others, undertaken in the cause of Christ, carry, no doubt, a specious appearance of piety and zeal; but the impartial and attentive inquirer after truth will find it impossible to form the same favourable judgment of them all, or to applaud, without distinction, the motives that animated those laborious missionaries. That the designs of some of them were truly pious, and their character without reproach, is unquestionably certain. But it is equally certain, that this was neither the case of them all, nor even of the greater part of them. Many of them discovered, in the course of their ministry, the most turbulent passions, and dishonoured the glorious cause in which they were engaged, by their arrogance and ambition, their avarice and cruelty. They abused the power which they had received from the Roman pontiffs, of forming religious establishments among the superstitious nations; and, instead of gaining souls to Christ, they usurped a despotic dominion over their obsequious proselytes, and exercised a princely authority over the countries where their ministry had been successful. Nor are we to consider as entirely groundless, the suspicions of those who allege that many of the monks desirous of rule and authority, concealed their vices under the mask of religion, and endured, for a certain time, the austerities of a rigid mortification and abstinence, merely with a view to rise in the church to the episcopal dignity."

While the Fourth Empire attained its highest glory before the death of Trajan, about this period may also be dated the most triumphant state of the Fifth Empire during the entire period of its past history. The Divine power of the gospel preached by the apostles and their associates was fully manifested to all men. Transcendently glorious were their battles, victories, and conquests, the results of which were the enjoyment of peace and hope, and the practice of benevolence, justice, and mercy, by an innumerable multitude of the human race, separated to worship the Lord out of all



nations, peoples, and tribes : a sight not more new than wonderful in the earth. The societies gathered by the first ministers of Christ were confessedly not wholly faultless. They all professed to be morally renovated by the belief of the gospel, and assembled continually to observe the institutions of their Lord, for the express purpose of being disciplined for his service, so as to be completely conformed to his mind. Compare their general character, laws, pursuits, and hopes, with those of all other classes of society, in their age, or indeed in any future, in any part of the world, and assuredly every one capable of judging of moral excellence, and candid enough to declare their impartial judgment, will acknowledge that the former inexpressibly surpassed the latter in all that constitutes moral excellence, principles, and conduct worthy of praise, and happiness worth enjoying. Christians evidently breathed the atmosphere of paradise, and were sustained by its salutary productions, while the rest of mankind were degraded by the basest passions, and polluted by the impurest manners ; the wise and unwise had cast off the fear of God, and the malignant passions, or the grossest superstition left no place in the human heart for the operation of unfeigned benevolence, humanity, disinterested kindness, compassion for enemies, and sympathy for the miserable.

The gospel never ceased to demonstrate itself to be the power of God to every one who believed ; nor were the number of such in the successive ages few. But in proportion as those who confessed it increased in number and worldly influence, many of them were distinguished from others more by some peculiarity in religious opinions than by practice. Christians were alternately persecuted, protected, endured, or neglected by the successors of Trajan. Nevertheless they continued to multiply and gradually acquire influence in civil society. They were strengthened by union, which was produced and confirmed by love to one another as brethren, who participated in the same spiritual and heavenly blessings, engaged in the advancement of the same righteous cause, and exulted in the confident hope of the resurrection and eternal life. "Every Christian society," Waddington justly observes, "provided for the maintenance of its poorer members ; and when the funds were not sufficient for this purpose, they were aided by the superfluities of more wealthy brethren. The same spirit which 'preached the gospel to the poor,' extended its provisions to their temporal necessities ; and so far from thinking it any reproach to our

faith that it first addressed itself, by its peculiar virtues as well as precepts, to the lower orders of mankind, we derive from this very fact our strongest argument against those who would persuade us that the patronage of kings was necessary for its establishment: it rather becomes to us matter of pious exultation that its progress was precisely in the opposite direction. By far the majority of the early converts were men of low rank; and their numbers were concealed by their obscurity, until they became too powerful to dread persecution. Every step which they took was upwards. Until the middle of the second century, they could scarcely discover among their thousands one learned man. From the schools they advanced into the senate, and from the senate to the throne; and they had possessed themselves of every other office in society, before they attained the highest. It is important to attend to this fact, that we may not be misled; it is important to observe, that the basis from which the pyramid started up was the faith and constancy of the common people—the spirit of the religion, and the earliest government of the Church, was popular; and it is in its earliest history that we find those proofs of general moral purity on which we now dwell with the more pleasure, because, in succeeding history, the picture will never again be presented to us.”

Our work properly embraces not the history of the Christian Church beyond the age of the apostles and their contemporaries. After their time, if we desire to ascertain what constitutes pure Christianity, we shall look in vain to the great body of its nominal professors. It, however, had already laid the mine by which they were able, in the fourth century to overthrow the entire fabric of idolatry, and give law to the Roman empire. Constantine, A. D. 313, clearly discovered that his chief hope of obtaining the sovereignty of the world depended on his being able to procure their friendship and support. By consummate policy, he persuaded them that he had been miraculously converted to Christ, and assuming the cross for his standard, he rallied around him its numerous and powerful followers. He honoured and enriched them, and they elevated him to the throne, and received him as their sovereign, and ruler, and judge, in things spiritual as well as temporal. It is manifest that though many real Christians probably joyfully received his proclamation that Christianity alone was henceforth exclusively the religion of the empire, yet if any society now existed that imitated the Churches which, in Judea, were in

Christ, it must have been deemed almost universally heretical, and hourly in danger of being dispersed by the roaring of the Roman beast of prey, if not consumed by his iron teeth.

Divisions arose among Christians in the days of the apostles ; and they had been scarcely removed from the earth before the Churches planted by them departed from the simplicity of Christianity, as delineated by the inspired writers. Nevertheless, with the exception of those who had made shipwreck of faith and a good conscience, the great peculiarities of the gospel, in doctrine and practice, appear to have characterised all the societies that confessed Christ, and suffered for his name's sake, to the end of the second century. This is obvious from the statement of Irenæus in his work on heresy. He includes, under the name Church, all the Christian societies scattered among the nations ; and thus describes its sentiments : " The Church, spread throughout the whole world even to the ends of the earth, has received, both from the apostles and from their disciples, that faith which is in One God, the Father Almighty, who made the heaven and earth, the sea, and all the things which are in them ; and in one Jesus Christ, the Son of God, incarnate for our salvation ; and in the Holy Ghost, who, by the prophets, foretold the arrangements and the advent of Christ, and that generation which was of the Virgin, and the suffering and the resurrection from the dead, and the ascension into heaven, in the flesh of our beloved Jesus Christ our Lord, and his coming from heaven in the glory of the Father 'to gather together all things,' and to raise at last all flesh of the human race. That to Jesus Christ our Lord God, Saviour and King, according to the pleasure of the invisible Father, every knee may bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and under the earth ; and that every tongue may confess to him, and that he may perform just judgment on all. And he is exalted, that he may send to eternal fire spiritual wickedness, the transgressing and apostate angels, and impious, unjust, iniquitous, and blasphemous men : That he may confer life on those who keep his commandments, and persevere in his love, as indeed some have done from the beginning, and as others have done from repentance ; and that he may bestow on them incorruption, and may surround them with eternal glory in the place of reward."

The first large community of Christians, worthy of the name, who separated from the universal Church, or societies

that retained "the form of sound words," taught by the apostles, appeared in the latter part of the third century. Their first leader, who may be denominated the first Christian Reformer, was Novatian, a proselyte of the Church in Rome. "He was," Waddington remarks, "a man of great talents and learning, and of character so austere, that he was unwilling, under any circumstances of contrition, to readmit those who had been once separated from the communion of the Church. And this severity he would have extended not only to those who had fallen by deliberate transgression, but even to such as had made a forced compromise of their faith under the terrors of persecution. He considered the Christian Church as a society, where virtue and innocence reigned universally, and refused any longer to acknowledge, as members of it, those who had once degenerated into unrighteousness. This endeavour to revive the spotless moral purity of the primitive faith was found inconsistent with the corruptions even of that early age: it was regarded with suspicion by the leading prelates, as a vain and visionary scheme; and those rigid principles which had characterised and sanctified the Church in the first century, were abandoned to the profession of schismatic sectaries in the third."

The Novatians exceedingly multiplied in all the countries where the gospel was received, and flourished until the fifth century, when the clergy of the imperial Church succeeded in crushing the power of dissent, and compelled the faithful to withdraw as much as possible from public notice.

The sacred scriptures, however, remained, and the authority of the Lord Jesus was revered by multitudes. Those most desirous and resolved to honour their Saviour and heavenly king found small favour with the majority of the Christian teachers or people. An Arian or Trinitarian Christianity sustained, at the pleasure or humour of Constantine's successors, the vast and gorgeous fabric of the imperial church, till Theodosius the Great, A.D. 380, established the latter, named the orthodox creed, and published the famous law, "that no one, of whatever rank, should slay a victim or present an offering, in public or private, to any senseless image or imaginary god." To martyrs, eminent departed saints, and especially to Mary the mother of Jesus, and to angels, were transferred the veneration and homage formerly cherished for idols; and all who refused to honour them as intercessors with God, or who maintained that to them there was but "one God and Father of all, and one Mediator between God

and man, the Man Christ Jesus," were more dreaded, despised, or abhorred, by the great teachers of the imperial church, than were idolaters, infidels, or profligates. Assemblies of bishops speedily assumed the authority and power of infallible guides, whose wisdom was not to be questioned, nor their influence with Heaven to bring down blessings or curses upon mankind, to be doubted. They gradually, having for their chief the bishop of Rome, acquired the supreme dominion in things spiritual, and at length sat on the throne of the church, and directed the civil government of the empire. Emperors, kings, princes, and magistrates, were their servants to honour or protect those whom they pronounced blessed, and degrade or kill all whom they declared accursed. Thus the nominal ministers of Christians, united as one man, truly appeared "the man of sin, the son of perdition, who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God; so that he, as God, sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God." 2 Thess. ii. 4. Everywhere was heard the terrific voice of this demon-god. The worshippers of the Most High trembled, and retired from the busy haunts of men; the meek followers of the Lord Jesus fled to the wilderness, and there sojourned twelve hundred and sixty years.

Fearful were the judgments which fell on the apostate race, who had prostrated their hearts and consciences to the self-made demon-god. The inroads of barbarians spread universal desolation, famine, pestilence, and death; the mighty empire was broken up, and divided into many kingdoms, and ignorance, superstition, and every species of wickedness established anew their throne in the world. But this dreadful termination of the eruptions of pagan nations only rivetted the chains by which "the man of sin," that wicked one, subjected to slavery the Roman empire. The savage conquerors transferred their reverence for the priests and rites of their bloody gods to the priests and rites of nominal Christianity, and consolidated the ecclesiastical despotism and tyranny, of whose natural and terrible power they were incapable of forming a correct estimate. The voice of the holy oracles was silenced, or only heard in solitary and impenetrable recesses. "Darkness covered the earth, and gross darkness the people." Charlemagne, the celebrated emperor of the West, in the eighth century, votary as he was of vice and superstition, attempted to adorn his reign by literature, and the Church by the study of the scriptures. This noblest of his enterprises failed. The chief rulers of the multitude hated knowledge,

and they succeeded in the establishment of their dominion by extinguishing moral light. Many teachers of the people were more familiar with every art of deception than with the art of simply reading the few books which were not yet secreted from mankind.

Divine long-suffering, however, came to an end; the time of just retribution arrived, and the Sun of Righteousness once more arose on the benighted nations. The throne of ecclesiastical power was cast down, its ministers were confounded, and its slaves exulted in the emancipation proclaimed by the noble heroes of "The Reformation." The principal nations were deluged with blood, shed in the tremendous contest between liberty and despotism, priestly domination and freedom of thought. The sacred scriptures were enthroned in the hearts of multitudes; Satan was bound, and the nations set free. The Christian captives were recalled; they heard the voice of the angel in the midst of heaven proclaiming the fall of their chief enemy, and heaven and earth rejoiced.

any struggles they have had, and many perhaps they may yet have; but He who hath delivered them will complete their deliverance. They have laboured, and a goodly number of them have not fainted in contending earnestly for the faith. By them Divine truth hath illuminated many nations; in the remotest regions, where the Roman eagle was never seen or known, thousands sing "Unto him that loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood, and made us unto our God kings and priests: unto him be glory and dominion, for ever and ever, Amen." The stone cut out of the mountain progressively fills the earth. Prayer is made to the Lord Jesus continually, in the farthest west, north, south, and east, and daily is he praised. All who love Him confidently and intensely long to hear the great voices in heaven re-echoed over all the earth: "The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdom of our Lord, and of his Christ; and he shall reign for ever and ever."



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